

South African strikers defy gov't repression

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Facing its most serious labor challenge since the imposition of a state of emergency last year, the apartheid regime unleashed its police against striking railway workers April 22. They shot six workers to death and wounded many others.

The nearly 20,000 unionists — members of the South African Railway and Harbour Workers' Union (SARHWU) — had been on strike for six weeks to demand the reinstatement of a fired worker.

They stayed out despite repeated warnings that their strike was illegal. Their employer, the government-owned South African Transport Services (SATS), issued an ultimatum for them to return to work by 8:00 a.m. on April 22, or be fired.

The vast majority of strikers refused to go back, and were fired. The police also moved into action.

In Germiston, east of Johannesburg, police stormed a peaceful meeting of about 1,000 SARHWU members and beat them with *sjamboks* (whips made of ox hide). Three unionists were shot while trying to escape.

Then, in Johannesburg itself, police fired into a march of about 50 to 60 railway workers, killing another three.

The police then surrounded and stormed the nearby national headquarters of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), to which the railway union is

Continued on Page 14



Unionists at founding convention of Congress of South African Trade Unions in 1985

Honduran soldiers desert to Nicaragua

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — If other Honduran soldiers knew what Nicaragua was really like, "they'd all come over here. They lie to us in Honduras. They tell us the Nicaraguans are bad people."

The speaker was a young soldier who recently deserted the Honduran army along with a friend and escaped to Nicaragua. At an April 14 news conference here the two youths explained why.

Alex Danilo Castro Echavarría, age 16, and Angel Benjamín Rodríguez López, 17, entered Nicaragua and requested asylum in mid-March. They had been stationed with the Honduran army's Fifth Infantry Battalion on the Atlantic Coast, near the Nicaraguan border.

Castro and Rodríguez said that U.S. military officers had been training them in Honduras, along with contras from the Nicaraguan Democratic Force and the Miskito Indian group Kisan. The contras were being trained as sharpshooters, they said. Their commander was a U.S. Army captain, and their weapons were being supplied by the Honduran army.

There was discontent among Honduran soldiers over the privileges accorded to the contras, said Castro and Rodríguez. "We would talk about how the contras had a better time than us. They enjoy more freedom than us. They harass people," the young men said.

When the two complained about the hard work Honduran soldiers are forced to do, and their mistreatment by Honduran officers, they were threatened by Honduran army Sub-Lt. Amílcar Moncada.

"He told us that we'd be put in jail, killed. That we had Sandinista friends and they were brainwashing us," said one.

Fearing for their lives, Castro and Rodríguez decided to desert.

The Nicaraguan government said it was granting asylum to the two Hondurans out of humanitarian considerations, not as an action against the Honduran government. Rodríguez said he wanted to stay and work in Nicaragua, while Castro said he planned to go on to the Central American nation of Belize.

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Fighters for political rights challenge government use of illegal spy files

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance announced that they have filed a brief in federal court responding to a new move against democratic rights by Attorney General Edwin Meese.

Announcement of the action was made at a well-attended April 21 press conference at the offices of noted constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin, who is representing the SWP and YSA.

Chairing the news conference was John Studer, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund. He said that Meese is demanding the government be allowed to use a massive accumulation of illegally obtained spy files against the SWP and YSA.

Last August, Studer said, Judge Thomas

Griesa issued an historic decision in a suit filed by the SWP and YSA in which he ruled that years of government infiltration and disruption of the SWP violated the rights of the party and its members.

The judge awarded monetary damages, which will be paid if all government appeals are beaten back. He said he would issue a follow-up order on how illegally amassed government files against the plaintiffs should be dealt with.

The government is now trying to use this question to scrap the verdict against it.

The response of the socialists to Meese's move was outlined by attorney Boudin.

Also participating were representatives of the party and YSA, together with a number of supporters of the case.

Boudin explained that the court had

ruled that the FBI and other government agencies had violated the rights of the SWP and its supporters in several ways, including the illegal infiltration of government informers into the organization, and by "black bag" burglaries in which FBI agents entered party offices to photograph correspondence, financial records, and other documents.

Young Socialists to hold convention

BY CINDY JAQUITH

To a young demonstrator marching against education cuts in Sacramento, California, it made sense. When he picked up a leaflet about the upcoming convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, he wrote in right away for more information, enclosing \$15 for YSA literature.

The YSA convention will be held May 23-25 at the Hyatt-Regency Hotel in downtown Chicago.

The agenda includes three major reports — "Communism Today and Forging an International Revolutionary Working-Class Leadership," by Rena Cacoullos, YSA national secretary; "The Turn to the Industrial Unions and Building the YSA," by YSA leader Greg McCartan; and "Summer

Tasks and Perspectives," by James Winfield, a member of the YSA National Executive Committee. Elected delegates will discuss and vote on these reports.

The gathering will also elect a new YSA National Committee. There will be a public rally, workshops, and classes on such topics as the unfolding revolution in South Africa and war and revolution in Central America and the Caribbean.

In addition to its members, the YSA is inviting all young people interested in a revolutionary socialist youth organization to attend, as well as urging members of the Socialist Workers Party and party supporters to come.

Just off the press are 25,000 brochures to build the convention. A poster is planned,

Continued on Page 6

After April 25 march and rally
come to a**Socialist Open House**

Join our April 25 sales teams!

Striking Pa. miners welcomed at parade

BY KIPP DAWSON
AND JIM LITTLE

MASONTOWN, Pa. — Several hundred coal miners were joined by family members and residents of western Pennsylvania mining communities at the annual Mitchell Day Parade here April 1.

This holiday commemorates the day in 1898 when the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) won the eight-hour workday for the first time.

The event is hosted every year by UMWA districts 4 and 5. This year's parade included contingents with banners from those districts and from District 6 in Ohio. Miners from northern West Virginia and as far away as Illinois also participated.

The largest contingent was the busload of UMWA members from locals 6986 and 2456 who have been on strike at Canterbury Coal Co. in Avonmore, Pennsylvania, since August 1985.

These miners received a warm welcome from their union brothers and sisters, many of whom bought materials put out by the strikers.

UMWA President Richard Trumka was the featured speaker. Trumka promised that the union will take a firm stand against concessions when its contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) expires in early 1988.

Trumka called the settlement the UMWA recently negotiated with Island Creek Coal Co. "historic." "We seek a contract without strikes, if possible, and Island Creek shows this is possible," he said.

The Island Creek settlement binds the company to whatever terms are negotiated in the 1988 national contract between the UMWA and the BCOA. Other provisions include expanded recall rights for laid-off unionized miners.

"This is a model of the kind of cooperation that can exist," Trumka said, "not a one-sided cooperation where we give and they take, but a recognition that both sides have needs that must be met."

UMWA Secretary-Treasurer John Banovic, officers from districts 4 and 5, and the mayor of Masontown also spoke.

