

## Hormel strikers: 'Come to Austin June 22-28'

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

ST. PAUL, Minn., June 11 — Beneath a banner reading "Come to Solidarity City, June 22 to 28, Austin, Minnesota," Jim Guyette, suspended president of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9, and Ray Rogers, a consultant for P-9, spoke in public for the first time since June 2 at a news conference here today. It was on June 2 that the trusteeship imposed on P-9 by the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) top officialdom was ruled legal by U.S. District Judge Edward Devitt.

Guyette said, "My view of Solidarity City is that it is shaping up to be a massive gathering of trade unionists, civil rights activists, embattled family farmers, and justice-minded people from many walks of life, who have been encouraged and in-

**United Food and Commercial Workers top officials have launched serious new attacks on Local P-9 members. See story page 13, along with statement by suspended P-9 President Jim Guyette.**

spired by what has happened in Austin over the past 10 months."

Details of the week-long protest action in Austin were given by Ray Rogers at the news conference, which was held at the hall of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 110. "Just because the courts deem that this strike is over, doesn't mean that the struggle is over," he said. At Solidarity City there will be discussions on how to continue this struggle. Speakers during the week will include members of P-9, Black rights activists, representatives from other unions, and Native Americans. There will also be a film series.

The week will culminate on Friday with a picnic and a Saturday march and rally.

During the week participants will go out to other Hormel plants to talk to workers and distribute information on P-9's struggle.

## S. Africa masses resist stepped-up repression

BY FRED FELDMAN

The apartheid regime in South Africa imposed a nationwide state of emergency June 11, arresting and imprisoning hundreds of people.

In defiance of the sharp escalation of repression and violence by the government, hundreds of thousands of Blacks and their allies prepared to join a strike and protest activities June 16 through June 18. June 16 is the 10th anniversary of the beginning of the 1976 anti-apartheid uprising that began in Soweto, the Black city near Johannesburg.

On June 4 the regime of President Pieter Botha barred any gatherings commemorating the Soweto revolt. The ban is an attempt to lay the groundwork for escalating the massive violence that has been the regime's main response to the growth of the anti-apartheid struggle. The violence of apartheid has caused well over 1,600 deaths since the current wave of protests began in August 1984.

The government proclamation also banned activities commemorating the 31st anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter. The Charter was the product of the June 1955 Congress of the People called by the African National Congress and other groups. From its first words — "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white" — the document is a fundamental challenge to apartheid rule.

Botha is also demanding the adoption of new repressive legislation that would give virtually unlimited powers to the cops in "unrest areas" and bar court review of their actions.

In the face of these threats, the anti-apartheid forces are not backing down. Allan Boesak, a leader of the United Democratic Front, told the *Washington Post* June 6: "The strike is going to go through anyway. I don't think there is any way you can tell the students and the youth that they must stop protesting, they must not come on the streets on that day."

The United Democratic Front, an anti-apartheid coalition of 600 organizations, is supporting the actions beginning June 16, as are the African National Congress, Congress of South African Trade Unions, National Education Crisis Committee, and other groups.

UDF leader Desmond Tutu, archbishop-



Tens of thousands turn out for funeral last year for 18 Blacks killed in Duncan Village near East London in South Africa.

elect of Cape Town, announced that anti-apartheid religious services commemorating the Soweto revolt would take place June 16 in defiance of the ban.

As the apartheid regime steps up violence and repression, the U.S. government is escalating efforts to head off the growing demand for the imposition of economic sanctions against the South African regime.

The demand for sanctions gained added steam when the Eminent Persons Group, a team of diplomats established by the Commonwealth, announced it had made no progress toward persuading Botha to legalize the African National Congress, the leading organization in the anti-apartheid struggle, and release ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

"Sanctions represent the course of conduct most likely to help the process of peaceful change," said Commonwealth

Secretary General Shridath Ramphal.

The 49-member Commonwealth includes the governments of Britain and many of its former colonies. Margaret Thatcher's government is the only one in the Commonwealth opposed to further sanctions.

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker have sharply criticized a proposal approved June 10 by the House Foreign Affairs Committee to bar new investment in South Africa; forbid imports of South African coal, steel, and uranium; and bar landing rights to South African Airways.

According to the June 11 *New York Times*, "Crocker said progress was being made in South Africa and neither South Africans nor Americans who are hoping to bring about peaceful change 'want to destroy the South African economy.'"

Continued on Page 15

## Protests shake Haiti gov't

BY NORTON SANDLER

A week of intense protests in Haiti culminating in a one-day general strike has brought the weak, military-dominated government of Gen. Henri Namphy to the brink of collapse.

The June 10 strike closed factories, schools, and shops in the Haitian capital of Port-au-Prince and paralyzed normal activity in at least six other cities.

Only a handful of people reported for work at the U.S.-owned assembly plants in Port-au-Prince, forcing them to close for the day. The drivers of tap-taps (pickup trucks used for public transportation) stayed off the job as well.

A coalition of political organizations, unions, and student groups called for the strike action. They demanded the resignation from the government of Colonel Williams Regala, head of Haiti's police and armed forces and a member of the ruling council, and Finance Minister Lesly Delatour.

Regala's troops murdered eight and wounded dozens more when they fired at a

peaceful protest march in April. Delatour's ouster is sought because of his proposal to close several government-run industries, increasing Haiti's rampant unemployment. Fifty percent of the people of Port-au-Prince alone do not have jobs.

The latest round of protests began June 4 when the government announced the appointment of Philip Vorbe, former personal athletic trainer of ousted dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier, as television announcer on World Cup soccer match broadcasts in Haiti. The appointment served as a catalyst for bringing opposition to the government into action throughout the country.

Roads leading into Port-au-Prince were blocked with burning tires and trees. Factories and shops in the city were forced to close. Roadblocks were installed on the main national highways, disrupting traffic throughout the country.

Demonstrators occupied government buildings in the northern city of Gonaïves.

Government troops responded with

Continued on Page 17

### Anti-apartheid demonstrators

After June 14 march and rally  
come to a

### SOCIALIST OPEN HOUSE

3:30 to 7:00 p.m. at the Mayflower Hotel  
Central Park West at 61st St., Manhattan  
(a short walk from the rally site)

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance, an organization of revolutionary youth who have been active in building today's march, invite you to the open house. Come by to exchange views and enjoy refreshments.



Jackie Floyd

Hear Jackie Floyd, Young Socialist Alliance national secretary, and Theresa Delgadillo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York.

You may also want to join us at the YSA tent at the northwest corner of the Great Lawn rally site (next to the Pathfinder Press literature table).

Militants and the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial* will be available there if you wish to help sell the socialist press.



# 'Militant' well received by S. Dakota meatpackers

BY DIANA CANTÚ

ST. PAUL, Minn. — The *Militant* Midwest regional sales team rounded out its two-week tour with more sales at plant gates, a visit to the White Earth Indian Reservation, a trip up north to the Mesabi Iron Range, and discussions with farmers in South Dakota and Minnesota.

Sales were high at the John

ments.

We also sold at several other plant gates, including at John Morrell in Sioux City, Iowa; at the Campbell Soup and Swift plants in Worthington, Minnesota; and the Superwood and Diamond Tool plants in Duluth, Minnesota.

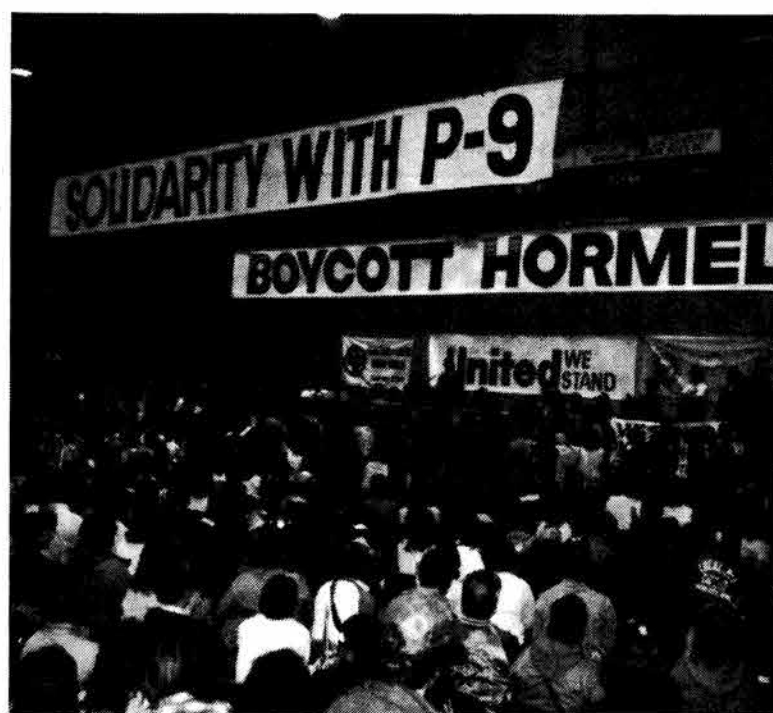
We traveled to the Mesabi Iron Range in Minnesota, where we sold the *Militant* at mine en-

Minntac iron ore mine. We also sold *Militants* at several other mines.

At the University of Minnesota at Duluth, we set up a literature table on the first day of the summer session. We sold 32 *Militants*, as well as several books and pamphlets.

While in Duluth we talked to Dick Blin, editor of *Labor World*, publication of the Duluth Central Labor Council. He is active in organizing support there for the Hormel strikers in Austin. He told us that several successful plant-gate collections had been taken for Local P-9 and that union workers at the Superwood and the Cohasset plants had succeeded in getting Hormel products removed from vending machines.

During our two-week trip we sold 834 papers. This included 825 *Militants* and nine copies of its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial*, plus six subscriptions. We sold 674 papers at plant gates.



Militant/Tom Jaax  
Strike by UFCW Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota, is being closely followed by meatpackers elsewhere. Interest spurred sales of *Militant* to UFCW members in South Dakota.

## SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

Morrell meatpacking plant in Sioux Falls, South Dakota. The workers there are organized by the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW). We sold 108 copies of the *Militant* during one shift change. Meatpackers there were following the UFCW Local P-9 strike against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota, and were anxious to keep up with the latest develop-

trances. Here we saw the effect on the working class of the deep economic depression in this area. Many houses are closed up as workers with no hope of finding a job move away.

Severe cutbacks in the mines have led to high unemployment and an air of defeat among many workers. Despite this, we sold 10 *Militants* at the U.S. Steel

## Socialist Workers petition for Illinois ballot status

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

CHICAGO — The Socialist Workers Party kicked off its statewide election campaign with a rally here on June 7.

The event capped a successful day of petitioning in which 2,700 signatures were collected to put the Socialist Workers statewide slate on the Illinois ballot.

In eight days of petitioning, including two large-scale efforts on Saturdays, supporters of the campaign have collected more than 8,000 of the 25,000 signatures needed to meet the ballot requirements.

In addition, 650 copies of the campaign newspapers, the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist*, have been sold. Seventy people signed up to get more information on how they can become actively involved in the campaign.

The socialist rally was attended by a number of new campaign supporters.

Scott Dombeck, who is running for attorney general of Illinois, introduced Sohotra Sakar to the audience. Sakar is a representative of the African National Congress and leader of the U.S. anti-apartheid movement.

Sakar sounded the internationalist theme of the rally. He placed the struggle against apartheid and for majority rule in South Africa in the context of the struggles against imperialism taking place in many semicolonial countries today.

"The struggle in South Africa is part of the struggle against the old order of colonialism and imperialism," he said. "It wasn't malice that drove the imperialists in the United States and Western Europe to collaborate with apartheid, but their vested interest in the exploitation of the Black majority in South Africa. The fight against

this vested interest and to get rid of the old order," he continued, "is the goal of the people's liberation movement from Africa to Central America."

Diane Roling, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, focused her remarks on the struggles of U.S. workers and farmers. Roling read from an article in a

local newspaper that blamed the nuclear disaster at Chernobyl on "communist totalitarianism."

"Working people are not buying this brand of anti-Soviet propaganda, which covers up the fact that nuclear power is dangerous everywhere," she said.

"Working people have not forgotten

Three Mile Island. All nuclear power plants should be shut down immediately," said Roling.

She surveyed the employers' moves to impose concession contracts on steelworkers, auto workers, and others. "But work-

Continued on Page 4

## Farm activists view U.S. rural crisis, Nicaragua

BY DIANA CANTÚ

I was part of a *Militant-Perspectiva Mundial* team that spent two weeks, beginning May 26, introducing new readers to the socialist press in Iowa, South Dakota, and Minnesota. Young Socialist Alliance members Derek Bracey and Mike Riley and Socialist Workers Party member Yvonne Hayes were the other team members.

During our tour we met several farmers active in the farm protest movement.

We talked to Bobbi Polzine, a leader of the Minnesota farm action group Groundswell.

Polzine and other U.S. farmers traveled to Nicaragua this spring for the conference of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers. Polzine was one of 500 delegates from 21 countries. "I wish it was compulsory for every child and old person in every corner of this country to hear how conditions are in all those countries," she said. "We have a common enemy, the economic policy of this country. We need reform, mass direct action, and redistribution of the land."

Craig Severtsen, a farmer in Flandreau, South Dakota, told us, "This here is the Third World. We compete with Mississippi and Alabama for the lowest per capita income and lowest-paid teachers. People work hard for nothing."

He told us how virtually every farm near his is bankrupt and how in that area there have been two farm-related suicides recently.

"You don't read that in the newspaper," he said, "one farmer closing at a time, one suicide at a time. And this is all in a five-mile radius."

We also visited John Enestvedt, a farm activist for half a century, who showed us his slides of a delegation of farmers who traveled to Nicaragua last fall.

These farmers are all outspoken supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution and active in solidarity with Nicaragua. They're closely following the Sandinista government's land reform. We also found strong support for the striking Hormel workers in Austin, Minnesota. Several of these farmers have been active in building support for the strike and see it as closely linked to

their own struggles.

These farmers are also concerned about the proposed dumping of nuclear and other toxic wastes in the region and have been outspoken and active opponents of such dumping.

We talked to Delores Sovoda, editor of the *Groundswell* newsletter, and her husband, Gene. Both of them are farmers. Both have been active in farm foreclosure protests.

Delores told us that many people have been intimidated by the brutality of the police at these farm sales. Gene said, "I got scared when I saw the number of law officers they bring out — were we that much of a threat to the system? I realized that we were. Now if we can get all of us together..."

He went on, "We have to organize; maybe not plant. We don't make any money anyway."

Bobbi Polzine summed up the feelings of the farmers we talked to when she said, "I love to farm, and I won't let go of the land. It's not two things — the people and the land — but the people of the land."

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# Washington march hits war on Nicaragua

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Six hundred people marched to the White House on June 7 demanding an end to U.S. aid to the *contras* waging war against Nicaragua. The march and rally were organized by the Washington Area Coalition to Stop the U.S. War on Nicaragua. The action attracted antiwar activists from several mid-Atlantic states.

Protesters gathered at the Martin Luther King Library in downtown Washington. Catherine Hargrave of the Free South Africa Movement gave a talk to kick off the march. Thousands of educational leaflets were distributed to Saturday shoppers.

The most popular chants were "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua," "USA, CIA out of Nicaragua," and "Hey, hey, Uncle Sam, we remember Vietnam."

Handmade signs read "Fight poverty in USA, not Sandinistas in Nicaragua," and "Money to fight AIDS, not the people of Nicaragua."

The Washington Area Nicaragua Information Committee (NICA) carried a banner that read "No contra aid, from Nicaragua to Angola." Many signs linked opposition to the U.S.-backed contra war with the freedom struggle in South Africa and Namibia. Lots of protesters wore buttons supporting the June 14 anti-apartheid demonstration in New York City.

There was a large contingent of senior citizens organized by the Montgomery County, Maryland, and Washington Grey Panthers, who chartered a bus for the action.

Following a spirited picket in front of the White House, the crowd crossed the street to Lafayette Park for a rally.

A group of 50 pro-contra counterdemonstrators had gathered in Lafayette Park earlier in the day. Some 25 were left as the anti-contra rally began. They chanted, "No more Cubas," and "Stop Marxist Ortega," referring to Nicaragua's president.

Perry King spoke for the Washington Area Coalition to Stop the U.S. War on Nicaragua. He stressed the importance of public protest as "the most effective political action we can take against U.S. military intervention in Central America."

"Demonstrations," King said, "put us in motion and, most importantly, help us to state clearly our own agenda. The issue is not how to deal with the Sandinistas in Central America, but how to build a movement that can stop U.S. intervention so the Nicaraguan people can determine their own future."

Michael Mahlangu, a South African student at George Mason University in Virginia and a member of the Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism, was greeted by loud and long applause. He attacked the hypocrisy of the U.S. government in claiming to be for "democracy in Nicaragua while supporting the contra terrorists. They carried out a brutal 10-year war against the people of Vietnam in the name of democracy," he said. "The Black

people and youths of South Africa see how the U.S. government works with the South African government and refuses to apply serious sanctions. We the victims of apartheid stand with the people of Nicaragua."

Decajewiah of the Big Mountain Defense Committee urged people to attend a national protest in Washington, D.C., July 6 demanding an end to legal sanction for the removal of Native Americans from their land in Big Mountain, Arizona. Daniel del Zalle, Washington-area Labor Committee on Central America and the Caribbean; Jane Henderson, Washington-area Pledge of Resistance; Father Bill Davis, Christic Institute; and Egbal Ahmad, American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, also spoke.

Following the demonstration, the Washington Area Coalition and the Nicaragua Network sponsored a meeting of some 40 activists representing a number of Central America solidarity and antiwar groups from several cities in the mid-Atlantic region. They discussed how to better coordinate the anti-intervention work of groups and coalitions throughout the area.

A mid-July meeting will take up the organization of fall protests to stop the U.S.-run war against Nicaragua.



June 7 antiwar march in Washington, D.C.

Militant/Susan Winsten

## Young Socialists win new members

BY FREDERICK ROBERTS AND PAT SMITH

DALLAS — "I wanted to be active, and I was interested in learning more about socialism, so I joined the Young Socialist Alliance," said Alexandra, a 17-year-old high school student. The YSA appeals to young fighters like her. Four of them recently joined the Dallas chapter.

Tommy, a 21-year-old trade union activist, first met the YSA in the cafeteria of the General Motors plant where he works as a cashier. A young socialist who works on the assembly line wore a "Free South Africa" T-shirt and asked Tommy to sign the Freedom Letter protesting apartheid. Tommy supports the struggle against apartheid and was glad to see the YSA encourages the involvement of labor unions in this battle.

He joined the YSA because he opposes the injustices of capitalism and wanted to learn more about socialism. "There is no other organization that ties all the struggles together with one perspective, a revolutionary perspective," he said. "Since I've joined the YSA I've learned a lot more about how to use our unions to fight for us. I've learned the importance of solidarity through my understanding of socialism. I think that unions should be more active and take up issues like the anti-apartheid struggle. The union is the only way workers can stick together and work in solidarity. In the YSA I've learned to approach my coworkers to discuss politics. The YSA classes

have helped me with that. They are a great place to learn and discuss politics."

### Learning about unions

Another new member, Lucia, explained, "Before I joined the YSA I was working with the poor on community issues and was involved in the fight for women's rights. I have a radio show that deals with issues that affect women workers. I knew I couldn't just talk about the problems we face without solutions and a course of action. The YSA had those answers. I was skeptical about the strength of U.S. labor unions before I joined the YSA. Now I am a member of the International Association of Machinists. The YSA has helped me understand the strength that workers have, the value of our labor and the power of a strike."

She went on, "A lot of activists are worried about nuclear war. They see it in the abstract and don't make the connections with Washington's foreign policy, their conventional wars, etc. I have confidence in the power of trade unionists organized to oppose the U.S. war in Nicaragua."

"I went to Austin, Minnesota, to support the meatpackers on strike against Hormel. I liked the way the YSA participated in this fight. First, we learned what it was about, then we organized as many people from Dallas as possible to go. When we got back, we organized a YSA educational for young people in Dallas to learn about P-9."

Robert is a young worker and member of the Army Reserve. He opposes the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean because he understands the role the United States plays in imposing poverty, backwardness, and misery on workers and farmers there for the sake of profits. He supports the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions.

YSA members attend weekly meetings where they play an active role in making decisions for their chapter. To carry out this responsibility we must be educated on the international political situation. The Dallas chapter holds biweekly educational classes for members and other interested young people. **From the Young Socialist**

## SWP, YSA invite activists to Ohio socialist conference

BY HARRY RING

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are inviting all fighters for progressive social change to their annual educational and activists conference in Oberlin, Ohio, this summer.

Attending the conference will be unionists and others who support the strike by Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers against Hormel; opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America; foes of the racist apartheid regime in South Africa; those struggling to defend women's right to abortion; farmers fighting foreclosures; and fighters for the rights of Blacks and Latinos.

The Socialist Educational and Activists Conference will be held at the Oberlin College campus August 9-14.

Talks, classes, workshops, and special events will be devoted to discussing the current political situation facing working people in the United States and around the world, including the Nicaraguan revolution, the massive struggles shaking South Africa, the fight for women's liberation, and the meaning of the P-9 strike for the labor movement. And there will be ample opportunity to meet and exchange experiences with workers, farmers, and students from around the country and the world.

A central focus of the program will be discussing how all struggles to end oppression, exploitation, and imperialist war and domination are linked to the fight to over-

throw the capitalist system and establish socialism.