On April 4 over 300 miners, their wives, and supporters attended a Mitchell Day Banquet hosted by striking Local 6986 in Apollo, which is also in western Pennsylvania.

Some 100 had to be turned away as the crowd reached the capacity of the Apollo-Spring Sportsman Club.

"The success or failure of this banquet is really a serious test, a test of our moral

will, a test of our support from other UMWA locals and the union movement," said Richard Trinclisti, president of Local 6986.

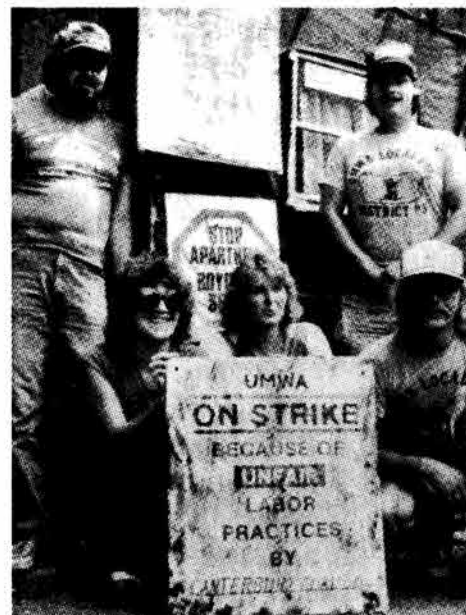
David Fisher, financial secretary of 6986, spoke about the solidarity the Canterbury strikers had received. He introduced several UMWA members from surrounding locals and districts.

District 5 President Donald Redmon also spoke.

Several speakers made reference to the role of women in the strike. Wives, mothers, and friends of the miners have all pitched in, helping to carry the ball during important points in the long battle.

A miner from Local 2295 in Albers, Illinois, was introduced. He spoke about 2295's "Adopt a Local" program and presented both striking Canterbury locals with a \$500 check.

Kipp Dawson is a member of UMWA Local 1197 in Pennsylvania.



UMW Journal
Canterbury miners and wives on picket duty

GM hit by 4-day strike for violating contract

BY BOBBI SPIEGLER

PONTIAC, Mich. — Members of United Auto Workers Local 594 at the General Motors Truck and Bus plants here voted overwhelmingly to return to work March 29, ending their four-day strike.

The union announced that under the settlement, Local 594 members will receive \$1.3 million for GM's violations of the 1984 contract.

At least 20 workers are supposed to be rehired with back pay. The company violated the contract by laying them off and then hiring subcontractors to do their jobs.

At noon on March 26, some 9,000 workers poured out of the plant carrying picket signs reading, "Enough is enough. No more giveaways, no more takeaways."

Union officials proclaimed the settlement a victory. "We hope this will rekindle some of the old union spirit," said Donny Douglas, president of Local 594. "We've shown the entire world that we can't be intimidated. That's the real victory here."

Brent Carr, assistant shop chairman, explained the issues in the strike. "GM has been violating the 1984 local contract agreement since its ratification," he said. This included violations of health and safety rules, work rules, and job classifications, as well as contracting out maintenance, skilled trade, and snow removal jobs.

The workers said GM had been assigning them to work overtime and speeding up the line while hundreds of Local 594 members were laid off.

More than 1,000 grievances had piled up. On top of the contract violations, GM announced several months ago that it would shift its new, medium-size truck production from the Pontiac plant to its Janesville, Wisconsin, plant in 1990. That announcement came after Local 594 re-

jected GM's takeback demands.

About 2,400 jobs will be lost in Pontiac as a result. Several thousand more jobs are also scheduled to be lost in Pontiac when GM begins a joint venture with Volvo to produce heavy trucks.

The workers on the picket line had been angry over GM's unwillingness to

negotiate with the union.

Union members said the strike and the settlement showed auto workers are willing to take a stand against GM.

Bobbi Spiegler is a member of UAW Local 1700 at Chrysler's Sterling Heights, Michigan, assembly plant.

Tour Nicaragua Summer '87 Tour

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours, Inc. will soon be announcing plans for a summer tour to Nicaragua.

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The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance invite you to two educational weekends . . .

Northern California Socialist Conference

San Francisco — May 2-3

Saturday, May 2, 2 p.m.
U.S. Labor at the Crossroads
Hear **Craig Gannon**, member
SWP Trade Union Bureau

7:30 p.m.
The Future of the Soviet Union:
Lenin's Unfinished Fight
Hear **Doug Jenness**,
editor of the 'Militant'
Party to follow

Sunday May 3, noon
Next Steps in Building a Party of Communist Workers
Hear **John Gaige**, member SWP Organization Bureau
ILWU Local 34 hall, 4 Berry St. (at Embarcadero)
From Market St. go south on 2nd St. about 1 mile until it dead ends in Berry. Left on Berry one-half block.
For more information contact San Francisco, Oakland, or San Jose SWP and YSA listed in directory on page 16.

Northwest Socialist Conference

Seattle — May 9-10

Conference topics and speakers will be the same as Northern California. For more information as to time and place contact Seattle or Portland SWP and YSA listed in directory on page 16.

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The Militant

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

Suit challenges constitutionality of deporting political activists

BY HARRY RING

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has filed a lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act that permits deportation for political activities clearly protected by the Constitution.

An announcement of the suit was made at the national convention of one of the plaintiffs in the case, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

In addition to the ADC and several other organizations, plaintiffs include seven Palestinians and one Kenyan recently arrested in Los Angeles by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The INS is moving to deport them on grounds of involvement with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The PFLP is an affiliate of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the liberation movement of the Palestinian people.

Accusations against the Los Angeles eight are based exclusively on activities involving promotion of the views of the PFLP, not on any alleged criminal act.

As defendants, the suit names Attorney General Edwin Meese, INS Commissioner Alan Nelson, and the deportation agency itself.

Free speech fight

A statement issued by the ACLU said the lawsuit's challenge "is based on free speech and associational activities protected by the First Amendment."

It added, "Plaintiffs have alleged that the

discussion of social, economic, and political issues necessarily includes views which might be labeled by our government as 'communist' or 'Marxist.'

"Threatened deportations under the McCarran-Walter Act effectively prohibits these people from speaking out freely in this country and deprive all people of the right to receive the broadest range of information about important issues of public debate."

A statement issued by ADC President Abdeen Jabara declared: "Today, for the first time in its history, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee is filing a lawsuit against a federal agency. We are taking this extraordinary step to put an end to the violations of the rights of Arabs and Americans of Arab descent in this country."