The program also includes plenty of time for relaxation. Campus facilities include a good-sized pool, gym, tennis and volleyball courts, and a running track.

Nightly entertainment includes movies, concerts, dances, and other social events. Rates for attending are reasonable and there are daily rates for those who can attend only part of the conference.

To ensure an early reservation fill in the coupon below.

Clip and send to the SWP branch or YSA chapter nearest you (see page 16), or to SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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# AT&T strike: 'Need support of every union'

BY FRED FELDMAN

Communications Workers of America President Morton Bahr called June 6 for "the full support of every union in America" to the 155,000 CWA members forced on strike June 1 by the concession demands of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co.

In a move against the union that CWA officials say is unprecedented, AT&T has begun hiring scabs to do the jobs of striking union members. The company claims to have hired 3,000 operators and says it plans to hire 4,000 more. It is also threatening to hire scabs to install and maintain phone equipment. Company officials say scabs are being employed on a temporary basis.

As in past contract disputes, the company is also using many of its 118,000 administrative personnel to attempt to do strikers' work.

The company has launched a public relations attack on the union as well, with letters to union members and advertisements in newspapers claiming that there are "absolutely no givebacks" in its current contract offer.

The union nailed that lie in an advertise-

ment that appeared in the June 10 *Washington Post*, which revealed that the company has 50 concession demands on the bargaining table.

The main ones, the advertisement explained, are abolition of cost-of-living raises, elimination of incentive pay in manufacturing plants, extension of working hours for operators with no extra pay, reclassification of clerical workers that would cut the pay of about half of them, the right to ignore seniority in layoffs, and the creation of a new job title for systems technicians. This move would make it possible for the company to force many of the 20,000 workers in this skilled job classification to choose between being laid off or accepting the lower-wage title.

The union's advertisement pointed out that AT&T President Robert Allen got a 23 percent wage increase of \$104,000 in 1985, while trying to squeeze more for less out of telephone workers. "CWA has challenged this executive to spend a week working as an operator at operators' pay," the advertisement states.

CWA President Bahr told the *New York Times* that he had met with AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Thomas Donahue to dis-



Scab car tries to break through picket line set up by striking members of Communications Workers of America in Miami.

cuss solidarity with the striking workers. He said the CWA planned to hold solidarity rallies and marches to support the strike.

Bahr also met with leaders of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, which represents 40,000 AT&T work-

ers.

The executive board of the IBEW announced June 1 that it had approved a new contract with the company and agreed not to strike pending a ratification vote by the membership. The IBEW contract is reportedly similar to the concession contract rejected by the CWA. Some IBEW locals have honored strikers' picket lines.

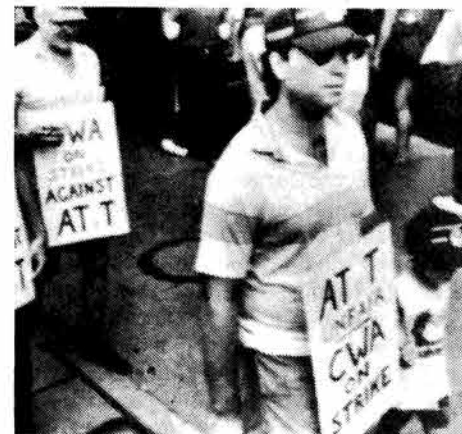
Bahr was quoted by the June 8 *New York Times* as saying he thought IBEW members should reject the new contract and join other AT&T workers in putting more pressure on the company "to meet our very modest demands."

The current contract negotiations are the first since the 1984 court-ordered breakup of AT&T, which led to the creation of seven regional companies and the deregulation of the industry. The corporations have used these changes to lay the groundwork for attacking workers' jobs, wages, and working conditions.

Talks between AT&T and union representatives are continuing.

Contract talks are expected to begin soon between the CWA and the seven regional phone companies as well.

A spokesperson for the union declared, "The resolve of the workers on the picket lines remains high." She predicted failure for what she described as company efforts to "divide and conquer" the phone workers.



## U.S. gov't sued on nuke waste plan

BY HARRY RING

State officials in Nevada and Washington have filed suit against the federal government, challenging a Department of Energy plan that targeted their states as potential sites for nuclear waste dumps.

They declared they no longer trusted the federal government to make an objective scientific decision and charged that political considerations were the prime yardstick in the search for a place to bury the deadly material.

The court action came in the wake of a federal decision to drop plans for selecting a future dump site in the East or Midwest.

Hanford, Washington; Yucca Mountain, Nevada; and Deaf Smith County, Texas, had already been selected as the Western candidate areas for dumping tens of thousands of tons of highly radioactive nuclear waste.

The selections stemmed from a 1982 decision by Congress that something had to be done about the sea of deadly radioactive waste accumulating in temporary storage pools at the nuclear plants where the waste is created.

To be "fair" in distributing the awesome danger inherent in underground nuclear dumps, the legislators voted that there should be two dump sites, one in the East and the other in the West.

Seven Eastern and Midwestern states were tapped as possible homes for one dump site — Maine, New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

sin, and Minnesota.

From the outset, the Department of Energy, responsible for site selection, ran into strong local opposition. In Maine and New Hampshire, prime contenders for the nomination, grass-roots opposition was particularly strong. In Washington and Nevada, polls confirmed a majority opposed as well.

The Chernobyl nuclear power plant disaster in the Soviet Union no doubt contributed to escalating the opposition.

On May 28 the Department of Energy announced it had found that the toxic waste has been accumulating less rapidly than anticipated and, for now, it would be sufficient to select the one dump site in the West.

"A dark cloud of uncertainty and doubt has been lifted," declared Sen. George Mitchell, a Maine Republican.

The retreat by the government spotlighted an insoluble problem, one that threatens the health and safety of future generations for thousands of years to come.

The plain fact is that while mountains of nuclear waste continue to accumulate, *no one on earth has yet figured out how to dispose of it safely.*

And, no mistake about it, the stuff is deadly. It includes spent fuel rods and other parts of a nuclear reactor's core, as well as the reactor's primary coolant.

Sections of the core must be replaced about once a year. This involves removing thousands of pounds of metal and spent fuel, fiercely hot as well as radioactive. It remains radioactive for thousands of years. It will kill anyone exposed to it for even a few seconds. In burial places that could not contain it, it would seep into earth and water.

The admissions and conflicting theories of experts simply confirm the extent of the threat.

U.S. nuclear plants have already created 20,000 metric tons of high level radioactive waste, most of it sitting in on-site pools of water. By the year 2020, it is estimated that, assuming no new plants are built, there will be 100,000 tons of the deadly waste waiting for burial.

Some experts believe no safe method of permanent storage has been figured out and favor creating more above-ground temporary storage sites, where, they say, at least the material can be monitored and will be retrievable. This, they add, will also relieve the dangerous problem of transporting the stuff.

Some favor casting the waste into giant spikes and dropping them into midocean on the theory that they will drop deep enough into the ocean floor to be considered safely buried. Apparently this idea has so many holes in it that the government is phasing out current research on it.

Some have argued for hurling the most lethal of the waste into orbit. Such experiences as the Challenger disaster have cast a

pall on that proposition.

Deep underground burial is based on a hope.

The radioactive waste has a half life of up to 24,000 years. But the canisters the waste would be buried in may have a life of several hundred years — at most. After that the rock or salt in which they would be stored is expected to "minimize" radioactive leakage. A recent editorial in the *New York Times*, a proponent of nuclear power, illustrated what a stumper the problem is. The editorial prods Congress to get on the stick and do something. But what?

"They could be rocketed to the sun — but..."

"They could be buried undersea in the plains of sediment that cover the ocean plates, but..."

"That leaves disposal on land. Either the wastes will have to be buried deep in rocks... or they could be moved to a single temporary storage site above ground until a permanent repository can be found."

Yes, no, maybe, but... It adds up to an admission that there is no real answer to this staggering problem.

The 20,000 tons of undisposable waste already accumulated in this country alone is a big enough problem for humanity. And every day nuke plants are permitted to operate, more undisposable radioactive waste is created.

Putting aside the inevitability of another Chernobyl — or worse — the waste problem alone demands that every one of these plants be immediately shut down for good.

## N.Y. Socialist Workers launch state campaign

Continued from back page

the deepening social and economic problems that working people confront are caused by capitalism, and that only socialism can decisively resolve them."

On July 8 supporters of the socialist candidates will begin a major effort to obtain 20,000 signatures on nominating petitions to place Mike Shur's name on the November ballot. Reactionary legislation in New York State bars people under 30, like Delgadillo, from even appearing on the ballot. The Socialist Workers Party is calling for a vote for her.

Delgadillo and Shur urged those interested in the campaign to join the petitioning effort. The campaign office is at 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013, (212) 925-1668.

In 1984 Socialist Workers candidates were excluded from the New York ballot despite having collected far more than the required number of signatures. "We urge all defenders of civil liberties to support our ballot rights," said Shur and Delgadillo. "We intend to fight for, and win, a place on the November ballot to provide a voice for the interests of working people."

## Illinois SWP in ballot drive

Continued from Page 2

ers and their allies are also fighting back," Roling said. She pointed to the ongoing demonstrations of farmers in Chillicothe, Missouri, against farm foreclosures; the continuing antiwar sentiment expressed in the numerous actions against U.S. financing of the *contra* war against Nicaragua; and the growing protests against Washington's support to the apartheid regime. She emphasized the tenacious resistance by Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers against Geo. A. Hormel & Co.

Omari Musa, candidate for U.S. Senate, spoke next. Musa denounced the Reagan administration's portrayal of the U.S. government as desperately trying to catch up in an "arms race" with the Soviet Union. "The reality is that ever since 1917, when the Russian workers and farmers overthrew a hated ruling class and carried out the world's first socialist revolution, Washington and its allies have been trying to weaken and roll back that revolution."

"Whether it's by aiding the contras attacking Nicaragua or by bombing innocent civilians in Libya, Washington's basic objective is to halt and roll back the advances

made by workers and farmers all over the world."

SWP national committee member Andrea Morell concluded the rally by pointing to the opportunities that exist for the socialist campaigns to win new supporters in 1986.

Referring to the recent beginning of live television coverage of proceedings in the U.S. Senate, she rejected the idea that "those buffoons on the Senate floor make history by what they say. History is made by workers and farmers marching, demonstrating, and fighting."

Morell highlighted gains being made on a world scale by workers and farmers, such as the advances of the agrarian reform in Nicaragua and the overthrow of the dictatorships in Haiti and the Philippines. "The imperialist system is in decline, but it will still lash out with brutal attacks to try to regain hegemony."

She urged new supporters of the socialist candidates to join the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party and become part of the fight for a workers' and farmers' government that can defend the interests of working people at home and abroad.



# Women workers at Texas meeting discuss sexual harassment

BY NANCY COLE

HOUSTON — A hundred people gathered here May 31 to share experiences and offer some remedies to the widespread problems of sexual harassment and job discrimination.

The day of workshops was sponsored by the Sexual Harassment Task Force of the Texas National Organization for Women, the Houston-Area chapter of NOW, and the Houston chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). It was the first such gathering ever held in this area, but participants pledged it would not be the last.

Sue Devaney, national treasurer of NOW, opened the conference. Calling sexual harassment a barrier to women's equality, she outlined the attack on federal guidelines against sexual harassment now before the U.S. Supreme Court. This employer challenge, which Attorney General Edmund Meese has prepared a friend-of-the-court brief in support of, seeks to remove sexual harassment from coverage under Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act.

Devaney reported that NOW chapters across the country are speaking out against sexual harassment, citing a NOW-organized picket line in Beloit, Wisconsin, the previous week protesting sexual harassment against two women at a local plant.

The workshops here were supported by the AFL-CIO labor councils in the area, and many local unions were represented. Members attended from the Communications Workers of America; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union; Teamsters; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Transport Workers Union; Service Employees International Union; American Postal Workers Union; International Association of Machinists; United Auto Workers; American Federation of Government Employees; United Food and Commercial Workers; and Office and Professional Employees International Union.

There were also many women workers who were not members of unions, from office workers to a mechanic at an unorganized chemical plant in northeastern Texas.

It was a day to applaud those women who have fought inequality on the job and to exchange ideas on how to combat harassment, from filing grievances right down to smart-aleck cracks you could throw back at coworkers who buy into the employers' schemes to degrade and humiliate women workers.

## Cable splicer tells her story

In the workshop on women in nontraditional jobs, Dale Dugas, a cable splicer at Southwestern Bell and a member of the Communications Workers, described how she was terrorized by her supervisor with constant verbal and physical sexual advances. She said her fear of this man prevented her from taking any formal action until he actually threatened to "have her job" if she didn't go to bed with him.

Fortunately for her, she found other women who had experienced harassment from the same supervisor and were willing to back up her story. She said the rest of her crew, which was all men, split right down the middle — half backing her and half caving in to pressures from management. She won a settlement from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission forcing the company to retire the supervisor.

In the pregnancy discrimination workshop, Swanny Hill told the story of her firing from a clerical job when she was eight-and-a-half months pregnant and two weeks away from a 16-week maternity leave. The company was on an "austerity drive," she said, so they wanted to eliminate the expense of her leave.

Representatives from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees described a case their union brought against Jefferson County, Texas,

where the county had blatantly maintained separate custodial jobs for men, who were called janitors, and for women, who were called maids. When the county built a new three-story building in 1983, they decided not to hire more custodians, but instead to require the women maids to work seven hours instead of their regular six — with no increase in pay! The union's challenge won a \$25,000 back-pay settlement for the 18 maids after they had worked under those conditions more than a year.

Three women from the United Auto Workers Local 276 Women's Committee at the General Motors assembly plant in Arlington, Texas, attended the conference. Women's Committee head Juanita Pannell told the conference how before March 12 of this year there had been more than 900 women working at the plant. With a layoff of 1,700 that day, only 18 women were left. (About 150 have since been recalled.)

Pannell told how she had been "called everything" during her 14 years at General Motors. "At times I felt like quitting, but this job meant security and future retirement, and I couldn't give it up," she said.

## Auto Workers' women's committee

In the union support workshop, Nancy Williams, also from UAW Local 276,



Militant/Nancy Cole

Women discuss sexual harassment they face on the job and how to combat it. Meeting was sponsored by National Organization for Women and Coalition of Labor Union Women.

explained how their women's committee had started with one woman, then grew to three, and increased in authority until now "we have women coming up to us asking us if they can work with us on the committee." Their goal, she said, is to educate women on their rights and to offer support. "We have increased participation in the union, not just of women but of male members too," she reported.

Agnes Chapa from Teamsters Local 919 talked about the challenge before her local, which organizes workers at the Anheuser-Busch brewery. In the last year, the company hired 130 new people, half of them women. Only a handful of women worked there before, and the union is trying to figure out how to integrate all these new people, in particular the women. The local's business agent attended the day of workshops and agreed to a showing at their

next union meeting of the UAW film on sexual harassment, *Would You Let Someone Do This to Your Sister?*

Paula Littles, president of Houston CLUW, closed the conference. Littles is also vice-president of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-367, which paid lost time for four women operators to attend the workshops because they would normally be working on Saturday.

"People in this room today have the power to go back into their workplaces and bring about some changes," she said. "Changes to create more dignity on the job for females, to make things happen to assure that other people out there working who couldn't be here today know what their rights are, that they do not have to tolerate certain things in order to provide a living for themselves and their families."

# AMC pushes takebacks at Jeep in Ohio

BY JOE CALLAHAN

TOLEDO, Ohio — Since late February the American Motors Co. has been threatening to close its Jeep plant here in Toledo. This campaign began with the company saying it was considering sites for a new plant. This resulted in a number of states, including Wisconsin and Ohio, which currently have AMC plants, submitting financial proposals for tax breaks and loan guarantees as incentives to build a new plant in their states.

The news media and politicians responded to AMC's threat by talking loudly about the need to "keep Jeep."

In April the company demanded that Jeep workers give up the "wheel tax plan" for repayment of some \$43 million owed to workers as a result of concessions exacted by the company in 1982. American Motors called the concessions an "Employee Investment Plan" or "EIP." The company was committed to repaying the money through either a profit-sharing plan or a wheel tax plan, whichever the United Auto Workers (UAW) chose.

The wheel tax plan would mean that workers would receive about \$9 million in the next 12 months. The profit-sharing plan would not give workers one penny, since AMC reported a \$125-million loss for 1985.

The Jeep UAW leadership said they were willing to negotiate an alternative to the wheel tax if the company "made a commitment to job security." But since the company did not offer anything like this, the leadership invoked the wheel tax plan, despite the company's threats "to phase out the Toledo operation."

Most workers supported this decision, saying they wanted their money. One worker said, for example, "Give me my money, and if they're going to move, I'll help them pack. But I don't think they are going anywhere."

The worthlessness of a promise by AMC to stay in Toledo is shown by its refusal to repay the EIP money and by other violations of the contract.

On May 15 the company said it would not make any EIP payments until July, despite the fact that the contract requires the first payment on May 23. The next day the company upped the ante, demanding a long list of concessions. It said that if the concessions weren't granted by June 30, the company would then begin closing the

plant.

Among the concessions demanded in addition to giving up the wheel tax were: a reduction in the number of union representatives, mandatory overtime, higher production standards, elimination of the Christmas bonus and several holidays, and cuts in vacations and vacation pay, relief time, and in the hiring of handicapped workers. The company also demanded revision of "the seniority, bidding, bumping, transfer, work assignment, layoff and recall provisions of the agreement in order to establish a system of seniority by classification comparable to the systems currently in effect in progressive UAW agreements with GM, Ford, and Chrysler."

These contracts destroy many job rights fought for and won by the unions over decades.

In a May 30 letter to members, the union executive committee said that at the June 20 union meeting it would be asking permission to schedule a strike authorization vote. The letter explained that an earlier strike vote in February had been canceled because the company had promised to resolve a number of problems. But this hadn't happened and there had been new

violations of the contract by the company.

Some of the earlier outstanding issues were health and safety violations, a corporate seniority plan implemented by the company, the firing of two shop stewards, and a lawsuit against the union by the company as a result of a job action in April 1985 by workers demanding repayment of the EIP money.

The corporate seniority scheme created deep divisions between workers from the Toledo area and workers transferred from Wisconsin who received May 1982 seniority in the Toledo plant, although they were transferred in 1985. There were even incidents of violence between union members as a result of this situation. The issue is scheduled for arbitration in July.

Along with many other unions across the country, the Jeep unit of UAW Local 12 has been supporting the meatpackers who are on strike against union-busting by Hormel in Austin, Minnesota. The unit donated \$500 at its February meeting and heard a striking meatpacker at its April meeting.

Joe Callahan works at Jeep and is a member of UAW Local 12.

# Laid-off Boston garment workers demand benefits from gov't

BY RON RICHARDS

BOSTON — More than 150 garment workers and their supporters rallied May 21 on the State House steps to demand that the state government pay for health insurance and job retraining for the more than 300 workers who lost their jobs when P&L Sportswear closed in December 1985. The rally was conducted in both Chinese and English. Most of those at the rally, like most of the P&L workers, were Chinese.

P&L was the largest garment shop in Boston. The work force is organized by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. In addition to the Chinese workers, a number of Black workers and Italian immigrant workers attended the rally.

In June the laid-off workers will lose their health benefits. The rally demanded that the state continue these benefits. Other demands were for retraining and English

classes.

Rally speakers included leaders of the P&L Workers Support Committee and a number of student speakers from groups like the East Coast Asian Student Union.

Labor speakers included Ron Allman, International vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Brian Lang, United Food and Commercial Workers chief shop steward at Colonial Meats before it closed; and Dominic Bozzotto, president of Local 26 of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Workers Union.

The rally was broadly endorsed by Chinese organizations. Two Laotian groups — Laotian Association of Lowell and the New National Lao Hmong Foundation — endorsed, as did the Rainbow Coalition and a number of Democratic Party politicians.



# Pilot project in autonomy launched on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "Enough of words. We don't need to keep talking about autonomy, but to implement it," said Sandinista leader Tomás Borge. He was speaking at a May 17 rally in the Miskito village of Yulo, in Northern Zelaya Province on the Atlantic Coast.

Borge, Nicaragua's minister of the interior and president of its National Autonomy Commission, announced a major new step toward establishing regional government autonomy on the Coast. He reported that the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) has decided to declare Yulo a pilot autonomous zone.

Yulo lies about 25 miles west of the port city of Puerto Cabezas. Under the pilot project, the village will receive land and begin exercising the right to determine use of its natural resources, elect its own municipal officials, and carry out agrarian programs.

## What autonomy is

An autonomy project for the whole of the Atlantic Coast has been under discussion since late 1984. It springs from the aspirations of the Coast population — made up of Indian, Black, and Spanish-speaking Nicaraguans — to overcome the legacy of racial discrimination, economic backwardness, and political isolation imposed on the region by the U.S.-dominated regimes that ruled Nicaragua until 1979.

The project envisions the establishment of autonomous regional governments that

will implement national government policy in accordance with the historical needs of the Coast. They will develop the region's natural resources, cultures, and languages and promote the participation of Coast residents in all aspects of Nicaraguan national life.

Tens of thousands of *costeños*, as the Coastal peoples are called, have participated in assemblies to discuss a draft document for how autonomy will work in practice. A final, edited proposal will go to Nicaragua's National Assembly to be voted on as law.

By setting up an autonomous zone in Yulo, Borge told the May 17 rally, "we are committing ourselves to establishing the first concrete steps toward autonomy. We're not going to wait until any law is approved. We're going to test out that law before it's authorized."

## First anniversary of cease-fire

The May 17 gathering commemorated the first anniversary of the opening of a dialogue between the Sandinistas and Miskitos who had taken up arms against Nicaragua's revolutionary government in the early 1980s.

Those talks led to cease-fires between some of the armed Miskito groups and Sandinista troops.

More armed Miskitos continue to join the cease-fire, attracted by the autonomy process and increasingly repelled by the U.S.-backed mercenary forces they were allied with, who are led by National Guard officers of ex-dictator Anastasio Somoza.

The Miskitos who are observing the cease-fire remain armed and are grouped in the organization called Pro-Peace KISAN. Their forces number about 300 soldiers.

Symbolizing the changed relationship of forces the cease-fire and autonomy represent, troops of Pro-Peace KISAN and the Sandinista People's Army organized a joint defense of the Yulo rally. Borge shared the platform with Pro-Peace KISAN commanders and a leader of the Moravian church.

Armed Miskitos who still reject the cease-fire are in the group known as Pro-War KISAN, based in Honduras. Their forces are estimated at more than 1,000 men.

Two former chiefs of Pro-War KISAN — who had just decided to join the cease-fire — were introduced at the Yulo rally by Borge. They had decided "not to give up their arms," he explained, "but to put them



Nicaraguan Miskito Indians return to their village on Río Coco last year. Although 12,000 of those who had gone back were subsequently abducted to Honduras, autonomy plan for Coast forges ahead. Inset, Minister of Interior Tomás Borge.



to work for peace."

The Sandinistas are not calling on armed Miskitos to silence themselves or surrender, Borge emphasized, but rather to join the fight against the U.S.-backed mercenaries who are determined to deny peace to the Atlantic Coast.

"Let's struggle against the National Guard criminals, against those with hatred in their hearts, and against the Yankee puppets," said Borge.

In the crowd were other members of Pro-War KISAN, who had come to observe the proceedings. "Our hearts are open to you, our homes are open to you," Borge declared, urging them to join the cease-fire and the autonomy process.

## Situation on Río Coco

It was Pro-War KISAN, in collaboration with Somozaist mercenaries and U.S. military personnel, that forced 12,000 Miskitos to cross from Nicaragua into Honduras in late March of this year. The Indians had been living on the Nicaraguan banks of the Río Coco. They fled into Honduras after a sustained propaganda campaign by Pro-War KISAN, which declared it was going to invade the area and that a Sandinista "bloodbath" would result.

The Río Coco communities had only recently been reconstituted as part of the autonomy process. In 1982 the Nicaraguan government evacuated all Miskitos from the river during an intense period in the mercenary war. The right to return to the river was one of the most pressing demands of Miskitos. The Nicaraguan government granted the demand, and by March some 18,000 had gone back.

The kidnapping of 12,000 of the Miskitos represented a setback. Borge said in April that the decision to allow them to re-

turn to the Río Coco had been "an audacious move," but one that corresponded to a legitimate demand.

What happened, he continued, was that the return proceeded more rapidly than planned. The pace of the autonomy process on the Coast "didn't match the speed with which the *costeño* people reestablished themselves on the waters of the Río Coco." He called for accelerating the autonomy project in response.

An estimated 6,000 Miskitos have stayed on the Río Coco. Salvador Pérez, Ministry of the Interior delegate to Northern Zelaya Province, explained how the government is dealing with their situation. He was interviewed in the May 8 *Barricada Internacional*, published by the FSLN.

"We have two options," Pérez said, "militarize the area and stop KISAN right there, but involve civilians; or relocate the Miskitos to an area where we can guarantee their safety."

"But neither of the options is consistent with the plan we are committed to carrying out on the Atlantic Coast," he continued, "which is to provide a revolutionary, political solution to the problems of the indigenous people."

"The Miskitos want to stay in their communities on the banks of the Río Coco. They don't want to go to Honduras or be relocated, and we are going to respect that desire."

"To the greatest degree possible, we will provide food, construction materials, medicine, education, transportation, and agricultural tools to all those who stay on the river. We can't guarantee that KISAN won't eventually carry off the rest of the people, but we won't fall for the CIA's provocations, nor militarize the zone."

## New staffer joins 'Militant' bureau in Managua

Ruth Nebbia, who recently ran for mayor of Newark, New Jersey, on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, has joined the *Militant* bureau in Managua, Nicaragua.

Twenty-six years old, Nebbia was born in the United States to Argentine parents and has lived in several Latin American countries. She is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance. Prior to joining the Managua bureau, she was a production worker at a plant that manufactures air conditioners and a member of the International Union of Electronic Workers.

Nebbia joins Harvey McArthur and Cindy Jaquith, the other two *Militant* staff members currently stationed in Nicaragua.

McArthur, previously a garment worker in Miami, came on to the bureau staff last January. He traveled to Haiti in March as part of a *Militant* reporting team on the revolutionary upsurge there. Jaquith, a former editor of the *Militant*, has headed up the Managua bureau since last August.



Ruth Nebbia

Militant

## 'IP': ANC urges June 16 protests

"Let us make the national general strike called in observance of the 10th anniversary of June 16 the mightiest demonstration yet of our people's resolve to bring the ruling class to its knees," Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress (ANC), declared in a call to the people of South Africa.

"Let every mine, factory, farm, and white home be without labor," he said. "Let every community strike a blow for freedom."

The upcoming, June 30 *Intercontinental Press* features the full text of Tambo's address, issued as a statement by the ANC's National Executive Committee. Since the ANC is banned in South Africa, the call cannot be openly distributed within the country. So it was broadcast over the ANC's Radio Freedom and beamed toward South Africa from radio facilities located in several nearby African states.

Besides urging mass participation in the protests called for the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto rebel-

lion, the ANC message reviewed the gains of the anti-apartheid struggle in recent months and outlined some of the tasks that still lie ahead. "Let every township and every community become a stronger organized fortress of our revolution," the ANC urged.

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# Salvadoran rebels, gov't set new talks

BY HARRY RING

A new round of talks between liberation fighters in El Salvador and President José Napoleón Duarte is slated to be held at the end of July or August.

Some 60,000 people have died in the country's six-year-old civil war, many of them civilian victims of government bombings by U.S.-provided planes and explosives. Government-backed right-wing death squads have murdered many others.

Duarte publicly agreed to the negotiations in a June 1 address to the Salvadoran National Assembly marking the second anniversary of his installation as president.

Rebel forces have been proposing talks with the government since 1981.

On June 3, Radio Venceremos, clandestine voice of the rebels, announced they would participate in the talks.

The revolutionary forces are organized into the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), a coalition of five guerrilla organizations.

Radio Venceremos said the FMLN would be represented by Joaquín Villalobos and Leonel González, two of the five members of the FMLN's General Command. Guillermo Ungo and Rubén Zamora will represent the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), which is allied with the FMLN in the struggle against the government.

According to news accounts, the Radio Venceremos statement said the guerrillas wanted to pursue "a peaceful solution to the conflict through dialogue and negotiation."

But, the statement added, "we do not recognize the legitimacy of the Duarte government," and "we are not going to put down our arms."

The negotiation bid registers the recog-

inition by the Duarte regime — and its Washington sponsors — that despite millions of dollars in U.S. aid, including huge amounts of military materiel, it has not been able to crush the guerrilla forces, which control substantial sections of the country.

In addition, Duarte faces mounting opposition in urban centers, including from forces that had supported him in the U.S.-initiated elections of 1984. There is increasingly strong popular support for the FMLN-FDR's call for negotiations to bring an end to the civil war.

Duarte's mounting difficulties were dramatically registered on May Day this year. In the capital city of San Salvador, thousands of workers and peasants braved an atmosphere of intimidation to march through the streets. Their numbers were estimated at as high as 100,000.

The action was called by the National Unity of Salvadoran Workers, a recently organized labor coalition which includes former Duarte supporters as well as independent unions that have fought stubbornly to survive years of repression.

In addition to economic reforms, the new coalition has been pressing the government to open talks with the FMLN-FDR.

May Day marchers chanted their demands for dialogue and for an end to U.S. imperialist interference in the country.

Negotiations between the government and FMLN-FDR had been held in October and November 1984. These discussions were then abruptly broken off by the Duarte government, which demanded the rebels lay down their arms, accept amnesty, and run in elections — in short, surrender.

At that time, the FMLN-FDR presented a comprehensive political and social program to bring peace and social justice to El Salvador.

It called for creation of a provisional government embracing all forces favorable to democratic rule and national independence. This was concretized in a document listing 23 demands.

These included bringing to justice those who had committed political assassinations and other crimes against the people, freeing of political prisoners, a halt to the government bombing of the civilian population, the right of rural and urban workers to organize, wage increases and price reductions, and agrarian reform.



Militant

Guillermo Ungo will represent FDR

## Mass. women's rights activists fight antiabortion referendum

BY HELEN LOWENTHAL

BOSTON — Massachusetts is one of only 13 states (plus the District of Columbia) that still provide public funding for abortions. But on April 30, the Massachusetts State Legislature took the first step toward trying to prohibit the use of state funds for abortion and to institute other restrictions on abortion rights.

The vote in the legislature, which is controlled by the Democratic Party, was 123 to 69 to place an antiabortion amendment to the state constitution on the November ballot.

If passed, the amendment would give the state legislature the right to restrict abortion, including the power to prevent the use of state funds for abortions, prohibit private insurers from covering abortion services, and place restrictions on the ability of medical facilities to provide abortion services. The amendment would be an invitation to the legislature to invent any restriction, obstacle, procedure, or penalty concerning abortion.

The day after the amendment passed, 150 people chanting "Medicaid abortion is a woman's right to choose" turned out for a picket line in front of the State House.

The weekend prior to the passage, the Boston chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) held a Walk for Women's Lives, preceded by a rally. They raised over \$6,000 to fight against the ratification of the reactionary amendment.

A recent survey conducted for the Coalition for Choice showed that a large majority are opposed to restrictions on state

funding of abortion. When asked about "an amendment to the state constitution giving the state legislature the power to prohibit the use of state funds to pay for abortions for low-income women," 63 percent of those surveyed rejected the idea. The Coalition for Choice is a broad group of 50 women's, religious, and labor organizations that is campaigning against the amendment.

Ellen Berman, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Massachusetts and a longtime fighter for women's rights, said the attempt by the legislature to cut public and private funding for abortion "is a direct attack on poor women whose Medicaid funding would be cut, and on working women whose insurance would no longer cover abortion. Abortion is a right, not a privilege, and is absolutely fundamental to women's equality."

Berman pointed to the NOW-sponsored abortion rights marches on March 9 and 16 as pointing the way forward in the fight to defend abortion rights and women's equality.

"That is the kind of powerful action we need to beat back the attacks on abortion rights," she said.

"It is this kind of action that helps fighters for women's rights reach out and involve allies in the labor movement, Black and Latino organizations, antiwar and anti-apartheid fighters, working farmers, and others in the fight for abortion rights. It is this kind of massive, visible action that makes it clear we won't take no for an answer, that we will never go back."



Venceremos

February demonstration called by recently organized union coalition protested government's austerity package. Banner reads: "The 'big package' finances the war — at the people's expense."

## Nicaragua women in army

Continued from back page

Mercedes Mejía, AMNLAE regional secretary, told the May 29 rally that "to speak of our duties and our rights implies not only the fight against discrimination, for working women's equality in terms of pay and jobs, for equal opportunity for women students in training, and for equal access to a formal education."

"It also means our decision to defend this revolution, which is the only guarantee that women have for a just society, with equality for men and women, where we will play our corresponding role as an active part of this revolution."

Mejía said this first step into the SMP was a landmark victory for women. She pointed to the women martyrs of the revolution as an example for young women today.

"The voice of the Nicaraguan woman has been heard demanding her rights, her duties," said Mejía. "The defense of the homeland, the defense of the revolution, is a duty that we Nicaraguan women have assumed, and we do so with the disposition to comply till the end."

Mejía then formally presented the women's contingent to army Lieutenant Commander Oscar Cortez. "Here," she said, "are the women who are aware of their role within the revolution and who will give their life for this homeland."

Jose Ramón Alvarez, regional secretary of the Sandinista Youth, stressed in his speech the fact that women had signed up voluntarily. He pointed to the sacrifices women are making in order to join the army. One woman is leaving behind four children who will be taken care of by her companion and by her grandmother. Another of the volunteers has turned down a grant for post-graduate biology studies in order to participate in the two-year military service.

In some cases, Mejía told the *Militant*, women had to confront parents who did not want them to go. By patiently explaining their decisions many women convinced their parents.

A group of young male soldiers attending the ceremony said that this event was a big gain for women and expressed their admiration for the women volunteers.

## Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women



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MAX FACTORS  
lipstick

a new book from  
Pathfinder Press

By Joseph Hansen and Evelyn Reed  
with an introduction by Mary-Alice Waters

How do the wealthy owners of the cosmetics industry play on women's insecurities to sell products and rake in profits?

How are the standards of beauty determined in capitalist society?

How has the growing participation of women in the labor force changed their view of themselves and their potential?

These are some of the questions that emerge from this new collection. It contains a lively 1954 debate over the relation of the marketing of cosmetics and fashions to the exploitation of women.

144 pp., \$4.95. Available at Pathfinder bookstores (directory on page 16), or order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., NY, NY 10014. Please include 75 cents for handling.





# U.S. gov't reimposes colonial rule on Belau

During the period since World War II, the islands of Micronesia have assumed increasing military-strategic importance for Washington, which worked persistently to reduce them, in effect, to U.S. colonies. Early this year, the United States officially annexed the Republic of Palau (also known as Belau), one of the Micronesian islands. The following account of that annexation and its background appeared in the March 23 issue of the weekly English-language edition of the Cuban daily *Granma*.

BY ARNALDO MUSA

The United States has just annexed the Republic of Palau, in the western Pacific Ocean. As happened with the rest of Micronesia, the United States threatened to starve the population to death if it didn't eliminate the obstacles to commonwealth status with Washington. This is not a joke. The islanders live off crumbs charitably tossed to them by the richest and most powerful industrialized capitalist nation.

This does not discredit their rebellion. The United States organized five referendums and each time the people turned down the U.S. plan and supported the Constitution of the Republic, which prohibits the stationing of nuclear weapons on the island as well as burying radioactive waste in its territory or waters.

But brute force prevailed and the United States was able to eliminate these clauses while strengthening the neocolonial status of all of Micronesia, which is one of its strategic weapons depots.

The people of Micronesia have been ruled by four foreign powers in as many centuries and thousands of them died in the fighting between Japan and the United States during World War II.

Micronesia is a group of 2,141 islands handed over in trusteeship to the United States in 1947. According to the United Nations Charter, the tutor countries must promote "the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence. . . ."

## From important to indispensable

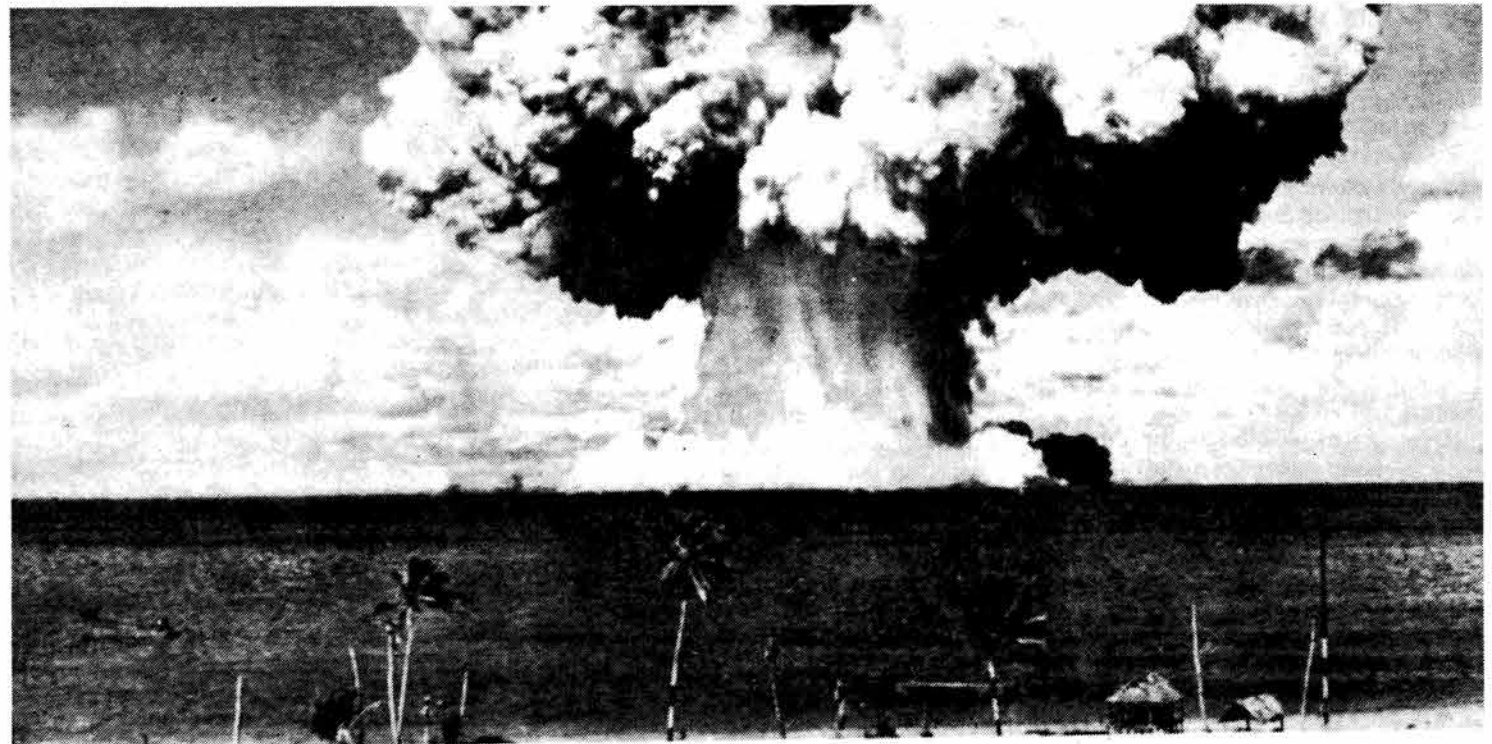
If at first Micronesia was important to the Pentagon, after the U.S. defeat in Indochina it became indispensable. The U.S. government started a new strategy, which involved keeping air and naval forces ready for rapid action against Pacific or Indian ocean states, while maintaining a strategic ring around the socialist states. Micronesia was thus added to the existing network of



bases in Okinawa, the Philippines, South Korea, and Guam.

The plans to annex Micronesia and turn it into a military and strategic beachhead in the western Pacific are well documented. All we need do is review the evidence produced at the first conference of the Western allies in Cairo, 1943; the 1945 San Francisco conference; the statement by then U.S. President Harry S. Truman at the first session of the UN General Assembly, held in 1946 in London; and the memorandum addressed by U.S. Secretary of Defense Henry Lewis Stimson to the secretary of state.

In 1963, President Kennedy dispatched a mission to Micronesia headed by Anthony M. Solomon. In a report published in October of that year the mission gave a detailed explanation of why the United States wanted to annex Micronesia; it outlined a series of measures, which were subsequently implemented and led to the division of the country into four parts. The mission proposed that the U.S. Congress allot more money to the area but in such a way that the Micronesia programs and re-



U.S. government tested atomic bomb on Bikini atoll in Pacific Ocean in 1946. People of Micronesian islands have shown high rate of thyroid gland tumors and other effects of prolonged exposure to radiation.

lated funds would not lead to any "significant development of self-sufficiency in the territory." Wasn't this another convincing sign that the United States had deliberately and artificially held back the economic, political, and social development of the territory under its trusteeship to undermine and disorganize the traditional economic sectors in Micronesia?

## Divide and rule

For years the people of Micronesia struggled to control their own destiny. They managed to create a Congress, which actively participated in the first stages of the talks about the future status of the territory. The Congress rejected commonwealth status with the United States (based on the Puerto Rican model) and clearly expressed its will to maintain the unity of the Mariana, Caroline, and Marshall Islands.

Since the United States' initial attempt to impose its will on the people failed, Washington dissolved the Micronesia Congress and resorted to divide-and-rule tactics.

The U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee made public a report which acknowledged that the CIA spied on Washington's hand-picked representatives to the independence negotiations to know exactly where they stood.

The United States reacted to the desire for independence by splitting up the territory and signing different agreements with the different islands: the Community of Northern Mariana Islands, the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, and the Republic of Palau.

The Community of Northern Mariana Islands was formed with several of the Marianas. In 1975 it advocated continued association with the United States as a political union or commonwealth. The Hong Kong-based *Far Eastern Economic Review* called it the annexation of another territory by the United States, while AFP [Agence France Presse] commented, "Sixteen islands of the Marianas archipelago, located over 10,000 kilometers from California, have become part of the United States and are to be called Northern Mariana Islands. This is the first U.S. acquisition of territory since 1917."

In 1978 "the first elected governor" of the Northern Marianas took office in Saipan. By virtue of an agreement, the United States received a 100-year lease on more than 7,000 hectares of land in Tinian, the island from which the plane that dropped the bomb on Hiroshima in 1945 took off.

Tinian is a 100-square-kilometer cliff. Six 2,600-meter runways crisscross the island that now serves as a fallback should the United States lose its bases in the Philippines.