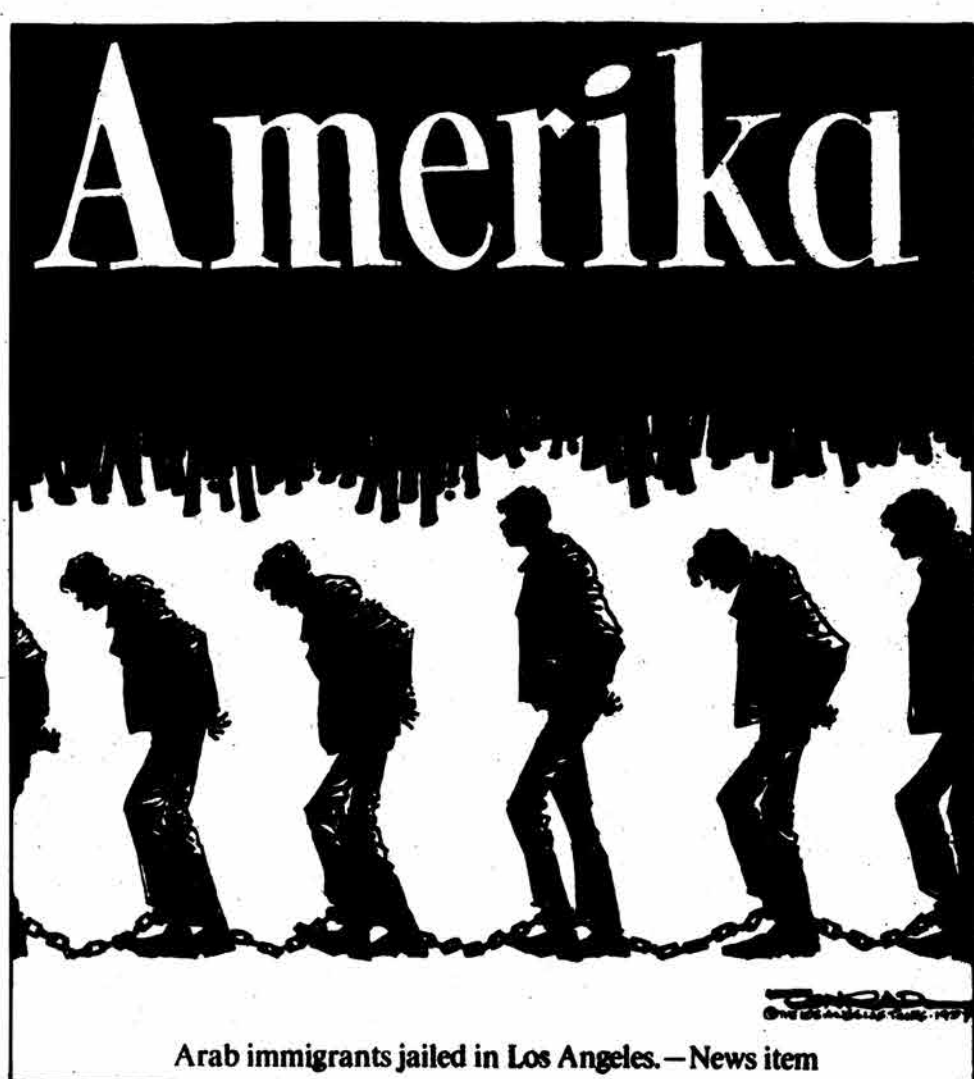
INS 'Contingency Plan'

The suit takes aim at a plan drawn up by the INS in May 1986 entitled, "Alien Terrorists and Undesirables: A Contingency Plan."

A legal brief filed on behalf of the plaintiffs describes this plan as "a blueprint for the investigation, arrest, detention, and deportation of aliens from Arab countries."

The brief charges that the detention of the eight Los Angeles activists represents implementation of this plan.

And it notes that the deportation proceedings against them "are based upon the alleged distribution of magazines which are publicly available at bookstores; fund-



Arab immigrants jailed in Los Angeles. — News item

raising events; participation in public speeches, meetings, and demonstrations and other activities which are protected by the First Amendment."

In addition to the victimized eight and the ADC, other plaintiffs in the suit include: American Friends Service Committee; League of United Latin American Citizens; Irish National Caucus; Palestine Human Rights Campaign; Arab-American Democratic Federation; and the Association of Arab American University Graduates.

Lawyers for the plaintiffs are being provided by the ACLU, National Lawyers Guild, Center for Constitutional Rights,

and National Center for Immigrants Rights.

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — More than a thousand Arab Americans from 45 states and Canada attended the convention of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) held here April 2-5.

With some 16,000 members in 61 chapters, the ADC has become the most prominent national organization defending the civil rights of Arab Americans and Arabs in the United States. The ADC has gained national attention with a persistent campaign against anti-Arab stereotyping, which pervades the mass media and the entertainment industry.

The ADC has been a victim of terrorist violence directed against Arab political activists in this country.

In October 1985, ADC leader Alex Odeh was murdered in his Southern California office. He had just appeared on a Los Angeles television program where he defended Palestinian rights and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

In August 1985, two Boston police were injured trying to defuse a bomb placed outside the northeastern regional office of the ADC.

In November of that year a suspicious fire broke out in the building housing the ADC national office here.

The government attack on the Los Angeles eight, and the serious threat to constitutional rights this represents, was a major topic of discussion at the convention.

One speaker at a luncheon meeting was Oliver Revell, executive assistant director of the FBI.

He tried to assure that the FBI was concerned about terrorism directed against Arabs in this country, but was able to point to only a single arrest.

Midwest meat-packers explain strikes

BY BOB SCHWARZ
AND JOE SWANSON

SIoux CITY, Iowa — At its April 13 meeting, the city council here voted 3-2 to urge Iowa Beef Processors (IBP) and John Morrell & Co. to settle the strikes at their meat-packing plants. This vote reversed the position the council had adopted in December of remaining "neutral" in the dispute at IBP.

United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local 222 members were locked out at IBP's plant in Dakota City, Nebraska, in December after rejecting the company's takeback demands. IBP announced in March that they were ending the lockout but still refused to negotiate a contract. The unionists then voted to go on strike.

UFCW Local 1142 members at Morrell in Sioux City were forced on strike in March. The Iowa and Nebraska plants are separated by the Missouri River.

Some 100 members of the two locals packed the city council meeting while the strikes were being discussed.

Local 222 Business Agent Bill Schmitz told the council that the Sioux City police force was being used as private security guards for IBP and John Morrell. Schmitz said the police are used as spies against the union and are drawing IBP paychecks as security guards. He explained that the police sent five squad cars to IBP Chairman Robert Peterson's home during a peaceful union rally and 15 cars to a picket line at the Morrell plant.

Both companies have resumed production with scabs. Pickets outside the two plants say production is very low. At Morrell a recent court order limited the union to two pickets per gate. A young woman on picket duty explained that "only a handful" of UFCW members have crossed the line

and that the company has hired 300 scabs from outside the Sioux City area.

'Working conditions getting worse'

"I've worked in the plant for six years — since I was 19 years old. Working conditions just kept getting worse," she said. After rejecting the Morrell contract offer, Local 1142 members "went back in with an 'in-plant strategy' for a short time that can only be described as a failure. We have been hurt enough and refuse to take any more concessions," she emphasized.