Saipan developed more rapidly than the other 100 inhabited islands of Micronesia. First it was a CIA training center and then territorial trusteeship headquarters. It was the capital of the territory occupied by Japan in the Pacific until June 15, 1944.

On June 2, 1983, the United States and the Marshall Islands signed a common-

wealth agreement in Honolulu, Hawaii, that left economic and foreign policy in Washington's hands. Five days later, they signed another agreement which said the United States had the right to keep its bases there another 15 years.

In the case of the Marshall group, domination by the United States has been crueler. The islands were destroyed and the people fell ill as a result of nuclear testing.

That part of the archipelago was subjected to heavy nuclear bombing in 1947, when two islands disappeared from the face of the earth.

The people of Utirik Atoll during all these years have shown a high rate of thyroid gland tumors, and the second generation has been affected by prolonged exposure to radiation. On Bikini and Eniwetok, the United States carried out countless A- and H-bomb tests, and on Kwajalein it built sites for star wars research and a two-billion-dollar-plus missile testing ground. The residents of the atoll were evicted and crowded onto Ebeye.

The Federal States of Micronesia are another part of the territory dismembered by the United States. They cover the eastern portion of the Caroline Islands. The status prevailing there since 1983 is the same as that on the Marshall Islands: they are a commonwealth. They comprise 725 kilometers of islands and atolls, with a population of 76,000 or almost half that of Micronesia as a whole.

But the greatest resistance to continuing neocolonialism was encountered on the Palau islands. Washington created the Republic of Palau in the western Carolines. The story is well known, for on this territory, which was also turned into a commonwealth, the United States is again pressing for agreements to give it free reign to use this part of Micronesia for military

purposes in exchange for a billion dollars in aid. Arai Airport in Babelthup came under U.S. control, and so did the Koror coastal strip and the military airport in Angaur, all in an area of 2,300 hectares.

## Not just military penetration

But this isn't just a question of military penetration. In addition to bribing local leaders, the United States has its "cultural assistance" programs to influence the 155,000 inhabitants of the islands. First, it dispatched the Peace Corps there, then advisers in education, information, and local self-administration. What's more, many young people from Micronesia were sent to study in the United States.

Ideas such as independence and self-government, customs, culture, and language were all manipulated, and islanders were urged to speak English, become rock-and-roll fans, and forget their own literature.

There are 474,000 men, 100 warships, and 1,125 combat planes from the United States in Micronesia, making this the second-largest contingent of U.S. forces abroad (the first is in Europe).

On the heels of the military came the U.S. monopolies. The local population lives in poverty and 13 percent lack jobs. The "cultural missions" and money for development only serve to sweeten the pill.

The truth is that the U.S. agreements with the dismembered islands of Micronesia are a Magna Charta of neocolonialism. There, Washington will continue in control of defense, foreign affairs, and finance.

Micronesia's case is part of the general problem of decolonization, and it is the only territory of the 11 in the UN trusteeship system after World War II that has not obtained independence yet.

## Court attacks civil liberties, demands left group's minutes

The Freedom Socialist Party of Seattle is appealing a ruling by a state official ordering it to turn over minutes of meetings of the organization.

The ruling, which is being appealed to the state appeals court, is part of a broader attack on the democratic rights of the organization.

In a move calculated to curb the organization's right to privacy and freedom of association, a disaffected former member, Richard Snedigar, filed suit demanding return of \$22,500 he had previously contributed to the party to help finance a new headquarters.

Snedigar charges fraud and misuse of the funds and argues he needs access to internal records of the organization to substantiate his case.

Through court procedures, he has attempted to obtain minutes, membership lists, financial records, and names of contributors.

The Freedom Socialist Party is resisting these unconstitutional demands as having a chilling effect on freedom of association.

If the group is compelled to hand over such records, it would give the government an added weapon in its drive to pry into and disrupt the functioning of legal political organizations.

Because of the vital civil liberties issue involved, the Freedom Socialist Party has won support from more than 150 labor, Black, civil liberties, and political organizations.

The Socialist Workers Party, which has also been a target of the use of the courts to curb its rights, has joined others in signing a friend-of-the-court brief filed by the National Lawyers Guild in support of the Freedom Socialist Party.

In a press statement, the FSP declared it was ready to face fines or jail rather than yield its legal rights by turning over the minutes.



## Nelson Mandela: freedom fighter

### Two new books present ideas of imprisoned apartheid foe

BY FRED FELDMAN

"The struggle is my life. I will continue fighting for freedom until the end of my days."

Nelson Mandela, one of the central leaders of the African National Congress (ANC — the organization leading the struggle against apartheid in South Africa), wrote these words from underground in 1961 after the banning of the ANC and the arrest of thousands of foes of apartheid.

Mandela was captured in 1962 and has been in prison ever since.

Today he is the hero of millions of South Africans. A new generation of fighters against apartheid in South Africa looks to him as their leader, even though most were not yet born when he was jailed and few have ever seen him.

And he is becoming a hero to growing numbers here in North America as well.

"Free Nelson Mandela" is a demand heard around the world.

Many working people in this country want to know more about Mandela. They wonder what kind of person can play such an inspiring leadership role from behind prison walls.

*The Struggle Is My Life* and *Habla Nelson Mandela*, published June 14 by Pathfinder Press, provide the truth about Mandela's life, struggle, and ideas in his own words.

*The Struggle Is My Life* has 249 pages of speeches, articles, and documents by and about Mandela and the African National Congress. It provides rich material on each phase of his more than 40 years of participation in the freedom struggle. This participation was inseparable from the growth and development of the ANC.

(To obtain *The Struggle Is My Life*, see ad on ISR page 4. *Habla Nelson Mandela* is available for \$3.95 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Include 75 cents for postage and handling.)

*The Struggle Is My Life* was prepared by the International Defence and Aid Fund. Founded in the 1950s to aid victims of apartheid repression, the IDAF also publishes many informative books about apartheid and the fight against it.

Nelson Mandela was born in 1918, the eldest son of a Tembu chief and a member of the royal family of the Transkei. He moved to Johannesburg and soon established a law practice with Oliver Tambo (now president of the African National Congress).

He became active in the struggles of the African people (the great majority of the oppressed Blacks in South Africa) and joined the African National Congress in 1944. Mandela, Tambo, Walter Sisulu, and others became founders of the ANC Youth League. Mandela was elected its president in 1950. The youth organization was committed to "direct action" against the racist system.

After the establishment of the National Party government in 1948, with its policy of extending and consolidating the oppression of Blacks through the system of apartheid, the ANC adopted more militant tactics. The ANC worked with other groups to organize the Defiance Campaign against six apartheid laws in 1952. Mandela was appointed national volunteer in chief of this campaign. For his role in the civil disobedience protests, he was banned from attending any public gatherings and placed under constant police surveillance.

At the ANC's annual conference in December 1952, Mandela became deputy national president of the ANC under Chief Albert Lutuli, the ANC's president general at the time.

In 1955 Mandela was an inspirer of the Congress of the People, at which more than 2,800 delegates adopted the Freedom Charter.

A year later Mandela was among 156 people — including Lutuli, Tambo, and then ANC Secretary General Walter Sisulu — who were arrested for treason. The four-year trial that followed ended in acquittal.

In March 1960 the apartheid regime opened fire on a peaceful protest in Sharpeville, killing 69 people. In the aftermath, the ANC and other groups were outlawed and 20,000 people were arrested.



Eli Weinberg, reprinted by permission of Pathfinder Press  
Nelson and Winnie Mandela at their wedding in 1958

In 1961 the South African rulers quit the Commonwealth of Nations and proclaimed a republic — for whites only. In response the All-in African Conference was held in Pietermaritzburg. Mandela spoke demanding that the government call a national convention, elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage, to form a new union of all South Africans — not an apartheid republic. He was chosen secretary of the National Action Council formed by the conference.

The government ordered the arrest of Mandela and others. He went underground, remaining at large for the next 17 months.

From underground, he helped organize a three-day national strike in May 1961 that was met by brutal repression.

Mandela's ability to evade the police and continue the struggle was inspiring to the Blacks of South Africa.

In November 1961, Mandela and other ANC leaders formed Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) to carry out armed struggle against the terrorist regime. This was a historic decision, coming after nearly 50 years of efforts by the African National Congress to win equal rights by nonviolent appeals and protests.

The statement announcing formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe declared:

"We are striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people of this country. The government policy of force, repression, and violence will no longer be met with non-violent resistance only! The choice is not ours; it has been made by the Nationalist government, which has rejected every peaceable demand of the people for rights and freedom and answered every such demand with force and yet more force!" This document also appears in *The Struggle Is My Life*.

During 1962 Mandela traveled in Africa and also visited London to win support for the liberation struggle. His speech at the Pan-African Conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, is included in *The Struggle Is My Life*.

Mandela was arrested in 1962 and sentenced to five years in prison for having incited the 1961 strike and leaving the country without valid travel documents.

While serving this sentence, Mandela was one of the ANC leaders charged with conspiracy to overthrow the white government. Facing a possible death sentence, he gave a powerful speech in his defense: "I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities," he concluded. "It is an ideal which I hope to live for and achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die." (*The Struggle Is My Life*, page 181.)

The eight convicted freedom fighters, including Mandela and Walter Sisulu, were sentenced to life imprisonment. All except Denis Goldberg — a white who was jailed in Pretoria — were placed in the maximum-security prison on Robben Island. Mandela, Sisulu, and three others have since been moved to Pollsmoor Prison near Cape Town.

Mandela's participation in the liberation struggle did not end with imprisonment, as can be seen from this quotation from the prison memoir by Michael Dingake published in *The Struggle Is My Life*: "Political discussion was prohibited on Robben Island; it flourished notwithstanding. . . .

"Comrade Nelson among all the inmates was the most tireless participant in discussions. . . .

"Every day . . . he had numerous appointments with individuals, always on his own initiative, to discuss inter-organisational relations, prisoners' complaints, joint strategies against prison authorities, and general topics. Nelson Mandela is an indefatigable activist for human rights. . . .

"He has not changed in jail. On the contrary, his daily contact with the most extreme forms of repression, in the heart of the ultimate in state machinery, inspires him with tireless militancy and dignified resistance."

Mandela's refusal to bow to the apartheid authorities has made him an inspiration to the young fighters who are spearheading the freedom struggle today. When South African President Pieter Botha offered to release him from jail if he would renounce violence, Mandela responded by demanding that Botha renounce the violence that keeps the South African rulers in power.

"He is the symbol of our struggle," one South African high school student told a reporter. "How many people would rather stay in jail than be free at the cost of their integrity."

The lives and ideas of such heroic freedom fighters are always well worth studying. *The Struggle Is My Life* and *Habla Nelson Mandela* are the places to start.



# Freedom Charter's revolutionary challenge

## Introduction

This issue of the *International Socialist Review* consists of three articles evaluating aspects of the Freedom Charter. This historic document of the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa was unanimously adopted by more than 2,800 delegates at the Congress of the People (COP), held in Kliptown, South Africa, on June 25-26, 1955.

The congress was convened by the African National Congress, along with the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation, and the Congress of Democrats.

The first lines of the Freedom Charter sum up its revolutionary challenge to apartheid:

"We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know: that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people."

"Freedom In Our Lifetime," by Nelson Mandela, the first article in this issue, is reprinted here from *The Struggle Is My Life*, the book of Mandela's speeches and writings published by Pathfinder Press (Copyright © 1986, Pathfinder Press; reprinted by permission). *The Struggle Is My Life* can be obtained for \$6.95 (paper), plus 75 cents postage and handling, from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014, or from the

**"We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and world to know: that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white . . .**

**— Freedom Charter**

bookstores listed on page 16.

"Freedom In Our Lifetime" first appeared in the June 1956 issue of the South African anti-apartheid periodical *Liberation*.

Nelson Mandela has been a leader of the African National Congress, today the vanguard revolutionary organization of the South African freedom struggle, since the 1940s. The ANC was outlawed by the regime in 1960, but has won massive popular support among Blacks and their allies.

Mandela has been imprisoned in South Africa since 1962, and in 1964 was sentenced to life imprisonment for his uncompromising struggle against apartheid. (See *ISR*, page 1, for an account of Mandela's life.)

The second article, "Drawing Up the Demands of the Freedom Charter," appeared in the June 1976 issue of *Sechaba*, the official organ of the African National Congress, which is published in London. The third article, "Mandela and Our Revolution," appeared in the third quarter 1978 issue of *Sechaba*.

## Freedom In Our Lifetime

The adoption of the Freedom Charter by the Congress of the People was widely recognized both at home and abroad as an event of major political significance in the life of this country. In his message to the COP, Chief A.J. Lutuli, the banned National President of the African National Congress, declared:

"Why will this assembly be significant and unique? Its size, I hope, will make it unique. But above all its multi-racial nature and its noble objectives will make it unique, because it will be the first time in the history of our multi-racial nation that its people from all walks of life meet as equals, irrespective of race, color, and creed, to formulate a freedom charter for all people in the country."

The COP was the most spectacular and moving demonstration this country has ever seen; through it the people have given proof that they have the ability and the power to triumph over every obstacle and win the future of their dreams. Alfred Hutchinson, reporting on the COP, coined the magnificent title "A New World Unfolds . . ." which accurately summarized the political significance of that historic gathering.

The same theme was taken up by *Liberation* of September last year when, in its editorial comment, it predicted that the textbooks of the future would treat the Kliptown meeting as one of the most important landmarks in our history. John Hatch, the Public Relations Officer of the British Labour Party, in an article pub-

lished in the *New Statesman and Nation* of 28 January, 1956, under the title "The Real South African Opposition," conceded that some degree of success was achieved by the Congress movement when it approved the Charter.

Finally, in his May Day message published in *New Age*, Moses Kotane reviewed the political achievements of 1955 and came to the conclusion that the most outstanding one was the COP which produced the world-renowned document — the Freedom Charter — which serves as a beacon to the Congress movement and an inspiration to the people of South Africa.

Few people will deny, therefore, that the adoption of the Charter is an event of major political significance in the life of this country. The intensive and nationwide political campaigning that preceded it, the 2,844 elected delegates of the people that attended, the attention it attracted far and wide and the favorable comment it continues to receive at home and abroad from people of diverse political opinions and beliefs long after its adoption, are evidence of this fact.

### A revolutionary document

Never before has any document or conference been so widely acclaimed and discussed by the democratic movement in South Africa. Never before has any document or conference constituted such a serious and formidable challenge to the racial and anti-popular policies of the country. *For the first time in the history of our country the democratic forces irrespective of race, ideological conviction, party affiliation or religious belief have renounced and discarded racialism in all its ramifications, clearly defined their aims and objects and united in a common program of action.*

The Charter is more than a mere list of demands for democratic reforms. It is a revolutionary document precisely because the changes it envisages cannot be won without breaking up the economic and political set-up of present South Africa. To win the demands calls for the organization, launching, and development of mass struggles on the widest scale. They will be won and consolidated only as a result of a nation-wide campaign of agitation; through stubborn and determined mass struggles to defeat the economic and political policies of the Nationalist Government; by repulsing onslaughts on the living standards and liberties of the people.

The most vital task facing the democratic movement in this country is to unleash such struggles and to develop them on the basis of the concrete and immediate demands of the people from area to area. Only in this way can we build a powerful mass movement which is the only guarantee of ultimate victory in the struggle for democratic reforms. Only in this way will the democratic movement become a vital instrument for the winning of the democratic changes set out in the Charter.



Defiance Campaign of 1952, led by African National Congress, was carried out by alliance of Africans, Coloureds, Indians, and anti-apartheid whites. This alliance produced Freedom Charter. Above, Yusuf Dadoo of South African Indian Congress, with Mandela at his right, speaking during campaign.

Whilst the Charter proclaims democratic changes of a far-reaching nature, it is by no means a blueprint for a socialist state but a program for the unification of various classes and groupings amongst the people on a democratic basis. Under socialism the workers hold state power. They and the peasants own the means of production, the land, the factories, and the mills. All production is for use and not for profit. The Charter does not contemplate such profound economic and political changes. Its declaration "The People Shall Govern!" visualizes the transfer of power not to any single social class but to all the people of this country, be they workers, peasants, professional men, or petty-bourgeoisie.

It is true that in demanding the nationalization of the banks, the gold mines, and the land, the Charter strikes a fatal blow at the financial and gold-mining monopolies and farming interests that have for centuries plundered the country and condemned its people to servitude. But

**"Freedom Charter is revolutionary document because changes it envisages cannot be won without breaking up the economic and political setup of present South Africa . . .**

**— Nelson Mandela**

such a step is imperative because the realization of the Charter is inconceivable, in fact impossible, unless and until these monopolies are smashed and the national wealth of the country turned over to the people.

To destroy these monopolies means the termination of the exploitation of vast sections of the populace by mining kings and land barons and there will be a general rise in the living standards of the people. It is precisely because the Charter offers immense opportunities for an overall improvement in the material conditions of all classes and groups that it attracts such wide support.

But a mere appraisal of a document, however dynamic its provisions or content might be, is academic and valueless unless we consciously and conscientiously create the conditions necessary for its realization. To be fruitful such appraisal must be closely linked up with the vital question of whether we have in South African society the requisite social forces that are capable of fighting for the realization of the Charter and whether in fact these forces are being mobilized and conditioned for this principal task.

The democratic struggle in South Africa is conducted by an alliance of various classes and political groupings amongst the non-European people supported by White democrats, African, Coloured, and Indian workers and peasants, traders and merchants, students and teachers, doctors and lawyers, and various other classes and groupings; all participate in the struggle against racial inequality and for full democratic rights. It was this alliance which launched the National Day of Protest on 26 June 1950. It was this alliance which unleashed the campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws on 26 June 1952. It is this same alliance that produced the Freedom Charter. In this alliance the democratic movement has the rudiments of a dynamic and militant mass movement and, provided the movement exploits the initial advantages on its side at the present moment, immense opportunities exist for the winning of the demands in the Charter within our lifetime.

The striking feature about the population of our country and its occupational distribution is the numerical preponderance of the non-Europeans over Europeans and the economic importance of the former group in the key industries. According to the 1951 population census the population of the country consists of 2,643,000 Europeans as against 10,005,000 non-Europeans, a numerical disparity which is bound to have a decisive bearing on the final outcome of the present struggle to smash the color-bar.

According to the 1953 Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa there were 46,700 Europeans employed by the gold mines and collieries at the end of 1952. The number of Africans and Coloureds employed on the mines for the same period was 452,702, a proportion of one European employee to nearly 10 non-European employees. The racial composition of industrial employees in establishments with over 10 employees during the period 1948-9 was as follows: Europeans 33 percent; Africans 51.5 percent; Asiatics 3 percent; and Coloureds 12.5 percent. According to the same Year Book, during



# e to apartheid

1952 there were 297,476 Europeans employed on farms occupied by Europeans and 2,188,712 Africans and 636,065 other non-Europeans.

The figures reveal the preponderant importance of the non-European people in the economic life of the country, and the key task of the movement is to stimulate and draw these forces into the struggle for democratic reforms. A significant step was taken in Johannesburg on 3 March 1955, when a new trade union center — the South African Congress of Trade Unions — was formed with delegates from 34 unions with a total membership of close on 42,000 and when for the first time in the history of trade unionism in South Africa, African, Coloured, European, and Indian workers united for a fighting policy on the basis of absolute equality.

With 42,000 organized workers on our side and fighting under the flag of a trade union center that has completely renounced racialism and committed itself to a militant and uncompromising policy, it remains for us to redouble our efforts and carry our message to every factory and mill throughout the country. The message of the new center is bound to attract the support of the majority of the workers for they have no interest whatsoever in the country's policy of racial discrimination.

The workers are the principal force upon which the democratic movement should rely, but to repel the savage onslaughts of the Nationalist Government and to develop the fight for democratic rights it is necessary that the other classes and groupings be joined. Support and assistance must be sought and secured from the 452,702 African and Coloured mine-workers, from the 2,834,777 non-European laborers employed on European farms and from the millions of peasants that occupy the so-called Native Reserves of the Union. The cruel and inhuman manner in which they are treated, their dreadful poverty and economic misery, make them potential allies of the democratic movement.

The non-European traders and businessmen are also potential allies, for in hardly any other country in the world has the ruling class made conditions so extremely difficult for the rise of a non-European middle class as in South Africa. The law of the country prohibits non-Europeans from owning or possessing minerals. Their right to own and occupy land is very much restricted and circumscribed and it is virtually impossible for them to own factories and mills. Therefore they are vitally interested in the liberation of the non-European people, for it is only by destroying white supremacy and through the emancipation of the non-Europeans that they can prosper and develop as a class. To each of these classes and groups the struggle for democratic rights offers definite advantages. To every one of them the realization of the demands embodied in the Charter would open a new career and vast opportunities for development and prosperity. These are the social forces whose alliance and unity will enable the democratic movement to vanquish the forces of reaction and win the democratic changes envisaged in the Charter.

**“Struggle for national liberation of black people in South Africa is not an end in itself, but a stage to a nonexploitative society . . .”**

In the present political situation in South Africa when the Nationalist Government has gone all out to smash the people's political organization and the trade union movement through the Suppression of Communism Act and its anti-trade union legislation, it becomes important to call upon and to stimulate every class to wage its own battles. It becomes even more important that all democratic forces be united and the opportunities for such a united front are growing every day. On 3 March 1955 a non-color-bar trade union center is formed. On 26 June the same year in the most spectacular and moving demonstration this country has ever seen, 2,844 delegates of the people adopt the Charter, and four months thereafter more than 1,000 women of all races stage a protest march in Pretoria to put their demands to the Government — all this in the course of one year.