At the IBP plant, a woman meat-packer with 16 years seniority said about "300 ex-union members" out of 2,800 members have crossed the picket line. "Most of these people have usually crossed during previous strikes so it was no surprise now," she said.

Another 500 to 600 people have also crossed the picket line. She said they were a mixture of company personnel and scabs from as far away as Texas and Oklahoma. "What is inspiring," the striker continued, "is that the majority of workers hired to break the last strike in 1982 have since joined the union and are now part of the strike."

Another Local 222 picket explained that the union is convinced "IBP is driving empty trucks in and out of the plant several times a day to give a false impression of high production."

Holding strong

Ellis Onnen, a Local 222 shop steward said, "Most people are holding strong and won't go back without a union contract though some have had their electricity turned off and are living in their trucks." She explained that information from inside the plant "is that many people are quitting almost as soon as they are hired, foremen are getting into fights with each other, and it's like a zoo in there."

Pickets on both lines said that there have been no union meetings called in the last few weeks. Local 222 is holding weekly

rallies outside the IBP plant.

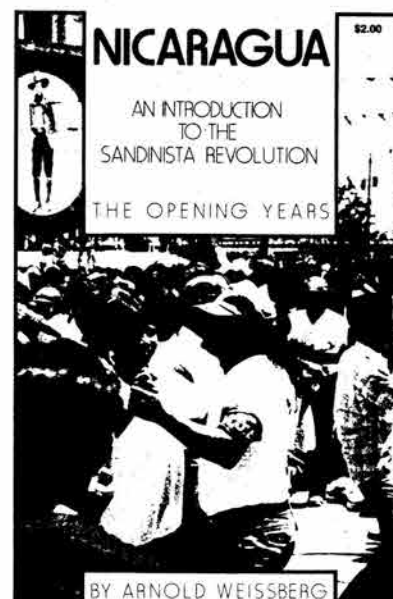
A union member said that hundreds of Local 222 members showed up at the April 15 rally "to show we are willing to fight for our jobs."

Local 222 is leafletting local high schools and colleges to explain the issues in the strike and urge students not to let IBP use them against the union.

An 1142 member told us that roving pickets may soon be dispatched to the John Morrell plant in Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

"This will be a big boost to us," she added, "as both locals need to support each other. Their contract is up this coming September."

The Nebraska AFL-CIO and eastern Nebraska farm organizations are building a food caravan and labor rally for Local 222 on April 25. Food, clothing, and financial contributions can be sent to IBP Dakota City Workers Struggle Fund, 3038 South Lakeport Rd., Sioux City, Iowa, 51106.



Newly reprinted by Pathfinder

This popular introduction to the Nicaraguan revolution was originally published during the early years of the revolution, while the author, Arnold Weissberg, was a correspondent for the Nicaragua Bureau of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Now reprinted, with a new preface.

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SWAPO president tells Nicaraguans: 'Your victory is our victory'

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

SAN RAMON, Nicaragua — "Your victory is our victory," Sam Nujoma, president of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), told 3,000 workers and peasants gathered here March 28. Nujoma's speech at this rally, called to mark the successful conclusion of Nicaragua's coffee harvest, was a high point of his March 25-29 tour of Nicaragua.

"Your struggle here against U.S. imperialism's hired mercenary fighters is the same struggle that we are waging today," the SWAPO leader said. "When the imperialists are weakened here, they will also be weakened in our region. Therefore, the world peoples' revolution will inevitably be victorious."

Rally participants listened carefully to Nujoma's description of the colonial regime imposed on Namibia by South Africa, the role of the U.S. and Western European governments in backing the apartheid regime, and the decades-long struggle for independence led by SWAPO. They applauded enthusiastically when he called for solidarity between the people of Nicaragua and Namibia and between all of Africa and Latin America.

Nujoma came here as part of a tour that also took him to Brazil, Uruguay, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, and Cuba.

In Nicaragua he had meetings with President Daniel Ortega, Defense Minister Humberto Ortega, and Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge. The Sandinista National Liberation Front awarded Nujoma the Carlos Fonseca Order for his leadership in the fight against colonialism.

In his meeting with Borge, Nujoma discussed the process of autonomy being developed by the Indian, Black, and Spanish-speaking peoples of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast. He later told the Sandinista daily *Barricada* that this process amazed him and was important for Africa.

"He asserted that in his African land, where more than 23 ethnic groups live together, the [Nicaraguan autonomy] experience could be applied to reinforce national unity in face of the racist attempts to divide the people," *Barricada* wrote.

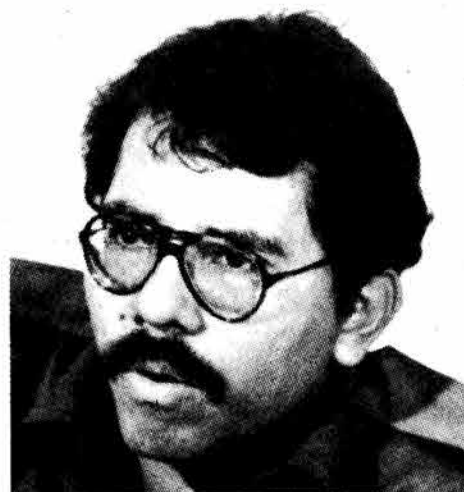
Nujoma also spent a day visiting northern Estelí Province, accompanied by Vice-president Sergio Ramírez. Peasants at a farm cooperative and workers in a tobacco processing plant explained details of their work and discussed the Nicaraguan and African revolutions with him.

"Namibia is very far from Nicaragua, but our peoples have the same cause," a woman tobacco worker told Nujoma.

President Ortega also stressed solidarity between Nicaragua and Africa in his speech to the rally here in Matagalpa Province. He explained that the U.S. government is behind the apartheid regime and its puppet government in Namibia, just as it once imposed the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza on Nicaragua.

Thus the Nicaraguan and southern African peoples "are in the same trench, confronting the same enemy," Ortega said. "Uniting our forces, joining our wills, we will defeat him once and for all."

"The Namibian people and the South African people are as combative, as valiant, and as determined as the Nicaraguan people," he told the cheering crowd. "And just as we had our [revolutionary victory on] July 19, 1979, they also will have their July 19 in the very near future."



Nicaraguans and southern Africans "are in same trench," said Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega.



Sam Nujoma, president of South West Africa People's Organisation, addressing Nicaraguan workers and peasants at March 28 meeting.

Anti-CIA protesters acquitted

BY RON RICHARDS

NORTHAMPTON, Mass. — Fifteen antiwar protesters were acquitted by a jury April 15 of charges of trespassing and disorderly conduct. They were among 60 people who were arrested November 24 when they staged a sit-in at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst to protest the presence of a recruiter for the CIA.

Among those acquitted were Brown University student activist Amy Carter and Abbie Hoffman, an activist in the movement against the U.S. war in Vietnam and a defendant in the case of the Chicago "Conspiracy 8." The eight were indicted on charges of conspiracy for their participation in a demonstration at the 1968 Democratic Party convention.

The 15 defendants in Northampton argued that their actions were legal because of the criminal nature of CIA activities in Central America and other parts of the world.

Hampshire County District Attorney Michael Ryan, who had ultimate responsibility for the prosecution, said of the verdict: "If there is a message, it was that this jury was composed of middle America. It was a great jury for us. They weren't kids. There were a couple of senior citizens. And they believed the defense. Middle America doesn't want the CIA doing what they are doing."

After the decision, the defendants gathered on the steps of the courthouse. They chanted "CIA, go away" and called for support to the mass antiwar, anti-apartheid marches in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco on April 25 and the April 27 protest at CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia.

The defendants' trial strategy was summed up in the T-shirts they wore, which showed a gavel smashing the letters CIA, along with the slogan "Put the CIA on trial."

In exchange for the defendants' agreement not to challenge the prosecutor's facts in each case, the judge agreed to allow the

defense — headed by civil liberties attorney Leonard Weinglass — to call witnesses to prove their charges against the CIA.

The first defense witness was Ralph McGehee, who retired in 1977 after 25 years with the CIA. McGehee testified that the CIA boasts of overthrowing the democratically elected government of Guatemala in 1954 and reinstalling the shah as tyrant of Iran a year earlier. In 1965, McGehee explained, the CIA was involved in a coup in Indonesia that led to the deaths of between 500,000 and 1 million civilians.

McGehee said he had been chief adviser to the Vietnamese secret police and helped set up the Phoenix Program, which assassinated at least 20,000 people.

The defense also called Edgar Chamorro. The former Nicaraguan businessman testified that the CIA had asked him to become a leader of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, a counterrevolutionary group it was establishing.

As a spokesperson on contra radio broadcasts, he read CIA-written news releases that claimed the contras had carried out actions such as the mining of Nicaragua's harbors and the sabotage of oil facilities in the port city of Corinto. These attacks were actually carried out by the CIA.

Chamorro admitted having done the Spanish translation of the CIA manual calling for the assassination of Nicaraguan officials.

Kristy Clark, a special education teacher from Northampton, testified about contra attacks on the village of San Pedro, where she had been a member of a construction brigade.

Other witnesses who testified for the defense included former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and Daniel Ellsberg, the former government official whom the Nixon administration tried to jail for making the Pentagon Papers public. These documents exposed some of Washington's lies about the Vietnam War.

U.S. tightens visas for Nicaraguans

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The U.S. government has stepped up harassment of members of the Nicaraguan government, Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), and mass organizations associated with the FSLN who want to travel to the United States.

On March 30, the U.S. embassy here notified the Nicaraguan government that Nicaraguans traveling on official business will have to request their visas 15 days in advance. In addition, they must submit a detailed day-by-day schedule of their planned stay in the United States, along with information on flight numbers, means of transportation, lodging, and states to be visited.

The FSLN daily *Barricada* reported that this measure has actually been in effect for six months. It has meant the postponement or cancellation of visits by Nicaraguans invited to participate in international conferences or make speaking tours. For instance, leaders of the Nicaraguan National Student Union who were invited to speak at several universities had to postpone their trip a number of times before finally ob-

taining their visas.

Last year, when Nicaraguan Vice-president Sergio Ramírez was invited to visit several U.S. universities, he had to do so on a tourist visa, and not the diplomatic visa usually granted to a government leader. Minister of Transportation William Ramírez had his visa delayed so long that the event he had been invited to had already taken place by the time he arrived, *Barricada* reported.

Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge and Carlos Nuñez, president of Nicaragua's National Assembly, have also been denied visas.

With this policy, Washington attempts to deny people in the United States the right to hear what Nicaraguans have to say about their revolution and the aggression they are subject to at the hands of mercenaries financed by the U.S. government.

In contrast, *Barricada* pointed out, Nicaragua grants visas to U.S. government officials within 24 hours. This even included Col. José Muratti of the U.S. Army, who visited Nicaragua last March to brief leaders of right-wing parties on U.S. support for the contra mercenaries.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish? 'PM' backs April 25 march

Tens of thousands of unionists, students, and farmers from all areas of the country have organized to come to Washington and San Francisco on April 25 to demonstrate against the mercenary war Washington is waging against Nicaragua and against U.S. support to apartheid in South Africa.

Perspectiva Mundial features an article on the importance of this march to the ongoing fight against the bipartisan war on Nicaragua.

The April issue also covers attacks by the Honduran army against Nicaragua, which are an attempt to provoke a major military conflict between the two countries.

There's also an article by Ernest Harsch about the fight for economic sanctions against apartheid.

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Nicaraguan women hold national assembly

Hear Sandinista proclamation on women's rights

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Thousands of enthusiastic, cheering women packed the España sports stadium here March 8 for the Third National Assembly of the Nicaraguan Women's Association (AMNLAE). The participants included industrial and farm workers, peasants, market vendors, students, soldiers, and professionals from throughout the country.

At the assembly, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) presented a proclamation that recognized that "negative situations prevail... with respect to women" in Nicaragua and pledged to fight against the legal, social, and economic obstacles to women's equality.

One of the featured speakers was Federica Arlem, a Miskito Indian from the Río Coco, which runs along Nicaragua's northern border with Honduras. She addressed the crowd in Miskito, with Spanish translation, about the work of Indian women to oppose the U.S.-run contra war and to integrate all Indians into the process of autonomy for the Atlantic Coast.

The one-day meeting adopted a report assessing AMNLAE's work since the 1979 revolution and a report on future tasks. It elected a new national executive committee made up of longtime AMNLAE leaders and women who are leaders of trade unions and the national peasants' organization. Lea Guido, a prominent leader of the FSLN and the women's movement since before the revolution, was elected AMNLAE's new secretary general.

The highlight of the March 8 meeting was the presentation of the FSLN proclamation on women. This document, the first programmatic statement by the Sandinistas on women's rights since 1969, was read by FSLN leader Bayardo Arce. Three other members of the FSLN's National Directorate — Tomás Borge, Luis Carrión, and Carlos Núñez — were also present.

Women's rights today

The 1979 Nicaraguan revolution opened the door to overcoming women's oppression, the FSLN document states. Gains won by women include laws against discrimination, greater participation in "all aspects of political, economic, and social life"; publicizing of problems and struggles

of women, creation of a women's legal aid office, and establishment of some child-care centers.

According to the document, women now hold 31.4 percent of the leadership positions in the government and make up 26.8 percent of the FSLN regional committees and 24.3 percent of the FSLN's total membership. In the farm workers' union, women are 40 percent of the membership and 15 percent of the local leadership. They are also 67 percent of the neighborhood-based Sandinista Defense Committees.