The rise of the Congress movement and the powerful impact it exerts on the political scene in the country is due precisely to the fact that it has consistently followed and acted on the vital policy of democratic unity. It is precisely because of the same reason that the Congress movement is rapidly becoming the real voice of South Africa. If this united front is strengthened and developed the Freedom Charter will be transformed into a dynamic and living instrument and we shall vanquish all opposition and win the South Africa of our dreams during our lifetime.



Eli Weinberg, reprinted by permission of Pathfinder Press  
Congress of the People, June 1955. "Here was our Freedom Charter proclaimed on the very day our freedom fighters had made their own by many epic struggles — June 26, Freedom Day."

## Drawing Up the Demands of the Freedom Charter

The time comes for every radical movement when to talk of "freedom" is not enough. One has to paint a picture of it, give it substance, fill in the details.

We reached that moment in South Africa in 1955. Since the First World War there had been talk of "freedom" and of "liberation." It had remained a vague promise somewhere over the horizon, a glow in the sky, nothing more. But now we felt the time was coming. Our movement was advancing at a rate undreamt of before. The African people were united solidly with the movement for freedom, against oppression.

We had felt our strength in the Defiance Campaign.<sup>1</sup> We were building an alliance with Indian and Coloured South Africans, starting to create bonds with the radical white minority. We felt we were coming to the crest of a hill, and that our freedom now lay so close at hand that we would see it for ourselves, "in our lifetime," as we said.

It was no longer good enough to know only what we were against: apartheid, race discrimination, poverty, oppression. This was the enemy and we had all seen its face for ourselves, and learnt to oppose it relentlessly. This was what we were against. But what were we for? Freedom in our lifetime? What was this freedom? What was its shape and color, and what would it be like to live in?

In 1954 we knew the time had come to give the "freedom" shadow a South African substance. We were going to draw the picture of our future in as much detail as we could.

This was the origin of the campaign for the Freedom Charter. As in all joint actions, the ANC took the lead. We put a plan before our allies in the other Congresses, and from it came the idea for a "Congress of the People." The idea itself was simple enough. We, the political leaders of our people, would not simply give a directive as to the meaning of freedom. We would get the people to tell us. They would draw up a Freedom Charter as a guide for us. We would consult the people in town and country, in every occupation, and across all the race and color barriers of oppression. We would ask what shape they wished to give the freedom that was coming. And finally, we would compile what they demanded into a single Charter.

A simple idea: but we were not so simple as to believe that in South Africa it would be easy. What we were doing smacked too much of democracy. We were asking people to draw up their own constitution for the future — in a country where only one in six adults (whites only) had the right to vote. We were going to ask them to speak of freedom and its meaning — in a country which had never known free speech for the oppressed majority.

And finally, we were going to ask them to send delegates to vote for that Charter of the future — in a country which had never known a freely elected assembly of the

1. In June 1952 the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, and the Franchise Action Council launched the Defiance Campaign. It was launched to protest six apartheid laws: the pass laws; forcible reduction of livestock in African rural areas; the Group Areas Act, enforcing residential segregation; threats against the remaining shreds of Black voting rights; and two others.

About 8,500 people were arrested for defiantly breaking one or more of the targeted laws. The regime also enacted laws providing harsh penalties, including whipping, for anyone who broke the law in order to protest apartheid. Forty-seven anti-apartheid leaders were arrested for organizing the Defiance Campaign. The campaign was suspended in 1953.

nation's representatives. What we were doing would be treason to white supremacy, treason to South African apartheid and reaction.

Nevertheless, we did it. Bannings, banishments, and proscriptions of our active workers and propagandists multiplied. Meetings were banned, gatherings disrupted by armed police, leaflets confiscated, posters torn down. War was declared on us. But we did it. We issued the "Call for the Congress of the People" to every group of people in the country: "We call the farmers. Let us speak of the rich lands and the people who are poor. Let us speak of Freedom!" That was the watchword, and the country rang with it: "Let us speak of Freedom!"

And at thousands of gatherings, large and small, at factories and on farms, in suburban squares and at bus stops, in halls and under the sun, our active workers gathered the people together to speak of freedom.

As the terror gathered and the persecution grew more intense, the little slips of paper recording the talk of freedom at all these meetings began to flow back to campaign headquarters. "We want freedom to stay in our houses even when our men are unemployed." "We want to be able to leave the farms to work in town." "We want seed." "We want a 50-hour week." "We want all children at school." "We want. . ."

### The people decide

For weeks, while the meetings talked, delegates were elected and money collected for fares, a Congress commission faithfully read, classified, indexed, and grouped all the demands, all the thousands upon thousands of variously sized and variously colored papers that came through precariously by hand. Could this be freedom, this claim "Our location superintendent must be sacked"? Or "Foremen must not swear at us"? The drafting commission sorted them all, grouped them, classified them.

And as the delegates prepared to travel to the Congress of the People, the substance began to emerge from the mountains of paper. Up to the very day of the Congress of the People — June 26, 1955 — no one except the drafting committee saw the finished effort. It was revealed all in one piece, as a draft for the delegates' decision there at Kliptown in the Transvaal. Over three and a half thousand delegates made their way through the police roadblocks, the obstructions, arrests and difficulties, to take part in the discussions on the draft. The substance was read out amidst crashing cheers. This was the reality of freedom: our blueprint for our tomorrows.

### We shall win with arms

Here was our Freedom Charter proclaimed on the very day our freedom fighters had made their own by many epic struggles — June 26, Freedom Day. We proclaimed it proudly amidst cheers. Nothing could damp the day. Not the hundreds of police, standing all about the clearing where we sat. Not the Sten guns all around. Not the deliberate, drawn-out hooting by hostile loco-men, drowning out our speakers as their trains rolled by just beyond the speakers' rostrum.

And finally, not even the police raid made in massed force near the end of the day, with all the thousands of delegates surrounded, forced to give their names and addresses, surrender their papers, turn out their handbags and their pockets. Even then in the midst of that hostile army the day was ours. We sang endless freedom songs as they filled their little dossiers. It was our day, and freedom was just over the hill!

What we were doing was treason to apartheid and race oppression. This we knew. Within 18 months, 156 of our most prominent people would be on trial for treason. Even now, when we are taking arms in our hands, we know freedom is there, and that we will see it in our

Continued on next page



Continued from previous page

lifetime. Now, we are stronger than we were, because we know the shape our freedom will take when we win it. It is in our Freedom Charter.

## Mandela and Our Revolution

A discussion on the Freedom Charter is of great topical importance for our movement for many reasons. As a result of and since the historic incidents of the Soweto uprisings of 1976, our movement has seen an unprecedented influx into its ranks of young people. It is our revolutionary duty to rise to the occasion and a discussion on the Freedom Charter in the columns of *Sechaba* on the occasion of the 60th birthday of Nelson Mandela is a fitting tribute.

The adoption of the Freedom Charter by the Congress of the People was a turning point in the development of political thought within the ANC. It was a culmination point, a crystallization and a highest form of political expression of the ferment which started in the '40s with the formation of the ANC Youth League in 1944; the adoption of the African Claims and Bill of Rights in 1945; the Mine Workers' Strike of 1946; the Xuma-Dadoo-Naicker Pact of 1947; the Program of Action of 1949; the May Day Rallies of 1950; the famous 1952 Defiance Campaign; and many other actions of the popular masses. Nelson Mandela was directly and indirectly involved in all these activities.

By the mid-'50s the time had come that the activities of the people had to be given a clear political and ideological content. The people decided that a document in the form of the Freedom Charter would be their political program — a blueprint for a future South Africa. The Freedom Charter is therefore a people's expression of their collective experience and wisdom.

By stating that South Africa belongs to all who live in it — black and white — the Preamble of the Freedom Charter states both the non-racial and anti-racist policy of the ANC and goes further to state that our objectives will be realized through a *struggle* which obviously takes various forms. These ideas have been concretized and developed in the course of the years, notably in the 1969 Morogoro Conference documents, especially in the Strategy and Tactics of the ANC.

In the South African liberation movement, it is a generally accepted view that the national mission of the South African people — black and white — is the destruction of the imperialist system of colonialism and racism in our country and the establishment of a predominantly black, but not exclusively black, democratic and essentially workers' and peasants' government. In this context it is necessary to state that South Africa is not a colony of the "classical type," but a "colony of a special type" whose specific feature lies in the fact that black South Africa is a colony of white South Africa because in 1910, when South Africa was granted "independence" by Britain, all the evils of colonialism were perpetrated and reinforced, that is, as far as the black majority were concerned.

In other words, this means that since 1652 when the colonialists first invaded our country, South Africa has never been decolonized and that Vorster and his ilk are the direct descendants of their colonial predecessors.<sup>2</sup> This does not mean that all whites are colonizers or "white settlers," but it does mean that the present injustice of national oppression of blacks by whites is a product of colonial conquest. This is what the Freedom Charter wants to change.

Mandela's trip to Africa was an eye-opener to him in many ways. "The tour of the continent made a forceful impression on me," he stated later. He met Julius Nyerere, Haile Selassie, Modibo Keita, Ben Bella, Boumedienne, Obote, Kaunda, Nkomo, Oginga Odinga, and many others. Mandela exchanged ideas and experiences with these African leaders. These ideas can be summarized as follows: In South Africa, as elsewhere in the former colonial world, the national question at this phase of our struggle is the question of decolonization whose main content is the national liberation of the Africans and other nationally oppressed black communities. To state that the South African revolution is not socialist but democratic with a national content, is to emphasize the fact that our revolution is an aspect and integral part of the African revolution.

But the African revolution is not a homogeneous process. There are national specifics which cannot be ignored, e.g. the relatively developed industry and technology in South Africa; the existence of a strong working class whose leadership in our national liberation struggle has been accepted by all genuine revolutionaries and pat-

2. Balthazar Johannes Vorster became prime minister of South Africa in 1966. He presided over the unsuccessful 1975 invasion of Angola — which was defeated by Angolan liberation fighters backed by Cuban internationalist volunteers — and over the bloody suppression of the Soweto uprising of 1976. In 1978 Vorster resigned as prime minister to become president. He resigned this post the next year after being implicated in a scandal.



Soweto uprising of 1976. Struggle of 10 years ago and today has as its basis the Freedom Charter, which provides "precondition for further development and radicalization of our revolution."

riots, and the existence of a Communist Party whose experience is unequalled on the continent. These factors emphasize the fact that genuine liberation can be obtained on the basis of destruction of monopoly capitalism in South Africa. This is what the Freedom Charter stands for.

What then is our immediate goal?

The Freedom Charter lays a basis and is a precondition for further development and radicalization of our revolution; its implementation will presuppose and demand the destruction of the white racist regime and the abolition of national, cultural, religious, and language privileges of whites over blacks. This will encompass the equality of all ethnic groups — large or small, black or white — and satisfaction of their national rights and feelings, traditions and customs, aspirations and emotions, characteristics and features and the development of their languages and culture, interaction between different cultures and languages, and inter-ethnic contacts. This is what we mean by national self-determination.

This entails the injection of hatred for the enemy and all that he stands for, imbuing the masses with a revolutionary consciousness and this should be accompanied by stimulation of national pride and identity, assertiveness and patriotism which are associated with the revolutionary traditions of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism of all our people and ethnic groups and their positive contribution to the struggle for social progress.

The solution of the national question in South Africa entails a "violent change" (armed struggle) in the status quo, the raising of the living standard of the black majority to that of the whites and then the general improvement and development in material life and cultural welfare of all the people irrespective of race, color, or creed to an extent hitherto unknown in South Africa.

This is the essence of equality as understood by us: concentration on the development of the most oppressed and raising their level to that of the "privileged" national group. Mandela expressed his feelings in the following words: "During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities."

The above-mentioned factors coupled with the reality of today's world, which is characterized by growing merits and influence of world socialism and the disintegration of imperialism and capitalism, and our own bitter experience and suffering under imperialism and capitalism, force us to conclude that the struggle for national liberation of the black people in South Africa is not an end in itself, but a stage, or one of the stages, to a non-exploitative society, a future without exploitation.

The revolutions in Angola and Mozambique teach us the simple lesson that in Africa there is a need to differentiate between formal independence and genuine independence. Talking about Mozambique and Angola, the Freedom Charter states that: "South Africa shall be a fully independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of nations."

This statement is important for two reasons: 1. The barbarous aggression by the fascist hordes of the white racist regime of South Africa against the peace- and freedom-loving people of Angola, together with the double crime of misuse of Namibian territory (which does not belong to South Africa), has once more vindicated the assertion that the international responsibility of our movement is closely inter-connected with our national mission, whose main essence is the liquidation of the racist-fascist regime of Vorster. 2. This is an expression of the realization by our movement that South Africa is not a "fully independent state" — a fact which needs to be repeated time and again in the light of the rapprochement between some African states and South Africa.

The ideological struggle in South Africa in general, and in our movement in particular, takes a form of clarification of the essence of the democratic and revolutionary content of African nationalism; its relations with other ethno-cultural groups to which South Africans of all nationalities belong, and, above all, with inter-

nationalism and a confrontation with reactionary trends within African nationalism, representatives of the emergent African bourgeoisie who would like to portray their interests as "national interests," thus camouflaging their real intentions. We have in mind the so-called Pan Africanist Congress and the "Gang of 8" expelled from the ANC.

Progressive African nationalism is an objective phenomenon which has its roots in the unsolved national question. The realities of the former colonial countries show that even after the liquidation of national oppression nationalism does not die out so quickly. This cannot be otherwise because — as the experience of the socialist countries teaches us — long after the class question has been resolved the national question still plays an important role in the life of a new society, obviously with a new content and different tasks.

We have a lot to learn from the socialist countries. Indeed Nelson Mandela — in a slightly different context — did indicate this: "On my return I made a strong recommendation to the ANC that we should not confine ourselves to Africa and Western countries, but that we should also send a mission to the socialist countries to raise the funds which were so urgently needed. I have been told that after I was convicted such a mission was sent."

Now more than ever before politically and ideologically our movement will have to continue basing its policy — as the Morogoro Conference confirmed — on the firm foundation of mutual co-operation and respect between communists and non-communists, heathens and Christians, Moslems and Hindus, a tradition which has been set up in the '20s and continued throughout, finding expression in many forms. There is no spontaneity in this and other processes: cautious and conscious encouragement and development of these processes is necessary. Above all our movement must encourage active participation in the struggle of all nationalities that make up South African society, provided that the people concerned accept the policy of our movement as embodied in the Freedom Charter and developed at and after the Morogoro Conference of 1969, which brought the discussion on the national question to a higher level: a fact which testifies to the maturity of our movement.

The question of unity in action of all the oppressed and democratic forces as a whole is vital. The ANC was formed in 1912 to unite and lead the freedom-loving African people. Over the years this task has expanded and changed. Today the ANC is faced with the task of organizing and leading all the oppressed people — African, Coloured, and Indian — and to win over to its banner all democratically minded whites. Today the ANC is a genuine people's organization. It enjoys the support and confidence of the people whom it leads; it is viewed by the masses of our people as the product of their sacrifices; the inheritor and continuation of the revolutionary experience of the oppressed people as a whole; the people's organizer and leader, thanks to the activities and thinking of far-sighted men such as Nelson Mandela.

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# New attacks on Minnesota meatpackers

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

MINNEAPOLIS — The struggle by Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers union against the Hormel meatpacking company in Austin, Minnesota, has reached a critical new turning point.

On June 2 a federal district judge ruled that the trusteeship imposed on Local P-9 by the top officialdom of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) is legal. Since then these union officials have sought to severely curtail the rights of P-9 members in an attempt to break the strike, crush this militant local, and sign a sweetheart contract with Hormel.

P-9 members have responded to this attack with a fight to recertify the "original Local P-9" as the bargaining agent for the work force and to renew their appeal to all unionists, farmers, students, and fighters for the rights of Blacks and women to come to Austin for a week of solidarity activities June 22-28.

## Forces arrayed against P-9

The Austin meatpackers were forced to strike in August 1985 in the face of a ruthless company drive against working conditions and wages. In the course of this struggle, Local P-9 has been subject to attacks not only from the company, but from the cops, National Guard, courts, state government, and big-business media as well. And right from the beginning, they also faced public attacks from the top officials of their own union, who are dead set against the local's determined fight against Hormel and P-9 efforts to win support from unionists and other working people around the country.

The UFCW officials imposed the trusteeship on the local on May 7. This suspended P-9's elected leaders and placed the union under the control of an appointed trustee — Joseph Hansen.

## Top officials order end to strike

The International officials ordered the Austin local to end the strike and forced its members to remove the pickets from the plant. The officials also ordered the strikers to stop sending roving pickets to other Hormel plants and to call off their national consumer boycott of Hormel products.

Claiming "the public interest is best served by implementation of the trusteeship," U.S. District Judge Edward Devitt granted the International officials' request for an injunction enforcing their control of the striking local. His June 2 decision was a sweeping order curtailing the rights and activities of Local P-9 members.

The ruling reads, "Local P-9, its officers, executive board members, agents, servants, employees, and attorneys, are directed forthwith, to recognize Joseph T. Hansen as the legally appointed trustee of Local P-9 and to deliver to him custody and control of all Local P-9's assets and to permit him peaceably to manage them and to conduct Local P-9's affairs as trustee."

Hansen is an International representative of the UFCW and director of the union's District 13.

Devitt also issued "findings of fact" to justify the court order. That statement falsely accused P-9 of "threatening, harassing, and intimidating" International officials.

## Hansen tries to suspend Bill of Rights

In the days following Devitt's ruling, Hansen and the UFCW officialdom attempted to establish a virtual dictatorship in Austin.

Deputy trustees took over the offices leased by P-9 in the Austin Labor Center.

When members asked about union meetings they were told they had to get 600 names on a petition if they wanted to hold a meeting.

In an attempt to starve the membership into submission, Hansen sent copies of the court order to local banks with a cover letter demanding that they freeze the funds of P-9 and the United Support Group, an independent organization that provides emergency financial relief to the strikers.

The Austin meatpackers have been forced to live on the contributions that the labor movement has made to the United Support Group because the UFCW officialdom cut off strike benefits three months ago on March 14.

The banks complied with Hansen's directive. On his request, the Austin post office also held all mail addressed to P-9, the United Support Group, and the local's Adopt-A-Family program.

In an effort to intimidate union members, Hansen issued gag orders to dozens of strikers, threatening that their jobs with Hormel would be jeopardized if they continued to speak out publicly in support of P-9's struggle. For two days International officials took pictures of unionists' cars that had boycott bumper stickers and recorded their license plate numbers.

Even a store owner who backs the strike by refusing to stock Hormel products received a letter from Hansen. It stated that if he continued to support the boycott he would be in violation of the court order!

Under pressure from Local P-9's attorneys, the banks later unfroze the United Support Group money and the post office delivered the mail it had been holding. On June 5 union members and their supporters picketed the Hormel employees' credit union to protest the freezing of the United Support Groups' funds.

However, any mail addressed to the Austin Labor Center, to any member of the suspended executive board, or to union consultant Ray Rogers is forwarded directly to the trustee.

## Trustee negotiates with Hormel

The judge's ruling also recognized Hansen as P-9's bargaining agent with Hormel. Hansen announced that he would begin negotiations using a contract proposed in January by a federal mediator as well as the contract currently in place at the Austin plant as the starting point.

In January Local P-9 members twice voted to reject the mediator's proposal, which would worsen the already dangerous working conditions and impose a two-tier wage system, substandard medical benefits, and a wage rate below that at other Hormel plants.

Hansen also made an "unconditional offer" to return to work in the name of the

strikers. Hormel claims the plant is at full production. Hansen and other top UFCW officials have also said they will not make rehiring all P-9 members a contract issue and will only attempt to get "as many members as possible" back into the plant.

In the face of these attacks, union members mapped out a strategy to keep fighting for a decent contract and to maintain a union that can use its power to fight the employers. Several hundred P-9 members and supporters have attended the support and strategy meetings that have taken place since the June 2 ruling. The spirit of the meetings was summed up by what one union member told the press: "The trustees say the strike is over . . . but the struggle is not over."

On June 5 union members filed a petition with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). Signed by well over the required 30 percent of Austin Hormel workers, it asked for a union recertification election. The petition asked that a union called "original Local P-9" be recertified as the bargaining agent in place of the local now run by trustee Hansen.

If the NLRB determines that there are enough valid signatures an election would be held within 50 days. On June 10 additional signatures were filed with the NLRB. If the labor board rules that over 50 percent of all Austin Hormel employees signed the "original Local P-9" petition, it could also immediately block a contract

Continued on Page 15

## Hormel strikers dedicate mural to Nelson Mandela



Militant/Laura Flicker

Jim Guyette speaking at mural dedication in Austin, Minnesota.

## Statement by Jim Guyette

The following is the statement made by Jim Guyette, suspended president of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), at a June 11 press conference in St. Paul, Minnesota. (See article on front page and above on this page.)

Before discussing what I think are very exciting plans for Solidarity City, I want to take this opportunity to clear up a few facts.

First, I want you to know that I am not speaking this morning as a representative of Local P-9 or the suspended leadership of Local P-9. The only official spokesman for UFCW Local P-9 is the trustee, Joe Hansen, according to Judge Devitt's court order. As former P-9 president, I want to make it clear that — under the strongest protest — I am complying with the court order.