The document noted the growing participation of women in jobs outside the home, including many formerly reserved for men. In many cases, women have replaced men who were mobilized to fight the U.S. mercenaries attacking Nicaragua. This "has forced an accelerated abandonment of some prejudices... and is producing deep ideological and social changes," the FSLN statement said.

"Despite the important gains in this process," the document continued, "negative situations prevail in our society with respect to women, reinforced by underdevelopment and the country's economic limitations. There still exist laws and labor or social practices that discriminate against women. The criticism of machismo and its consequences is barely beginning. We have not been able to eradicate prostitution."

"Thus, the struggle for the specific demands of women is a battle that we must continue to wage even in the difficult conditions we are living through. This means energetically fighting discriminatory laws and policies, the subordinate position of women in society and the family, paternal irresponsibility, physical and moral abuse, and machismo," the FSLN said.

"All bodies and members of the FSLN, all the social, union, and mass organizations are obligated to promote the massive incorporation of women into the different tasks of the revolution, responding to their specific interests, and struggling against all forms of oppression and discrimination."

Women's rights and revolution

Fighting for women's rights advances the revolution, the FSLN said. "The de-



Militant/Roberto Kopeck

Participants in Third National Assembly of Nicaraguan Women's Association

fense of the revolution will be strengthened with new contingents of fighters, workers, teachers, professionals, etc. to the degree that we are able to continue eliminating the obstacles of all types that impede the integration of women and keep them in a discriminatory situation."

Arce was interrupted repeatedly by applause as he read the FSLN proclamation. Women cheered particularly loudly when he condemned machismo as "backward ideological survivals that are unacceptable for revolutionaries" and when he said the FSLN would encourage men to share in household tasks and responsibilities.

The FSLN document did not say anything about women's right to safe, legal abortion, birth control, or sex education. It did not propose changing the country's current law, which makes abortion illegal and forces thousands of women to seek dangerous, back-alley abortions. Deaths from these illegal abortions are the leading cause of maternal death in Nicaragua.

While the abortion issue has been the most prominent question in the debate over women's rights here in the last year, there was no discussion of it, or birth control, during the AMNLAE assembly.

Role of the women's movement

The March 8 assembly took up the nature of AMNLAE itself. The FSLN document states that the role of AMNLAE is to mobilize "all women, with the aim of identifying women's most pressing problems and the obstacles to their emancipation and proposing practical action to overcome such problems. This reflects shifts now under way to correct weaknesses in AMNLAE."

At the assembly, the AMNLAE national executive committee presented a report explaining that previously, much of AMNLAE's work had revolved around organizing women's participation in literacy and health campaigns and voluntary work in neighborhood projects, as well as helping women find jobs. AMNLAE had also raised the need to change discriminatory laws and to build child-care facilities, but its "central task was defined as that of integrating women... as a support force for the tasks of the revolution," the AMNLAE report said.

The tendency to put off women's rights issues was exacerbated by the escalation of the U.S. mercenary war as AMNLAE, along with the FSLN and the government, turned its attention to defense.

"We directed our principal efforts to the fundamental task of giving attention to the mothers and relatives of [those] mobilized to the battlefronts," the AMNLAE report stated. This activity was important, it added, but at times "it distorted the character of our work [as a women's movement]."

In interviews in *Barricada*, Lea Guido said that many women left AMNLAE because they did not find it doing anything different from other mass organizations they belonged to. Some women came to question the need for a women's movement "to the extreme that they almost saw it as an organization of backward women, [doing] secondary work that was not a

priority for the revolution," she said.

Guido noted that when women farm workers took initiatives around problems they faced as women, they did so outside of AMNLAE. "This showed both our limitations and the price we paid," she said.

Working women raise demands

The struggles of women farm workers represented a broader process taking place in Nicaraguan society as more and more women entered the work force and their self-confidence increased. They began speaking out more forcefully against the obstacles still blocking their full equality.

These problems — ranging from job discrimination, to inequality on farm cooperatives, to backward laws and denial of legal abortion, were raised at AMNLAE's September 1985 national assembly.

These discussions "made us ponder and detect the principal problems or obstacles that [women] had to fight against," the AMNLAE report stated. "Without incorporating into our work the role of looking out for the specific demands of women, we ran the risk of denaturalizing the women's movement."

The 1985 assembly projected an orientation of focusing on the specific problems faced by peasant and working women and led to a broader discussion on the situation of women in Nicaragua. That discussion spilled over into the debates in 1986 over the country's new constitution, resulting in a strengthening of the document's section on women.

Guido told *Barricada* that Nicaragua's victories over the contras, together with women's growing integration into the work force, "now make it possible to raise specific women's rights issues without contradicting the priorities of the revolution, but as part of them."

"Under these conditions," she said, "women raised once again the expectations that had been there since the beginning.... This discussion extended beyond AMNLAE. It reached into the newspapers, which demonstrated everything from the most advanced to the most backward and obscurantist positions. The discussion also reached into the FSLN itself, and into the National Directorate.... The result is the March 8 proclamation."

Guido presented a report on AMNLAE's tasks to the March 8 assembly. "Our revolution does not have the capacity at this moment or in the next years to offer all the child-care centers or social infrastructure necessary to alleviate domestic chores," she said. "However, the revolution can invest ideologically and politically in improving the position of women."

She also noted that "it is the workers and peasants, the firm bases of the revolution, that are the best allies of women's emancipation, independently of what class we belong to."

Guido projected three focuses for AMNLAE's work: winning enactment of laws against the physical abuse of women and an educational campaign to strengthen public opinion against such attacks; campaigning for men and women to share domestic chores and child-care responsibilities; and developing a national sex education program.

Video documents brutality of 'New York's finest'

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — A video-documented case of police brutality has put "New York's finest" on the spot.

On March 20, in East Harlem, a principal Puerto Rican and Latino barrio, cops arrested Alberto Flores, who had gotten into a minor scrape with another man.

They threw Flores over the hood of a car. One cop cracked him across the back three times with his club. Other cops pounded him with their fists.

Flores was booked on charges of assault and resisting arrest and hospitalized for treatment.

The cops filed the usual report: violently resisting arrest, punched them — the whole bit.

In response to brutality charged by neighbors who witnessed the incident, the precinct captain checked it out and quickly concluded that the cops "were forced to use necessary force against a violent, intoxicated subject."

That's probably where it would have ended, except for Rafael Escano.

From his fourth-floor window, Escano had filmed the entire incident with his video camera, complete with sound.

When he notified the police that he had the tape, they tried to persuade him to turn it over to them. Escano declined, but agreed to have a copy made in his presence.

The film shows a cop slamming his nightstick across the helpless Flores' back. It records the voices of neighbors screaming at the cops to stop.

The cops shout back obscenities, telling them to mind their own business.

Flores is hauled off in handcuffs. Escano comes downstairs and takes close-up shots of the remaining pool of blood, and interviews witnesses.

Brooklyn police announced the arrest of three whites in the April 4 attack on a Black man. The man, David Hunter, was beaten unconscious when he and his father went to the aid of an elderly Black woman being racially harassed by a gang of whites.

Rev. Ellis Washington, a Black minister who was at the scene, identified himself to police and explained he had been a witness to the attack.

He later told reporters that one cop responded, "Take a hike."

"Then," Washington said, "I heard one of the white youths saying that the fight started because Hunter had tried to steal his gold chain. I again told the police who I was and that this story was not true. I was again told to take a hike."

In another case, the police said an initial probe of the handling of an unsolved racial killing showed no signs of police misconduct.

The case was that of Michael Phillips, a Black youth who was stabbed to death by a racist gang in Ozone Park, Queens, in 1981.

Later, a white youth who had been involved secretly identified two of the killers.

In court, a cop gave the name of the secret witness, Daniel Basile. Soon after, Basile was also murdered. Neither killing was ever officially solved.

The Queens County district attorney says the case has been reopened.

Namibian people fight occupation by South Africa

Interview with SWAPO youth leader

The following is an interview with a representative of the South West Africa People's Organisation Youth League. SWAPO is the liberation movement fighting for Namibia's independence from South Africa, which occupies the country with tens of thousands of troops. This occupation has been declared illegal by the United Nations and the International Court of Justice.

The interview was conducted in Havana, Cuba, by Rena Cacoullos.

Question: What are the people of Namibia fighting for?

Answer: The Namibian people are fighting for independence. We are fighting against the oppressive regime of South Africa, which occupies our country and maintains itself in our country by force of arms. So we are not fighting because we like fighting, but because there is no other alternative. We have no other way to conquer what belongs to us.

That's why the question of Namibia is clearly and simply a question of de-colonization. We are fighting to get rid of the oppression, to get rid of exploitation, to get rid of the foreign occupation. As simple as that.

Q. How does South Africa maintain its domination over Namibia?

A. Through the organization of tribal authorities and the organization of military units. It is a repressive state that maintains the South African oppression of Namibia. South African oppression does not have any social base — it is a state which has no popular support.

That's why if South Africa would allow free and fair elections to be held in Namibia, then we are sure South Africa would lose the elections. That's why it is

A. The overwhelming majority of the members of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia are young. We are no exception — in every other struggle the youth are the most creative, the most energetic, the most willing to change, and therefore are the most progressive.

SWAPO tries to get them ready to be the future custodians of Namibian liberation, future custodians of the Namibian nation, and future custodians of the Namibian government.

Q. How is the struggle in Namibia linked to the struggle of the people of South Africa against apartheid and the struggle of the African National Congress?

A. We are fighting against one enemy. Therefore, the victory of one of us is the victory of the other.

South Africa is being hit in South Africa itself, and South Africa is being hit in Namibia. Therefore the solution of one of our problems complements the solution of the other. Our struggle is one and our struggle means mutual encouragement — and we draw inspiration from one another.

Q. Tell us a little about your own experiences and what you are doing here in Cuba?



SWAPO supporters held first public rally in five years last summer. Tens of thousands of South African troops occupy Namibia.

A. I'm a student. I'm making a modest contribution to the liberation of my people. I've been studying here for many years.

My experience here is that the Cuban people are committed to their cause, they are committed to their revolution, and they are committed to the progress of their society.

Q. What impact does the revolutionary struggle in Central America and the Caribbean, in particular the Nicaraguan revolution and the fight against U.S. interven-

tion, have on the struggle in southern Africa?

A. If an invasion would take place against the Nicaraguan people from the United States, we think, and it's by no means a secret to anyone, that the enemy of all people is imperialism. We are brothers of the Nicaraguan people and by no means do we feel excluded from an invasion which takes place against them.

We consider ourselves part of the human struggle against the evil forces of imperialism. So if Nicaragua wins, it is a victory for all of us and a push toward the final victory we are fighting for.

Penn Kimball: victim of gov't spying

The Secret File, produced by Michael Barnes. Shown on "Frontline," WNET Channel 13, April 14.

BY FRED FELDMAN

What's in those files? And how are they used?

That is a question that comes up a lot in discussions about the fight that the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are waging for an injunc-

Kimball had never been able to officially challenge the charges against him or to confront his accusers. Both had long been secret, even though they shaped the actions of the government toward Kimball and his family, in the name of "national security" and "national defense."

What were Kimball's offenses, according to the FBI agents and informers? What does it take to be labeled a "national security risk" and "dangerous" individual?

Informers are quoted as charging Kimball with sympathy for the *Newspaper Guild*, the union of editorial employees. One charged him with having "too much education." Another passage said he was "for the working people." Another called him "politically unreliable" and predicted that he could become either a liberal or a communist. Still another charged him with supporting "the Communist element."

An informer listed the man at the *New York Times* who hired Kimball as a suspected communist, so Kimball gets listed too. One agent charged Kimball with drinking beer with people whom the agent's informer said were communists.

Another black mark against Kimball: he worked for a time for PM, a now-defunct liberal New York daily.

The reports are overwhelmingly made up of gossip, hearsay, and lies. Kimball shows his interviewer that the few items of alleged fact that are included are usually inaccurate.

Kimball's file included a reference to a letter from FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to officials at the CIA. This tipped Kimball

off to seek his CIA file. It took him three years to pry it out of the agency. When it arrived, Kimball found that Janet Kimball, his wife, had been characterized as a "disloyal American." The CIA file arrived in the mail on the day of her funeral.

From this point on, Kimball also took up a fight to vindicate his wife as well.

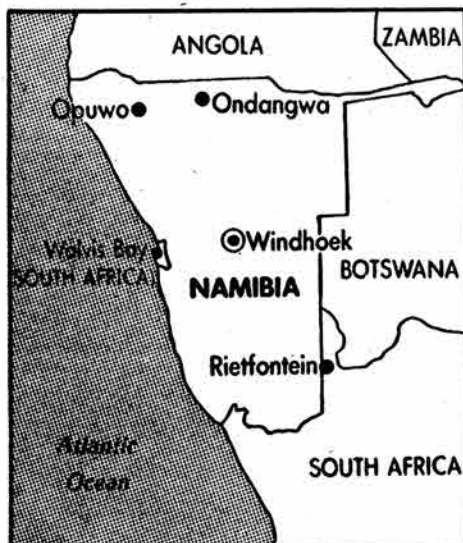
After thorough research of hints in the file, he found the reason why she had been tagged. She (along with her husband) had been in Mexico, according to the government spies, at the same time as another couple suspected of espionage were in Mexico. The file included no evidence that they ever knew each other or had met while in Mexico — and they hadn't.