The second fact is that under the court order, backed by the threat of many years imprisonment, the pickets have been withdrawn from the Hormel plant in Austin. P-9 members have also been ordered by the trustee, again backed by court sanction, not to continue to engage in the consumer boycott of Hormel products. Again, I am complying under protest, and, from what I have observed, other P-9 members and suspended officers are also complying.

I want to be clear, however, that the consumer boycott of Hormel products has spread across the nation. It is being carried forward by civic organizations, trade unions, and tens of thousands of individuals, who, as I understand it, are simply exercising their First Amendment right to protest.

Finally, I also want to be clear that while I am complying with the court ruling, I think Judge Devitt's June 2 decision is a biased, unfair, and unjust ruling. I am confident that it will be thrown out on appeal and trade union democracy and freedom of speech can once again return to Austin, Minnesota, and replace the virtual dictatorship we are living under today.

But speaking as a member of the Austin community and as a trade unionist, I am very concerned about the downward spiral of the labor movement in recent years. I think Solidarity City will be just a tremendous opportunity for working people to spend a week in Austin discussing our common problems.

My view of Solidarity City is that it is shaping up to be a massive gathering of trade unionists, civil rights activists, embattled family farmers, and justice-minded people from many walks of life, who have been encouraged and inspired by what has happened in Austin over the past 10 months.

During Solidarity City week, June 22 to 28, we will all have a chance to discuss a strategy for the labor movement today that can turn around the concession bargaining program advocated by many of the "misleaders" of the trade union movement. I also see Solidarity City as a special opportunity for packinghouse workers from the Hormel chain and other companies to spend time discussing our common interests and how to build on the solidarity and unity that the Austin struggle has promoted in the meatpacking locals across the country. And solidarity and unity above all.

BY JIM ALTENBERG

AUSTIN, Minn. — United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 unveiled a huge mural painted by striking meatpackers and their supporters on the side of the Austin Labor Center. It depicts the ongoing struggle of working people throughout the world for human dignity and solidarity, as well as P-9's own courageous battle against Hormel.

At a May 27 dedication ceremony attended by 350 people, project coordinator Mike Alewitz explained what the mural represents. "This mural is a gift of P-9 to the community, just as P-9's struggle is a gift of the local to the American labor movement. P-9 is building a spirit of solidarity, which is symbolized in a beautiful mural."

The mural shows "a unified work force: farmers, workers, men, women," P-9 President Jim Guyette said, "and itself is a unified effort by many people. It tells the story of what P-9 represents."

More than a hundred people worked on the project. It was designed and directed by P-9 member Denny Mealy and Mike Alewitz, a Virginia artist who has worked on mural projects in Nicaragua and elsewhere. Workers as well as P-9 retirees and other unions donated paint and equipment. Many more did the painting, built scaffolding, and guarded the mural at night against

threatened attacks by scabs. All who worked on the project did so while carrying out their regular strike duties without interruption.

The union dedicated the mural to Nelson Mandela, imprisoned leader of the freedom struggle in South Africa. The parallels with Mandela "are profound," Guyette explained. "Mandela refusing to give away his principles is the same as our refusal to give up our dignity."

A letter from P-9 to Mandela stated, "Your refusal to sell yourself to the racist Pretoria regime can be an inspiration to workers here as we battle the cops and courts for our just demands. We know that workers in both countries have common interests, and we extend our hands in solidarity, as the hands of solidarity have been extended to us."

At a P-9 support meeting later that evening, Babs Duma, a Black South African activist, accepted the dedication "on behalf of the Black community in South Africa, the ANC [African National Congress], and people fighting for justice. P-9 and the patriots of South Africa have a lot in common," she said. "Liberation in South Africa rests in the hands of the working class. Today, P-9 is our ally. We welcome you to our battlefield." She invited unionists to join in upcoming anti-apartheid actions June 14.



## Broad support for West Coast southern Africa conference

BY CATHY SEDWICK

SAN FRANCISCO — A West Coast Regional Conference in Solidarity with the Struggling Peoples of Southern Africa will take place June 27-29 at San Francisco State University.

It was called by a broad range of individuals and organizations in cooperation with the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the South West Africa Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia.

The conference will provide an important opportunity for anti-apartheid activists and supporters of the freedom struggle in southern Africa to share experiences and discuss plans for ongoing activities.

The conference call states, "We hereby issue this call to conference to repudiate the Reagan policy of 'constructive engagement,' to deepen the U.S. people's opposition to apartheid, and to strengthen bonds of solidarity between the people of our country and SWAPO and the ANC."

"Heeding the call of the ANC to make South Africa ungovernable and apartheid unworkable, the mass action of millions of South Africans has brought on an irreversible crisis for white minority rule."

"In Namibia the 26-year-old liberation struggle against the illegal colonial occupation by South Africa grows stronger each day...."

"Therefore, the time is now for us to elevate the level of support for the liberation movements by consolidating our forces, raising our voices, and pursuing concrete actions to bring to a halt our government's unacceptable policies towards Southern Africa."

There will be three plenary sessions and a series of workshops

and panels. Workshops include: "The Role of U.S. Labor in the Struggle for Majority Rule," "U.S. Student Movement: Divestment and Beyond," and "Campaigns to Free Political Prisoners."

A rally will take place the evening of June 28 featuring leaders of the ANC and SWAPO.

Sponsors of the conference include: Virginia Reade Belmontez, regional director, Mexican-American Political Association; Congressman Ronald Dellums; Robert Farrell, Los Angeles City Council; Carlton Goodlet, publisher, *Sun Reporter*; Valenda Jackson, vice-president, Los Angeles County Federation of Labor; Carole Nelson, president, San Francisco Council of Churches; Joe Placencia, representative, United Auto Workers; Eugene "Gus" Newport, mayor of Berkeley; Bay Area Free South Africa Movement; and many other labor and community organizations.

For more information on the conference, or to get T-shirts, buttons, and other materials, contact:

In San Francisco Bay Area: Franklin Alexander, (415) 282-0329.

In Los Angeles: Gloria Calomais, (213) 778-5602.

In Portland, Oregon: Ben Priestly, (503) 282-1830.

In Seattle, Washington: Maryamu Eltayeb, (206) 525-1213.

## U.S., Britain back S. Africa at UN

During the 40th session of the UN General Assembly, which ended in December 1985, the governments of the United States and England, two countries with the largest investments in South Africa, opposed or abstained on all eight resolutions that were aimed at isolating the racist regime in South Africa.

The UN votes are consistent with the support of both the

Thatcher and Reagan governments for the murderous apartheid gang in Pretoria.

Among the resolutions they opposed were ones:

- Reaffirming the UN's support to those in South Africa who are fighting apartheid.

- Demanding the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners.

- Organizing, in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity and the Nonaligned Movement, a world conference on sanctions against the apartheid regime.

- Condemning the "continuing and increasing collaboration of Israel with the racist regime of South Africa, especially in the military and nuclear field," and calling on Israel to "desist from and terminate all forms of collaboration with South Africa."

- Organizing a ban on all sporting ties with the apartheid regime.

## Students protest sale of lobsters from S. Africa

A group of students from George Washington High School in Charleston, West Virginia, were successful in getting Shoney's, the parent company of the Fifth Quarter Restaurant, to remove from their menu lobsters from South Africa. The Fifth Quarter is a popular steakhouse in the area.

Last April, Students for Human Rights was formed. Once a week a group of students gathered in front of the restaurant with placards and asked customers to boycott the restaurant as long as it served lobsters from South Africa.

"We did it to spread information about apartheid and human rights so people would be more aware," explained Mari Balow, one of the students.

In a statement to the media, Shoney's said that "we do not believe that serving South African

rock lobster in our Fifth Quarter Restaurant condones apartheid." The statement continued: "Any inference that a menu item would represent a political statement on behalf of our restaurant would be mistaken."

But because Shoney's "mission [is] to serve all customers to their satisfaction," the company declared that "we have taken South African rock lobster off the menu."

Students reported that the overwhelming reaction to their protests was positive.

Students for Human Rights plans to continue its anti-apartheid campaign. "If we find other companies in Charleston doing business with South Africa, we'll do just the same thing we did at the Fifth Quarter," said group member Karen O'Neil. "We're going to be looking into it."

## New Zealand: labor support for Nicaragua

In September 1985 a delegation of 11 workers from New Zealand toured Nicaragua for nine days. The tour was hosted by the Sandinista Workers Federation.

The delegation went to learn about the Nicaraguan revolution and the U.S.-backed *contra* war against this small country.

The unionists wrote a report on their visit titled "Nicaragua Must Survive."

The following article on a campaign that resulted from the tour is reprinted from the May 23, 1986, *Socialist Action*, a biweekly New Zealand newspaper distributed by the Socialist Action League.

BY RON WILKINS

The "Nicaragua Must Survive" educational and fundraising campaign organized by Corso [an independent organization that organizes aid for the South Pacific]

and the Latin America Solidarity Committees, continues to gather steam.

Corso reports that more than \$10,000 [NZ\$1 = US\$ .54] has already come in from their postal appeal. They expect to raise at least \$30,000 in this way.

The campaign grew out of last year's workers' fact-finding tour to Nicaragua. "Nicaragua Must Survive" was being promoted internationally by their tour hosts, the Sandinista Workers Federation, to purchase industrial spare parts, agricultural implements, and other necessities made scarce by the economic boycott slapped on their country by President Reagan.

The official tour report is being circulated by the campaign as part of its fund-raising and educational effort aimed at the trade unions.

Union support has also been growing. The May 6-9 FOL [Federation of Labour] conference, on the initiative of the Wellington Hotel Workers Union, voted to endorse the campaign. A conference social raised more than \$1,500 from 150 delegates in attendance.

The Seamen's Union has offered assistance with the campaign and plans to show a Nicaragua video on board the ships it covers, and to organize collections.

Several unions, including the Bank Officers and the Shop Assistants, have sent the appeal leaflet out to their delegates.

A number of Labour MPs [members of parliament] have also associated themselves with the campaign or the parallel effort by the Labour Party Nicaragua Support Committee which aims to send \$100,000 worth of milk powder to that country.

The most recent Labour Party support came from Dunedin West MP Clive Mathewson, who addressed a May 8 meeting of 70 to launch the campaign in Christchurch. Public launchings have now been held in Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin.

# 4,000 rally for striking Canadian meatpackers

Continued from back page

strike. The Canadian Auto Workers donated \$10,000.

Gainers is owned by multimillionaire Peter Pocklington, who once sought the leadership of Canada's Conservative Party. He also owns the Edmonton Oilers hockey team. Pocklington, the Alberta Pork Producers Marketing Board, and the media have been campaigning to turn farmers against the strike. But many hog producers and other farmers are supporting the workers.

A news release from John Hoberg, regional coordinator of the National Farmers Union, described Pocklington's efforts to weaken farmers' bargaining position and force down hog prices.

"Pocklington's current refusal to negotiate in the current dispute between Gainers and the United Food and Commercial Workers is an attempt to get workers to work for less. In this situation Gainers has the support of the judicial system and the police force in an attempt to break the collective power of the UFCW. Pocklington's strategy is that if he can buy hogs cheap enough and pay workers low enough wages, he can dump pork in the United States to benefit his corporate profit position to the detriment of U.S. farmers."

"Workers and farmers have nothing to gain from Pocklington's plan. His whole strategy is to have cheap labor and cheap raw materials for the international market. Farmers and workers should respect each other's right to bargain collectively for higher wages and better farm prices."

"The provincial government should intervene to bring both sides back to the bargaining table and bring forth antiscab legis-

lation in the interim. Corporate profit cannot be the only architect of society."

The *Activist*, a special joint publication of the Alberta Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Council, explained that in 1984 Gainers' and Fletchers' workers were forced to accept concessions that put them behind the standard industrywide contract. Today they are demanding parity with workers like those at Canada Packers, which has already signed with the UFCW.

## Albany-area unionists greet Hormel striker

BY GEORGE KONTANIS

ALBANY, N. Y. — Rodney Hutchinson, a striking Minnesota meatpacker, completed a 10-day tour here on May 16. During his visit to upstate New York, Hutchinson spoke to more than a dozen local union memberships, executive board meetings, and student groups. The tour raised thousands of dollars for the P-9 Adopt-A-Family Program.

Hutchinson and Pete Winkles, P-9 business agent, met with New York Civil Service Employees Association (CSEA) President Bill McGowan, who pledged continuing financial support to the Hormel strikers. The CSEA newspaper, the *Public Sector*, which goes out to 260,000 members, had featured a statement by President McGowan entitled, "I'm for the strikers."

The statement pointed to the union-busting by Hormel against P-9 and took issue with the UFCW International for its lack of solidarity with the embattled P-9 members. McGowan ended up by stating, "I for one will not allow Hormel products in my home. I ask that each of you examine your own conscience, and if you feel as I do,

Not only have Pocklington and the Marketing Board refused to discuss this demand, the *Activist* reported, but "Pocklington ran ads for scabs at \$8 an hour when negotiations were in progress."

"Pocklington, who has recently bought two packing plants and a distribution center in the southern (right to work) United States, has stated he will never sign another collective bargaining agreement and has been calling the strikers 'ex-employees.'"

keep Hormel off the kitchen shelf and out of your refrigerator. Remember, their victory in Austin is your victory too." CSEA also pledged to place a fund appeal on behalf of P-9 in an upcoming issue of *Public Sector*.

Hutchinson spoke to a statewide meeting of 300 Professional Employees Federation (PEF) representatives in Albany. PEF voted to donate \$1,000 a month to P-9 for the duration of the strike. Interested members bought more than \$300 worth of bumper stickers, buttons, tapes, T-shirts, and hats.

Students at Bard College organized a boycott Hormel campaign out of the meeting there and passed out leaflets at a nearby supermarket that Saturday. Hutchinson also spoke on WGBK and WGY radio, two of the most listened-to talk shows in the Capital District.

The Hormel management seems to be worried about the effect of P-9's story. A company representative called WGY to "answer" Hutchinson's facts about the accident rate at the Hormel plant in Austin. His answer didn't win any supporters.

He publicly called strikers "terrorists" and told union leaders to "go back to Russia."

The Alberta meatpacking workers, like the workers resisting Hormel in the United States, are fighting for the rights of workers everywhere.

Funds and messages of support from unions and other organizations can be sent to United Food and Commercial Workers Local 280P, 29588 111th Avenue, Edmonton, Alberta T5 G0 A7, Canada.

Rodney Hutchinson visited miners on strike against the St. Joe zinc mines, members of United Steelworkers Local 3701, who have been out a month longer than P-9. At the strike headquarters, Hutchinson showed the video *We're Not Gonna Take It* and took part in a wide-ranging discussion about both strikes. He sold out of dozens of "Pick a scab — make it bleed" buttons, the most popular P-9 item among the zinc miners.

Following the P-9 tour, plans are under way to form a P-9 support committee in the Capital District and build a delegation of union supporters to participate in Solidarity City activities in Austin June 22 through 28. Financial support continues to roll in to P-9. Members of PEF in the Department of Transportation raised \$300 for P-9. The Troy Area Central Labor Council unanimously voted \$100 to the Adopt-A-Family Program. And the Brushworkers are organizing a collection. Communications Workers of America Local 1121 organized a collection that raised \$200 at the telephone building in downtown Albany, and more financial support is coming from the garages.



# Interview with S. African miners' leader

The following interview with James Motlatsi, president of the National Union of Mineworkers in South Africa, appeared in the June 1986 *United Mine Workers Journal*. The United Mine Workers of America sponsored a U.S. tour by Motlatsi and other members of the NUM last October.

*Journal: You visited several mines on your tour of the U.S. coalfields. How would you compare them with the mines you've worked in?*

**Motlatsi:** The mines are highly mechanized here, and safety measures are much more modern. Employers in South Africa are not concerned about safety. We have more than 600 people die in the mines every year.

I was also impressed by the things your union has been able to negotiate with your employers, like your health and safety committees. We're trying to negotiate similar things with management in my country.

But, more than the differences, I was amazed at the similarities I saw between our two countries.



James Motlatsi, president of South Africa's National Union of Mineworkers, largest single organization in the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

*Journal: What do you mean?*

**Motlatsi:** From the newspaper, radio, and television reports we get, the United States seems like a small heaven where everybody is happy and the law covers everyone equally.

So I was surprised to find out that employers in our two countries use similar tactics against the workers.

For example, in my country, the employer has the right to dismiss workers who are engaged in a legal strike. What I learned on my visit is that employers here have the right to hire scabs to continue production during a strike.

As far as I can see, hiring scabs is just a sophisticated way of dismissing strikers. With that kind of right, a strike becomes meaningless.

*Journal: Do you think that these similarities have anything to do with the fact that many companies, like Royal Dutch/Shell, operate mines in both South Africa and the U.S.?*

**Motlatsi:** Yes, I do. And many of these companies operate in South Africa because the wages there cannot compare with the wages you receive. And especially the wages of black workers, who are prevented by law from holding the highly skilled and better paying mining jobs.

But it's not supposed to be that way. Companies like Shell subscribe to a code of conduct for their operations in South Africa. One of these principles is that workers doing the same job shall receive the same rate of pay.

But these companies are not practicing that. In fact, these principles are kept secret from the workers in South Africa.

*Journal: How does that benefit companies like Shell?*

**Motlatsi:** It gives them flexibility and leverage. You have a long-established union in this country, and the employers could easily say, 'We are closing the industry here and moving to South Africa.'

Or a company like Shell, operating in different countries, could increase production in South Africa if there is a strike here in the United States.

*Journal: Do you see a solution?*

**Motlatsi:** We must communicate between our unions about the situations in our different countries.

For example, if you are having a dispute with Shell, we need to know about it as soon as possible. Because the company may, in South Africa, attempt to encourage our members to work overtime, and Satur-

days and Sundays, to cover its losses.

If we are exchanging information, we can assist you immediately by telling our members not to work overtime. And we can also find out what we can do in negotiations to stop employers from playing off workers in our two countries against each other.

I think that would be very good solidarity.

*Journal: Are there other ways our two unions can assist each other?*

**Motlatsi:** You can put pressure on companies that operate in South Africa to upgrade the status of miners in my country.

In the United States, your union has been able to win recognition, in pay, benefits and status, for the work your members perform, and other unions in developed countries have done the same thing.

But in South Africa, the mining industry is the last resort for people who can't get a job anywhere else. The pay is low and the conditions are bad.

If we allow this situation to continue, corporations will continue to close mines in countries like the United States and move production to places like South Africa.

But, if we work together, we can beat them.

## S. Africa masses resist repression

Continued from front page

This is an attempt to smear the U.S. anti-apartheid movement and the anti-apartheid forces in South Africa, which call for sanctions, as violent. These include the African National Congress, United Democratic Front, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, as well as figures like Tutu.

Crocker's smear parallels the propaganda of the South African government, which tries to portray its handpicked Black administrators who oppose sanctions as the advocates of peaceful change, in contrast to the allegedly violent anti-apartheid movement.

The progress hailed by Crocker was not apparent to the more than 70,000 Blacks who lived in the Black "squatter" city of Crossroads near Cape Town. On June 9,

10, and 11, they came under a second bloody attack by cops and vigilantes. An earlier assault had driven 30,000 people from their homes, killing at least 48.

This time, another 20,000 were driven from their homes, and at least 22 were killed. Many more were injured, including four reporters who were attacked by machete-wielding vigilantes.

The apartheid regime has long sought to forcibly remove a large part, if not all, of the Crossroads population to a nearby township or to the Bantustans, the desolate reservations it forces millions of Africans to live in.

Crossroads was set up in 1975 and inhabited by African workers who were barred from or could not find housing in the overcrowded Black townships. Many were migrant workers who had illegally brought their families with them from the Bantustans.

In South Africa such setting up of unauthorized housing by Blacks is a crime called "squating." In 1978 the South African government attempted to forcibly remove the population of Crossroads, but backed off in the face of protests in South Africa and internationally.

The relative independence of Crossroads from the government helped make it a strong base for the anti-apartheid movement after the current upsurge began.

The U.S. big-business media has gone along with the apartheid regime in portraying the struggle in Crossroads as "Black on Black violence," a clash between mysterious groups of "conservatives" and "comrades." The *Washington Post* red-baited the people of Crossroads by portraying the target of attack as "militant leftist areas."

In fact, there is no mystery about the "comrades." They are the network of anti-apartheid activists in Crossroads. Similar networks exist in other townships. They are forced to operate in a semi-underground manner by the terror of the apartheid regime.

The "conservatives" are no mystery either. They are paid goons organized by the regime, sometimes through local officials, cops, and others opposed to the fight against white minority rule.

The South African government and the capitalist media in this country are using phrases like "Black on Black violence" to cover up a savage attack by the regime on the anti-apartheid movement.

## Do you know someone who reads Spanish? 'PM': ANC honored in Cuba

"Cuba is present in Africa, fighting shoulder to shoulder against the same enemy, against the racists on the streets of Pretoria, Cape Town, and many other places," said Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa.

Tambo was in Cuba last March, heading a delegation from his organization on an official visit.

The ANC president was presented with the Playa Girón Order medal by Cuban President Fidel Castro for "his tireless political struggle against apartheid." The ceremony was held at the Palace of the Revolution in Havana.

The latest issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* reprints the speech given at the ceremony by Esteban Lazo, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba.

The same order had been conferred on Nelson Mandela, a central leader of the ANC who has been imprisoned by the white minority regime for the past 24 years.

The new issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* also includes coverage of the latest developments in the struggle against apartheid.

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## New attacks on Hormel strikers

Continued from Page 13

from being negotiated, as well as ordering elections.

In the recertification effort P-9 members are approaching those who crossed the picket lines earlier and are presently working in the plant, attempting to win them over again to a union perspective.

This latest step by union members in Austin is an important effort to prevent UFCW International officials from negotiating a contract with Hormel that would gut the union. It is a move to have some control over whether unionists or scabs will work in the plant and under what conditions.

P-9 members are well aware that this new phase of their struggle is crucial not only for their local, but other UFCW locals as well. Contracts at five of the eight other Hormel plants expire this summer.

Supporters of the embattled Austin local need to do everything possible to ensure that the June 22-28 Solidarity City is a big and broad show of support (see story on front page).

Funds for the strikers in Austin can be sent to American Labor Relief Fund, c/o NRFAC, 312 21st St., Newport, Minn. 55055.

For more information on Solidarity City write P.O. Box 655, Austin Minn. 55912 or call (507) 433-3985.



Militant/Tom Jaax

High school students organized group called "P-9, Future Generation" to support striking Hormel workers. Some 350 students walked out of classes February 21 protesting school system's attack on students' democratic right to support Local P-9.



# THE GREAT SOCIETY

**Payriots all** — "The entrepreneurial spirit, as symbolic of America as Miss Liberty's torch,



**Harry Ring**

is in full flame as feverish planning continues for the four-day Statue of Liberty centennial over the July 4 weekend." — News item.

**Go for it!** — If you think the

above is an exaggeration, consider these numbers: A Manhattan loft with a good view of the harbor is rented for July 4, \$25,000. A Brooklyn warehouse, well situated for the fireworks, rented to several groups for a total of \$200,000. A yacht to accommodate 250, chartered for the day for \$90,000.

**Ol' Dick, never missed a trick**

— The Senate Dining Room maître d' recently disclosed that bugging devices had been planted under selected tables when the Ervin committee was looking into the Nixon administration's Watergate escapades.

**There he goes again** — To

bolster his push for a limit on liability damage awards, Ron told the anecdote about the Californian injured in a phone booth hit by a drunk driver. You may be "startled" to learn, the prez added, that the courts upheld the victim's right to sue the phone company. Reagan neglected to mention the booth was 15 feet from a busy road, had been hit at least once before, and that a jammed door prevented the man from getting out in time.

**A fetishist could freak out**

— During their one-month stay at the Air Force base in Honolulu, the Marcos entourage ran up a \$206,000 tab at the PX, including \$2,552 for shoes. But that was for

the whole gang. In the old days, Imelda Marcos alone would drop that much on shoes in a week.

**Neatest trick of the week**

— The congressional committee that reported that PX tab urged the Reagan administration to try to get Marcos to pay it.

**Just one of the boys** — Joseph

Bevilacqua, chief justice of the Rhode Island supreme court, quit the bench during a congressional probe of charges that he hung out with folk tied to organized crime, accepted freebies from electrical contractors doing work for the court, and engaged in adulterous activity at a mobster-owned motel.

**The poor chap's sensitive** — "It's an embarrassment. I am embarrassed." Mayor Paul Monacelli of Orange, New Jersey. A scofflaw drive turned him up with 75 unpaid traffic tickets, totaling \$1,875.

**Just doing their duty** — New York's Better Business Bureau faulted the police department for auctioning fake gold jewelry confiscated from street peddlers.

**How concerned can you get?** — A \$200,000 prize to honor people who help solve the world food and hunger problem has been established by General Foods, the Post Toasties folks.

## CALENDAR

### CALIFORNIA

#### Oakland

**Film: Nelson and Winnie Mandela.** Discussion to follow. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 14, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14 St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

#### San Diego

**Film: Freedom Charter.** Discussion to follow. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 14, 7:30 p.m. 2803 B St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

### LOUISIANA

#### New Orleans

**Stop U.S. Support to Apartheid.** Speakers: Jawad Shakir, New Orleans Anti-apartheid Coalition; Brett Merkey, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and Socialist Workers Party; Sat., June 14, 7:30 p.m. 3207 Dublin. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**Socialist Campaign Rally and Grand Opening of the Campaign Headquarters.** Speakers: Jon Hillson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress; Ellen Berman, SWP candidate for governor; others. Sat., June 21. Reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. 107 Brighton Ave., Allston. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign '86. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### MINNESOTA

#### St. Paul

**Liberation Forces Make Gains in El Salvador.** Speakers: Guillermo de Paz, representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. Translation to Spanish. Sun., June 15, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Minnesota Militant Forum. For more information

#### Nicaragua tour

**Black Delegation to Nicaragua to Attend 7th Anniversary of the Revolution.** July 18-July 25. Cost \$665 from Miami. Sponsored by National Black Independent Political Party. For more information call (201) 333-5106 or (212) 228-7925.

call (612) 644-6325.

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

**New Jersey Farm Workers Fight for Union Rights.** Speaker: organizer from Farm Workers' Organizing Committee (COTA) and video produced by COTA on conditions in the fields. Translation to Spanish. Fri., June 20, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### NEW YORK

#### Albany

**South Korea: Another Philippines?** Slide-show from May fact-finding tour of South Korea. Translation to Spanish. Speaker: Chong Amy Yu, chairperson of Third World Women's Program, Everywoman's Center, University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Fri., June 20, 8 p.m. 352 Central Ave., 2nd fl. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

#### Manhattan

**Benefit to Build Schools in Nicaragua.** A Father's Day dance with Johnny Colon y la Orquesta. Sat., June 14, 9 p.m. Manhattan Plaza, 66 E 4th St. Donation: \$10 in advance, \$12 at door. Ausp: Nicaragua Construction Brigade and Chaguitillo Day Care Project. For more information call (212) 475-7159.

### OHIO

#### Cincinnati

**Chernobyl, a Grim Reminder of Nuclear Hazards.** Speakers: Joe Lombardo, founding member of Citizens Against a Radioactive Environment and member of Socialist Workers Party; Phil Amador, safe-energy activist. Sun., June 22, 7 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

**Evolution vs. Creationism. In Defense of Scientific Thinking.** Speaker: Robert Connolly, member United Auto Workers Local 647. Sun., June 29, 7 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Pittsburgh

**Chernobyl, Three Mile Island: What Working People Should Know about the Danger of Nuclear Power.** Speaker: Clare Fraenzl, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania and member of United Mine Workers Local 1197. Sat., June 21, 7:30 p.m. 402 N Highland. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant

Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

### TEXAS

#### Houston

**Tenth Anniversary of the Soweto Rebellion.** Eyewitness report and slideshow on the New York City June 14, 1986, anti-apartheid march and rally. Translation to Spanish. Fri., June 20, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

### UTAH

#### Salt Lake City

**An Attack on Workers' Rights: Drug-testing.** Speakers: Reid C. Davis, attorney and labor advocate; Dave Brown, member United Steelworkers of America Local 7315; Nancy M. Jones, president American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) Local 2199; Shana Dean Miller, secretary, AFGE Local 2199; Scott Breen, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 2nd C.D. Sat., June 14, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State, 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

**Plant Closings, Union-busting, and Layoffs: What Working People Can Do to Fight Back.** Speakers: Mary Zins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, member of United Steelworkers of America; Dave Hurst, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 3rd C.D., member of United Steelworkers of America. Sat., June 21, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State, 3rd floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

### WASHINGTON

#### Seattle

**Lessons of Chernobyl: No Nukes! Shut Down Hanford!** A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sun., June 15, 6 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**From Hiroshima to Chernobyl: a Panel Discussion on Nuclear Power and Nuclear Weapons.** Speakers: Gene Carroll, national organization director and labor liaison for National Nuclear Weapons Campaign; Mark Robinowitz, assistant director, Health and Energy Institute; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sun., June 15, 7 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**The Struggle Against Apartheid: From South Africa to the United States.** Speakers: Adeyemi Bande, member of New York Anti-Apartheid Coordinating Council; representative from South West Africa People's Organisation; representative from African National Congress of South Africa; Mel Mason, member of International Association of Machinists Local 1987 and Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 20, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

more information call (202) 797-7699.

### WISCONSIN

#### Milwaukee

**Cuba Today: An Eyewitness Report and Slideshow.** Speaker: Tony Prince, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 64 and Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from Cuba; others. Fri., June 20, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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

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# Black flight attendants hit 'greedy, greasy' TWA

The 10-week strike against TWA by the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA) showed the fighting capacity of these workers, who are predominantly women.

The flight attendants were forced to either strike or accept without a fight the humiliating takebacks demanded by TWA. These included disproportionately higher concessions in wages, benefits, and safety on the job than those agreed to by TWA machinists and pilots.

Why did TWA ask the IFFA for more? Because their



## BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Rashaad Ali

union is overwhelmingly women.

The May 24 issue of *Amsterdam News*, a Black weekly newspaper published in New York, carried letters from two Black female members of the IFFA appealing for support from the Black community in their fight against TWA. The letters were written before the strike was ended.

These letters give a picture of TWA and the flight attendants' strike through the eyes of Black women, who suffer the triple burden of racial and sexual oppression

and class exploitation.

Rachel Wilson worked for TWA 17 years. She describes herself as a "Black woman who is extraordinarily proud." Grace Hightower is an 11-year veteran of TWA.

"Working for a company (TWA) that was one of the last American carriers forced to hire Blacks," explains Hightower, "is an indication of just one advancement that has been made by Black people."

She notes that "finding myself and the majority of the Black flight attendants at TWA in the bottom 2,500 employees makes it imperative to prevent TWA from turning back the hands of the clock." She continues, "We must protect ourselves from that old syndrome: 'last hired, first fired.'" Blacks must "avoid sacrificing whatever advancements we have made," she declares.

Wilson describes a "challenging situation" she experienced as a flight attendant. "One morning in Rome in 1976 I boarded the crew bus for the return flight to New York. I sat in a front row seat. The flight captain came aboard and demanded that I move from the front row seat to the back of the bus. I said, cordially, 'You can sit down next to me, but I'm not moving.' He became uncontrollably irate... yelling and screaming that I 'belonged in the back of the bus.' Needless to say, I did not move. I was written up for insubordination."

She notes that this "was my first official realization that TWA was a racist and sexist company." TWA suspended her for three days without pay as punishment for not "giving up a human right achieved by Black Americans in the Montgomery Bus Boycott by Martin Luther King," Wilson explains.

Answering TWA President Icahn's charge that flight attendants are not "breadwinners," Wilson responds, "He says that those of us who are TWA flight attendants are not breadwinners... that we are single women, by implication that we (us girls) all have someone else to support us while ignoring the fact that we are two-family incomers, single parents, breadwinners for nuclear families, as well as supporters of ourselves."

Wilson continues: "TWA has discriminated against me for ten years, and now there is another attempt under a different guise. Come what may I will never give in to greedy and greasy fat bosses who want to use me to work one of his sweat-shops and take my standard of living back to the late 1800's."

"This struggle that we find ourselves engaged in today," said Hightower, "is but one of the many struggles taking place in America. Even though the companies and the work itself are different, the struggles are identical...."

"We must make Carl Icahn and TWA understand that we as citizens of America have the right to earn a decent wage to provide the necessities for our families. And yes, we have a right to live and be recognized and respected as human beings."

I agree!

The changed perception of themselves and others like them that these two Black women have expressed in their letters can only give confidence to Black rights fighters, women's rights fighters, and the entire working class that our ranks have been strengthened in this fight against the "greedy and greasy fat bosses."

# Stop strip-searches of Irish women prisoners!

Two Irish women political prisoners being held for trial in London's Brixton Prison have each been strip searched an average of 50 times a month for the last 10 months.

The two women, Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer, are partisans in the fight against British rule in Northern Ireland and for a united Irish republic independent of British colonial domination.

And what's happening to them is the treatment that any



## WOMEN IN REVOLT

Pat Grogan

woman Republican prisoner can expect in the jails of Northern Ireland and England.

Strip-searching is not an isolated abuse. Since 1982 it has been official, standard practice in British jails toward women prisoners who are part of the Irish nationalist struggle. The British government says strip-searching is necessary for "security reasons."

Sometimes twice a day, Anderson and O'Dwyer are forced to remove all their clothing in front of up to four

prison officers, stand with their arms in the air, turn a full circle, and then allow the warders to run their hands through their hair, under their arms, and under the soles of their feet. The women have endured as many as 115 body searches in one month, which include internal examinations.

They have been locked in their cells 23 hours a day and are under constant surveillance by seven prison warders and two television cameras.

Recently, women nationalist prisoners were transferred from Armagh Prison in Belfast, Northern Ireland, to the brand-new Maghaberry Prison in County Antrim to the north. Maghaberry is called the "most modern prison in Europe" and is equipped with the most sophisticated security devices available. But the strip-searches continue.

"The real reason is that strip-searching is a systematic torture weapon," a statement released by the women prisoners explained. "The backbone of republicanism was not broken in Armagh, and we stand resolved that the administration in Maghaberry will not succeed in achieving their aims or indeed any other repressive policy," they vowed.

Martin Collins, a leader of the Labour Committee on Ireland, affiliated to the British Labour Party, explained the purpose of the strip-searches in a recent interview in the biweekly news magazine *Intercontinental Press*.

"It is a weapon of sexual terrorism against women," he explained, "a British warning to them that if they get in-

involved in the nationalist struggle, they will regularly be subjected to the most brutal form of sexual harassment, taking place every week, every month, for the entire time they are in prison."

Anyone who gets involved in the nationalist struggle has a good chance of landing in prison, Collins explained, "because that is the reality of Northern Ireland."

Opposition is growing to this outrage. Tens of thousands of people across Ireland have signed petitions. Demonstrations have been organized at both Armagh and Brixton Prison. Throughout Britain, trade unions, Labour Party groups, students' organizations, women's groups, anti-apartheid organizations, and others are raising their voices to demand an end to the mistreatment of the Irish women political prisoners.

Messages of solidarity have come from women in other liberation struggles throughout the world.

Women's rights fighters in the United States should add our voices in protest.

Women have been in the front ranks of the Irish liberation struggle, willing to risk their own freedom and their lives. Many of the women who went into Armagh jail when they were teenagers are now approaching their 30s.

They have endured and remain steadfast in the face of all of the British government's barbaric efforts to break them. Even under the most brutal conditions, they continue to fight. Their courage inspires others to do so as well.

# Strike, protests shake government in Haiti

Continued from front page

brute force. A woman was killed and an eight-year-old boy and 75-year-old man were wounded by soldiers in a burst of gunfire outside a marketplace.

After a soldier was killed, Colonel Regala tried to blame his death on demonstrators. A statement from the Independent Federation of Haitian Workers denied the accusation and explained that the ones with the guns were soldiers and former security personnel. A youth leader who witnessed the incident said the death came from an accidental exchange of gunfire between government troops and the police.

Haiti's desperately poor workers and peasants held Namphy's government responsible for doing nothing to alleviate their starvation conditions since taking over after Duvalier fled four months ago. Vorbe's appointment also served as a reminder of the close links that exist between the current government and that of the exiled tyrant. Namphy himself was installed as head of the government by Duvalier as he left the country.

Hastily constituted, the Namphy government does not rest on a solid foundation. Much of the governmental apparatus was destroyed by the mass upsurge that toppled Duvalier. The U.S. government, which organized Duvalier's flight into exile, hoped that the army would be able to quell the upsurge and stabilize the country.

The Haitian people are demanding the

removal of all vestiges of the old regime. As many as 50,000 people were murdered or disappeared during the 30 years of the Duvalier family's rule.

Since coming to power, Namphy has been reluctant to prosecute any of Duvalier's henchmen. Responding to intense pressure, the government was finally forced to put Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Jérémie on trial in May. Crowds gathered at television sets to watch the daily reports of the trial. Jérémie was sentenced to 15 years in prison May 31. A court-martial judge found him responsible for the beating death of a man in his custody. He was acquitted on two other murder charges.

Namphy went on television in the early morning hours June 5 to try to deflect criticism from his regime and blame opposition politicians — and Cuba — for the crisis.

"This evening we have arrived at a situation involving fires, barricades... nearly a civil war. The country is on the verge of anarchy," he said. "The tension in the country has been amplified by the negative ideologies of politicians who have infiltrated into the healthy midst of the people," he added.

These charges were quickly amplified by the Haitian embassy in Washington and U.S. government spokespeople. Haitian ambassador Pierre Sam told the *Washington Post* that "people from the extreme left

have been distributing money to people to create problems in Haiti." An unnamed Reagan administration spokesperson told the *Post*, "There are, for the first time, people telling me that Fidel Castro is involved."

Since toppling Duvalier, the Haitian people have been demanding a return to an elected civilian government. The call for holding elections has grown in the midst of the current protests. As many as 60 individuals have expressed their intention to run for president if elections are held.

Until recently Namphy stonewalled all demands for an election with the claim that it was first necessary to educate the people of Haiti about democracy.

But on June 7 the government announced that elections would be held by the end of 1987. This promise drew the support of some of the declared candidates who understand the shaky nature of the government and share Namphy's desire for a quick return to order. Marc Bazin, a former world bank economist who served in Duvalier's government in 1982, hailed the proposal as a "step in the right direction."

But the response to the June 10 general strike call is an indication that opposition to the government will not easily be swept aside.



Militant/Harvey McArthur  
Demonstration of technical school students in Port-au-Prince in March. Sign in foreground reads: "We're not causing disorder; we're defending our rights."



# Reagan's anti-Nicaragua slander

In an effort to win congressional and public support for the proposal to provide \$100 million in aid to the U.S.-organized *contra* terrorists who are attacking Nicaragua, the Reagan administration has stepped up its slanders of that nation's workers' and farmers' government.

In a June 7 talk to Republican Party leaders, Reagan conceded that the *contra* killers could only stay in business with massive U.S. government funding.

The collapse of the U.S.-run war against Nicaragua, he warned, would be "a national security disaster" for the United States that would leave Central America "a divided, war-torn region."

But Central America is being torn now by military operations organized by Washington against Nicaragua and El Salvador. Thousands of Nicaraguans have fallen victim to the U.S.-backed terrorists, and Washington has organized the most devastating air war in the history of Latin America against the peasants of El Salvador.

The Reagan administration recently attempted to create a scandal about alleged new Soviet arms shipments to Nicaragua. But the Nicaraguans have the right as a sovereign people to get arms from wherever they wish.

Administration officials claimed that the Sandinista government had forced thousands of Miskito Indians to leave Nicaragua in March. But it was U.S.-organized Miskito *contras* — Pro-war KISAN — who kidnapped thousands of Miskitos and forced them across the border into Honduras.

Reynaldo Reyes, a Miskito Indian leader who is one of those who decided to sign a cease-fire with the Nicaraguan government, said at the time of this mass kidnapping, "There are no Indians in Latin America or the world who have received the autonomy and treatment that the Sandinista government wants to give us."

The State Department's contribution to the latest administration lie campaign was the charge that the Sandinistas had blocked the release of eight West German

volunteer workers who were kidnapped by the *contras*. The West Germans were freed June 10 after Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega hinted the Nicaraguan government might take military action if a deadline for their release was not met.

A top State Department spokesman covered for the terrorists by endorsing the *contra* lie that the volunteer workers were armed, uniformed soldiers. German public opinion, however, correctly saw them as "hostages being held by American-backed terrorists," according to the *New York Times*.

While the hostages were still in the hands of Washington's mercenaries, Reagan called Nicaragua "a refuge and safe haven for terrorism." The kidnapping shows that the havens for terrorists in Central America are in Costa Rica and Honduras, where the U.S. government bases the *contra* bands.

Reagan also charged the Nicaraguan government with stalling on signing a regional treaty. But as far back as 1984, Managua agreed to sign the pact sponsored by the Contadora group (the governments of Mexico, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela).

Washington refused to do so, torpedoing the accord. Now the Central American governments are considering a new Contadora proposal. But the White House made it clear that Washington's war against Nicaragua would continue even if the treaty is signed.

A Pentagon study voiced opposition to any Contadora treaty that might be an obstacle to attacks on Nicaragua and even threatened a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua with 100,000 troops if the treaty fails to advance the U.S. goal of destroying the Nicaraguan revolution.

Washington is pressing ahead with its efforts to militarily overthrow the popularly supported government in Nicaragua.

All working people should join in protests against the proposals to aid the *contras*. End the U.S. war in Central America! Hands off Nicaragua!

# Gov't cover-up of Rosenberg case

*"History will record . . . that we were victims of the most monstrous frame-up of our country. . . . We die with honor and dignity — knowing we must be vindicated by history."*

—Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, June 1953.

On June 19, 1953, the U.S. government put Julius and Ethel Rosenberg to death. They were executed in the electric chair at New York's Sing Sing Prison for allegedly passing "atomic secrets" to the Soviet Union. The couple, along with codefendant Morton Sobell, had been convicted under the Espionage Act.

There was never a shred of evidence against the three. They were the victims of a massive government frame-up that involved the highest officials of the U.S. Justice Department, the FBI, and the federal courts themselves.

The Rosenbergs were brought to trial and killed as part of the anticommunist witch-hunt that was in full swing.

Their trial and execution were political acts aimed at intimidating and terrorizing opponents of the U.S. invasion of Korea and silencing class-struggle militants in the unions, supporters of Black equality, and all other opponents of imperialist policies.

The killing of the Rosenbergs was also aimed at outlawing the political position that working people in the United States have a stake in the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. It was part of driving back democratic rights and civil liberties.

The Rosenberg case took the witch-hunt to a new stage. As the *Militant* explained within days of their death, "Not only can jobs be lost in a loyalty purge. Not only can reputations be ruined through false accusations by Congressional witch-hunters. But the Rosenberg precedent can prove that even lives can be forfeited."

Several years ago, tens of thousands of previously secret FBI files and documents on the Rosenberg case from other government agencies were made public. They were pried loose by the persistent efforts of the Rosenbergs' sons, Michael and Robert Meeropol, and the National

Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case through a bitterly contested, 11-year-long Freedom of Information Act lawsuit.

This material shed important new light on the methods used by the government to frame up the Rosenbergs and generate anticommunist hysteria. That's why the government is trying to put the lid on the release of any further information.

The effort to unearth the truth received a blow May 20 when a three-judge federal panel unanimously rejected the Meeropols' objections that the FBI was withholding some documents and had illegally destroyed others. In particular, the court ruled against the release of 30,000 documents the FBI has identified as relating to the Rosenberg case. Despite this setback, the Meeropols and the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case are pressing forward.

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were offered commutations from death if they would admit to the false charges against them and become informants against others. In a letter to President Eisenhower, they wrote, "... our accusers torture us, in the face of death, with the guarantee of life for the price of a confession of guilt. . . . We refuse the iniquitous bargain. . . . We cannot besmirch our names by bearing false witness to save ourselves."

Despite the efforts of millions of people throughout the world, the U.S. government killed two working-class fighters it could not break.

On June 19 — the anniversary of the Rosenbergs' death — demonstrators will gather at the New York City courthouse where Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were tried for espionage. The action is sponsored by the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case. It will take place from noon to 2:00 p.m. at the U.S. Courthouse in Foley Square.

We urge *Militant* readers to support the action and the effort to reopen the case.



# Cuban Communists advance fight for women's equality

On Jan. 1, 1959, the Cuban people overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista. They established a workers' and farmers' government, went on to end capitalist property relations, and reshaped their country to meet the needs of the majority of the people.

An integral part of this perspective has been the deep commitment of the leadership of the Cuban revolution to women's liberation.

In 1975 the Communist Party of Cuba held a congress to assess its accomplishments and adopt a program for the future.

The following is excerpted from the "Theses: On the Full Exercise of Women's Equality" adopted by the congress. It appears in *Women and the Cuban Revolution*, edited by Elizabeth Stone. It is available for \$4.95 plus \$.75 for postage from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

We have put behind us forever women's terrible plight under the bourgeois neocolonial republic, when they were subjected to a brutal and double exploitation, in conditions of humiliating dependency and legal submis-

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

sion to men, when their minimal formally established social rights were flouted. The future of working women, of peasant women, of the toiling families in general, held nothing but squalor, degradation, ignorance, and suffering. In the case of many women, it meant domestic service or prostitution. For almost all women, in keeping with the dominant bourgeois mentality, it meant being regarded as a decorative figure and sex object, whose place depended on class affiliation.

The socialist revolution has laid the foundations that guarantee the rights of women, placing them on a footing of full equality with men. But do women really exercise all these rights? What are the factors that prevent this from being so?

As was exhaustively examined at the Second Congress of the FMC [Federation of Cuban Women], situations of inequality persist not only as a consequence of material difficulties, which will be eliminated in the process of economic development, but also because views and attitudes are frequently held that are out of keeping with the postulates and laws of our socialist society.

*A fundamental battle must be waged in the field of consciousness, because backward ideas that we have dragged with us from the past continue to exist there.*

Discrimination against women goes back many centuries — since, with the disintegration of the primitive community and the establishment of private property and the division of society into classes, men attained economic supremacy, and with it, social predominance.

Through the different regimes based on the exploitation of man by man, women were relegated to the narrow framework of the household. They were discriminated against and had limited possibilities for participating in social production, or were mercilessly exploited.

These ideas, which prevailed in our country until the overthrow of the capitalist system, have no place in the stage of building the new society.

Hundreds of thousands of *compañeras* have overcome real difficulties in order to become fully integrated into revolutionary tasks and to make their contribution to socialist construction.

Cuban women have fully demonstrated that they are able to successfully carry out whatever tasks are assigned to them.

*Therefore, it is necessary for the party, state bodies, enterprises, and political and mass organizations to see to it that unjust criteria or decisions are not applied that run counter to the revolution's intention of ending women's inequality.*

In this regard, the following currently existing situations which involve limitations on women's full incorporation into social activity should be the object of attention so that just solutions can be reached in each case:

- When men are given preference over women in filling jobs, with the pretext that "women have lots of problems."
- When, in deciding who is to be promoted to a political or administrative responsibility, women are denied this right to avoid possible future difficulties arising from limitations connected with taking care of the home and the family.
- When an exemplary *compañera* is incorrectly judged for having joined the militia late or for having failed to take part in permanent work mobilizations, voluntary work, or formal study, without taking into account that she alone cared for young children or sick or old family members.
- When valuable *compañeras* are unfairly criticized on the basis of false views regarding so-called moral problems.



# 'Spirit of South African people shall prevail'

BY MITCHEL ROSENBERG

The South African playwright Mbongeni Ngema says his play *Asinamali* "shows that no matter how bad things get, victory is inevitable" in South Africa. "The spirit of the people shall prevail."

Now touring the United States and Canada, *Asinamali* portrays the oppression of Blacks under the apartheid system. The play does not, however, sacrifice good

a theatrical group, upon his return to South Africa from that tour. Out of this group's work came *Asinamali*.

The play has five characters, all Black South African men, who tell their stories from a prison cell. As each tells about his life and how he ended up imprisoned, the other actors portray figures from his past. At a breakneck pace, through stories, song, and dance, the reality of apartheid is brought home to the audience.

Four of *Asinamali*'s five South African actors are former workers in industry and agriculture, including one who was a miner and another who was fired from his job as a machine operator for striking. One of the original cast is serving an eight-year sentence for his participation in the rent campaign portrayed in the play.

The five characters in *Asinamali* are imprisoned for various reasons. One has violated South Africa's pass laws, another violated apartheid's laws against interracial sex. A third character kills a tormentor as he struggles to hold a job, and the fourth is a slick con man and pick-pocket. The fifth character is a young activist in the Lamontville rent campaign.

The play itself has a history of struggle. A few weeks before opening its U.S. tour in Harlem in April, the play was in Durban, South Africa, where it was attacked one night by supporters of the apartheid state. While almost everyone involved in the production escaped, the play's promoter, Jeff Shongwe, was murdered.

*Asinamali* is touring North America through



*Asinamali*, a play by Mbongeni Ngema, has five characters who tell story of how each was imprisoned by apartheid regime.

November. In June it is scheduled to be in Montclair, New Jersey; Quebec City; Atlanta; and at Cornell University. In July: Ann Arbor and Berkeley. The play will be in Los Angeles in August. In September: Rochester, New York; University of Massachusetts at Amherst; State College, Pennsylvania; and Houston. Later dates include Montreal, Philadelphia, and Edmonton. For further information on dates or bookings, call (212) 841-9640.

## THEATER REVIEW

drama to its anti-apartheid message. It is as enjoyable as it is inspiring.

*Asinamali* means "we have no money" in Zulu. The play was inspired by a 1983 struggle against rent increases by Blacks in Lamontville township. The leader of the fight was Msizi Dube, a member of the African National Congress who had just been released after serving 10 years in prison on Robben Island. Dube was murdered by the apartheid regime during the rent campaign. His rallying cry for the fight was "*Asinamali!*"

Ngema, the 30-year-old playwright, grew up in Durban near the site of the rent battle. In 1981 he collaborated with other South African artists to write *Woza Albert*, which played the United States in 1982 and won critical acclaim. Ngema founded The Committed Artists,

## Black leader rips book about Boston schools

BY JON HILLSON

After a year of unending praise, prizes, and promotion, J. Anthony Lukas' supposedly definitive history of school desegregation in Boston, *Common Ground*, has been taken apart by the most prominent figure in that struggle, Thomas Atkins.

Atkins was president of the Boston NAACP in the 1960s and '70s and lawyer for the Black community plaintiffs in the suit that resulted in the sweeping 1974

seen through the eyes of three carefully chosen families, two white and one Black.

He manipulates this structure to peddle his theory that desegregation hasn't and couldn't work in Boston; that its main proponents were white liberals, not Blacks; that the Black community played no real role in seeking it; and that white workers who resisted, even through admittedly racist violence, were justified in so doing to preserve their "community."

Atkins takes these lies apart.

He details the rich history of Black community involvement in the struggle for equality. Much of Lukas' "history" is simply wrong," Atkins explains.

He cites Lukas' claim that Blacks didn't consider the "merits" of all-Black schools as absurd, since the whole experience of the Black community "pointed to more than 100 years of 'separate but equal'" and the reality that "all-Black schools quickly were permitted or forced by all-white school officials to become substandard and second-rate."

Lukas' work is nailed for its factual errors and mistakes of omission — for instance, his passing reference to the desegregation order itself, made by Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity.

"Lukas completely abandons what one would have thought was central to this story," Atkins explains. "The consequence of this defect is that Lukas is able to ramble on and on, through various of his characters, with enormous misstatements of the basis for Garrity's rulings."

*Common Ground*, Atkins writes, is an "utter failure to record or accept that Boston's Black community was neither leaderless nor confused about its educational objectives... the real story of desegregation [is] the determination of Boston's Black community not to acquiesce in the face of public policies and practices that it knew spelled doom for Black children."

Atkins' powerful criticism of this book — which is now a bible in Boston for those seeking to roll back de-

segregation — broke big in the media, with an article in the *Boston Globe*, which quoted numerous Black leaders voicing their dislike of *Common Ground*.

"It's a story with gaping holes because the intensive involvement of Blacks is missing," Muriel Snowden, a founder of the Black community's Freedom House, stated.

"It does not do justice to the Black community," Black Boston school committee member John O'Bryant noted.

Lukas refused to comment on his critics' words and instead heaped praise on Thomas Atkins. But in *Common Ground* Lukas relegates Atkins' role to a few paragraphs surrounding events in 1968 that had nothing to do with desegregation. From then on in the book, the NAACP leader becomes, like many other prominent Black figures in the struggle, a nonperson.

Dishonesty to deflect criticism is nothing new for Lukas. The book, which is increasingly being exposed by some of Boston's Black leaders, can be better understood if recognized for what it really is: a slickly packaged, glibly written attack on Black rights.

The aim of this book is to cover up the Black community's rich history in Boston and to make defense of desegregation and busing more difficult. It aims to help thwart the drive for Black rights and equality today — all in the service of employer and government attacks on the Black community in particular and working people in general.

Thus the need exists to counter Lukas' mythology both as a matter of historical accuracy and in defense of Black rights.

"If this book becomes the historical perception," Muriel Snowden says, "Boston desegregation will be thought of as a battle fought for us, not by us. And that's simply false."

(To obtain copies of the Atkins review send \$5 to *Social Policy*, Room 1212, 33 W. 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10036.)

## AS I SEE IT

court order desegregating this city's racist school system — a position he still holds. He was the principal leader in the fight to counter racist mobs whose violence against Black students focused national attention on Boston.

Lukas, then a reporter for the *New York Times*, was supported by Harvard University and Guggenheim fellowships to write his massive work, which has won the Pulitzer Prize, American Book Award, National Book Critics Circle Award, and the Robert F. Kennedy Award. It has been adopted as required reading at Harvard University's School of Education and has been purchased by the producers of TV's "Dallas" and "Dynasty" for film possibilities.

Lukas, Atkins writes in the winter issue of *Social Policy*, a quarterly magazine published in New York, virtually ignores the decisive role of the Black community in the school desegregation battle in Boston.

Omission of Black efforts to overcome the effects of the old, apartheid-like dual school system in Boston — one all-white, the other, all-Black — "is similar to writing about the Holocaust and leaving out the efforts of Jews to escape the hated ovens and gas chambers," Atkins notes.

Lukas' book attempts to present the Boston struggle as

## LETTERS

### Divestment victory

Recently we reported on anti-apartheid activities here that focused on people taking their money out of Barclays Bank, the largest foreign bank in South Africa.

Well, on April 7 it paid off.

The Village of New Paltz passed a resolution to pull all village funds from Barclays in view of the fact that "its presence helps sustain the regime."

The amount to be pulled over a period of time amounts to about \$892,000!

Large visible demonstrations are so effective, given the recent attacks by the South African regime on neighboring independent countries.

Hope the upcoming demonstration on June 14 in New York is overwhelming!

Sam Chetta  
Gail Schenkman  
New Paltz, New York

### Cuban films

I recently read in the Cuban newspaper *Granma* that the city of Atlanta, as part of its Third World Film Festival, declared the week of March 2-8 as Cuban Film Institute Week. In a proclamation signed by Mayor Andrew Young, the Cuban Film Institute was recognized for having provided "outstanding leadership for 30 years to Third World filmmakers" crossing "the boundaries of time, space, language and politics."

Pastor Vega, director of the film institute and director of the widely known *Portrait of Teresa* and *Habanera*, was invited to the festival but was denied a visa by the U.S. State Department. On the opening night of the festival, festival organizer Cheryl Chisolm explained to the audience of more than 500 why Vega was not there. The U.S. government action was strongly condemned by all.

The Cuban film week opened with *Patakín* by Manuel Octavio Gómez. Other Cuban films shown

were *Hasta Cierta Punto*, *El Otro Francisco*, *Habanera*, *Filminutos*, and the documentaries *Now*, *Okantomi* and *Súlkary*.

The festival was another example of the great interest among the North American people in the Cuban revolution and its culture. We should continue to break the blockade of ideas imposed by our government and demand the abolishment of the reactionary laws that deny U.S. citizens the right to travel to Cuba.

Daniela Dixon  
San Francisco, California

### Struggle or die

Another day in the belly of the beast has come into existence. Although we are faced with these imperialist dogs bombing our little children, trying to terrorize and overthrow our fellow comrade countries, we must continue doing as we've been doing, and that is struggle or die!

In the words of George Jackson:

Without the cold and desolation of winter, there would not be the warmth and splendor of spring!

I so sincerely extend my deepest appreciations to you for allowing me the chance of having a subscription of the *Militant*.

A prisoner  
Comstock, New York

### Decided to subscribe

I have known your paper since 1980, but due to financial constraints I could not subscribe to it. Now I have decided to start subscribing. I am unfortunately basing my subscription on your 1980 rates. If the price has gone up, please draw my attention to that. But send your latest copies. I will pay the balance. I therefore enclose money for a one-year subscription.

I enjoy your Marxist analysis of events, and I wish I could get some of your back issues.

Elmon M. FaFa  
University of Botswana

### Correction

The national vote on the TWA contract by members of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants was incorrectly reported in the June 13 *Militant* ("Why TWA flight attendants in K.C. reject contract"). The vote was 4,038 against, 95 in favor.

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: *Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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.



## Rally backs Canadian strikers

### 4,000 protest company, gov't attacks on Alberta meatpackers

BY PAUL KOURI

EDMONTON, Canada — Chanting "No more scabs! No more scabs!" almost 4,000 workers rallied here in Alberta Province June 7. They marched on the struck Gainers' meatpacking plant.

On June 1 the 1,080 workers represented by Local 280P of the United Food and Commercial Workers hit the picket lines to back up contract demands. On June 2 another 420 UFCW members went on strike against the Fletchers' Fine Foods meatpacking plant in Red Deer.

Both plants are pork processors, like the Hormel plant in Austin, Minnesota, where meatpacking workers are also resisting union-busting and takebacks. Before the strike the two Canadian plants processed up to 8,000 hogs a day between them.

The strikes have become a sharp confrontation between the Alberta labor movement — which represents 175,000 unionized workers — on one side and the union-busting employers and the Alberta government on the other. Antiunion laws have encouraged the meatpacking company owners in their efforts to smash the union.

Since the walkouts began, hundreds of strikers and their supporters have mobilized at the plant gates to prevent specially fortified buses carrying scabs armed with wrenches and other weapons from breaking through the picket lines and getting past the gates.

The workers have defied court injunctions limiting pickets to 12 per gate and the brutal efforts of hundreds of police, including the Edmonton riot squad and SWAT team, to break through the picket lines and herd scabs for Gainers.

In the first five days of the strike at least 400 pickets and supporters were arrested, including David Werlin, president of the Alberta Federation of Labor (AFL).

In Red Deer, three strikers suffered broken legs when a bus loaded with scabs tried to run a wooden barricade placed in the street by the strikers.

As images of the cop brutality flashed across television screens night after night, workers and farmers across Alberta and elsewhere in Canada began to organize solidarity with the strikers.

The June 7 rally was called on one day's notice by a special emergency meeting of the AFL and the Alberta Building Trades Council (ABTC) attended by more than a hundred union leaders from around the



Canadian strikers try to prevent scab from entering Gainers meatpacking plant in Edmonton.

province.

Support for the strikers among Alberta's unionized workers is a response to escalating employer attacks on construction workers, public sector workers, oil workers, and others as the provincial economy has gone from boom to bust due to the decline in oil and farm prices.

Support for the strike is not limited to AFL union members. Nurses, students, and wives and husbands of striking workers were among those on the picket lines. Women make up half the work force at Gainers.

Federal meat inspectors, members of a government workers' union, refused to

cross the picket lines.

Motorists who drive by the pickets honk to show support. Many small business owners actively support the union.

A coalition of unions and community organizations, called Solidarity in Alberta, is working hard to build community support and to strengthen the boycott of Gainers', Fletchers', and Swift's products.

The IGA, Safeway, and Co-op food store chains have announced that they are no longer carrying these products.

The Alberta New Democratic Party has thrown its weight behind the strike. The NDP is Canada's labor party. Alberta NDP

President Raymond Martin joined the strikers on the picket line.

On June 8 a special women's picket was held at Gainers.

Canada-wide support is growing. A demonstration is being held at the Alberta Legislature June 12, timed to coincide with the opening of the legislative session. The action will show solidarity with the strikers and demand anticab legislation. Alberta's current laws allow the bosses to replace workers 24 hours after a strike starts.

The Quebec Confederation of National Trade Unions has voted to support the

Continued on Page 14

## Socialists launch N.Y. campaign

BY VICTOR WALTERS

NEW YORK — "The fight against U.S. government and corporate support for South African apartheid will be central to the Socialist Workers election campaign," declared Theresa Delgadillo and Mike Shur in a joint statement announcing their candidacies for governor of New York and

U.S. Senate.

Delgadillo, a 26-year-old Chicana garment worker at Bilrite Sportswear, will challenge incumbent Democrat Mario Cuomo and Republican Andrew O'Rourke. Delgadillo is a member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 23-25 and serves on the executive board of New York City's Coalition of Labor Union Women. She is also a National Committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Shur, a 30-year-old sheet metal worker at Loral Electronic Systems and member of International Union of Electronic Workers Local 431, is active in the New York Area Labor Support Committee for P-9, the United Food and Commercial Workers local on strike against the Hormel Co. in Austin, Minnesota. Shur has traveled to Austin frequently to join solidarity activities in defense of the embattled strikers. He will run against incumbent Senator Alfonse D'Amato, a staunch Reaganite Republican. Democratic candidates include Manhattan lawyer Mark Green and former State Power Authority chairman John Dyson.

"We are going to bring the important issues of world, state, and national politics to the forefront of this campaign," the socialist candidates' statement declared.

"We will march against apartheid. We will protest Washington's war on Nicaragua. We will actively support the struggles of working people, from the picket lines of Hormel and AT&T, to protests against police brutality in New York's Black and Latino communities, to the fight to shut down Indian Point and all other nuclear power plants, to the farmers' struggle

against debt slavery.

"We will campaign for the idea that working people need a fighting union movement," Delgadillo and Shur declared in their statement. "We need a labor party based on the unions, which will actively lead the struggle against war, for abortion rights, against police brutality, for affirmative action, and in support of every struggle for social progress."

"We will campaign for a different kind of government," they continued. "A government like Nicaragua's that acts in the interest of workers and farmers, not big business and the banks. We will explain that

Continued on Page 4

## Nicaragua women volunteer for army

BY RUTH NEBBIA

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "Women in the defense — not by law but by conviction!"

"When women advance, no man falls behind!"

With these chants, 500 people cheered the official presentation of the first women's contingent for Nicaragua's draft army, known as the Patriotic Military Service (SMP). About 150 women volunteers, mostly university and high school students from Managua, attended the rally held here at the National Autonomous University of Nicaragua on May 29.

There are a total of 250 women in the contingent, named for Blanca Arauz, collaborator and companion of Augusto César Sandino. (Sandino led the Nicaraguan fight against U.S. occupation troops from 1926 to 1933.) The women will be trained to protect communications installations in Managua.

The spirited rally heard speakers from the Nicaraguan Women's Association — Luisa Amanda Espinoza (AMNLAE), and the Sandinista Youth,

"We want to do our patriotic duty," one

high school student told the *Militant*. "We want the same rights as the men. We are going to defend our revolution." The women emphasized the fact that they are volunteers, and that the law does not require them to join. The draft is compulsory for men.

Nicaraguan women's participation in combat goes back to the guerrilla struggle and 1979 insurrection that overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza.

Since 1979, many women have participated in the militias and reserves, helping defend Nicaragua against U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries. Women have also served in the army, including as high-ranking officers.

However, the two-year draft military service adopted in 1983 has been only for men. AMNLAE argued for the inclusion of women, and a compromise was reached to allow women to join the SMP as volunteers. However, no women were accepted in the SMP until now. This de facto exclusion was seen by many women as a denial of their rights to participate in all aspects of society equally with men.

Continued on Page 7



Militant/Holbrook Mahn  
Theresa Delgadillo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York.