Towards the end of the program, a Justice Department spokesman explained that this is all part of the price of "national security." Letting individuals know the charges against them or confront their accusers, he explained, is "a cure that's worse than the problem."

The official said that abiding by the Bill of Rights would "ensure that we never receive any kind of confidential information."

The Justice Department, this official said, seeks to balance individual rights of "due process" and "national security."

What he means by balance is apparent in the government's response in this case as in many others, including the suit brought by the SWP and YSA: complete protection of the "rights" of government spies and frame-up artists and none for the constitutional rights of their victims.



against the application of Resolution 435 of the United Nations, whereby we demand free and fair elections supervised by the UN.

Q. How much money does South Africa spend to keep its troops there?

A. South Africa maintains a huge military machine in Namibia. It maintains more than 100,000 troops organized in battalions and paramilitary units. In addition to that, it organizes some cultural units to influence the population with an ideology that is directed toward keeping them either neutral or winning them to the side of the repression — directed toward winning hearts and minds.

To maintain this huge military machine South Africa is forced to spend more than 3 million rands a day [US\$1.5 million]. We are sure we are going to make South Africa spend much more than it's spending now, and we are going to make it very difficult for South African soldiers to remain in Namibia.

Q. What is the role of young people in the struggle for independence?

TELEVISION REVIEW

tion that would bar the government from using the at least 10 million documents that the FBI illegally accumulated on these organizations.

Penn Kimball is a man with some firsthand answers to such questions. For the last nine years he has been fighting to compel the government to retract slanders against him, and to stop circulating the file that contains them. The government has refused, and now he is suing for \$10 million.

The Secret File is the story of that fight.

Kimball is a retired professor of journalism at Columbia University. He is a former staff member of the *New York Times*, *Colliers*, and other publications. He has worked for two governors and a U.S. senator.

In 1977 Kimball got wind of the fact that the State Department had a file on him, and he asked for it under the Freedom of Information Act. He found that following his being considered for a diplomatic post by the department 40 years ago, he had been shadowed by FBI agents and informers. The file revealed that the U.S. government had secretly characterized him as a "dangerous national security risk."

Kimball discovered that a warning next to his name had been the reason for persistent delays whenever he applied for a visa, and that his "security risk" status had caused him to lose sought-for government posts.

As the narrator put it, Kimball found that "spies and informants had shadowed him most of his life."

State Department officials refused to withdraw the charges or stop using the file.

Young Socialists convention

Continued from front page

as is convention-building literature in Spanish. YSA members are also circulating the April-May *Young Socialist* newspaper to get out the word.

A special convention-building team will visit campuses in the Midwest in early May. Headed by YSA National Executive Committee member Greg Rosenberg, the team will go to the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, Southern Illinois University in Carbondale, University of Wisconsin in Madison, University of Iowa in Iowa City, and other schools.

The YSA now exists in more than 80 cities and towns across the country. "A majority of YSA members coming to

Chicago will be attending their first YSA convention," YSA leader Cacoullos told the *Militant*. "Many of them are in newly formed chapters outside major cities."

Cacoullos said YSA chapters in larger cities are collaborating with branches of the Socialist Workers Party to help insure the biggest possible turnout of YSA members and those who have just recently heard about the youth organization. This entails traveling to outlying areas to publicize the convention and organizing transportation for all who wish to attend.

For more information on the convention, write to YSA, 64 Watts St., New York, N.Y. 10013, or contact the YSA chapter nearest you (see directory on page 16).

'Nicaraguan revolution means a future for us'

Interview with leader of Sandinista youth organization

The following is an interview with the secretary of international relations of the Sandinista Youth—July 19 (JS-19), the youth group of Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front. The interview was conducted by Mary-Alice Waters and Rena Cacoullos in Havana, Cuba, during the Fifth Congress of the Union of Young Communists in April. Cacoullos is the national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance in the United States. The interview was conducted in Spanish. The translation is by the *Militant*.

Question. What has the Sandinista revolution of July 19, 1979, meant for the working people and young people of Nicaragua? What are some of the most outstanding changes that have taken place in the lives of the youth?

Answer. In a word, I believe the Sandinista revolution means a future for youth.

Since we won our independence [from Spain in 1821] we have been subjected to foreign domination. The various governments in Nicaragua were always vying for the favors of foreign powers. This trampled on our sovereignty and on our sense of identity.

July 19, 1979, expressed the people's decision to end this dependence. For the first time a perspective for a sovereign Nicaragua was put forward. It was the Sandinista Front that had fought for this perspective for 25 years. And it's because of this history and the role of the Sandinista Front that the revolution offers us a future, offers us hope.

There are many obstacles that hinder this progress. On the one hand we have been economically isolated by a number of foreign countries, especially by the Reagan administration. The United States maintains an economic blockade against Nicaragua. This makes it difficult for us and makes our road a long one.

We are also at war with counterrevolutionaries who are attacking us across the Honduran and Costa Rican borders, financed by the Reagan administration and backed by some sectors in Honduras and Costa Rica.

This war raises the costs of building our future.

Yet we cannot give up this perspective. Either we fight with hope or we return to a shameful past, which is something we are unwilling to do.

Q. Can you tell us what role young people play in the defense of the country?

A. The fact that our revolution offers us a future means it is we who must shoulder the main responsibility for defending it.

Our most important task today is to safeguard the revolution. For the revolution to survive, for Nicaragua to win peace, it must first win the war.

And while we make all possible efforts on the diplomatic front and have the most to gain from peace, today we have to devote ourselves to the military defense of this revolution.

The determination of Nicaraguan youth is shown by our full participation in the military service. Nicaraguan youth serve voluntarily and willingly in the armed forces.

There is a deep understanding that this is a historic time and that we must face it decisively.

Q. Nicaraguan young people know they are responsible for the military victories of the Sandinista army and the defeats suffered by the contras. This must be a great source of pride for Nicaraguan youth.

A. In Nicaragua there is a lot of enthusiasm and joy in living and building our own future.

This is possible because the Sandinista Front broke with the tradition of handing the country over to foreign interests, and we began to assert our Nicaraguan nationality. We began to see the road forward toward reconstructing our economy and strengthening our culture.

Once this idea spread, it became powerful, and this power allowed us to defeat the dictatorship [of Anastasio Somoza]. We then became convinced that just as it was possible to defeat the dictatorship, we Nicaraguan youth could make new gains and build a better society to pass on to future



Militia members in Managua. "It is youth who must shoulder main responsibility for defending the revolution," explained leader of Sandinista Youth.

generations. We know this will not be an easy or peaceful road, but will take struggle and sacrifice.

This can be seen in young people's participation in military defense, economic construction, the development of our culture, and the improvement of health care.

Q. What is the role of the Sandinista Youth organization?

A. The Sandinista Youth tries to organize the determination and efforts of Nicaraguan youth. In 1980, eight months after the revolutionary victory, the national literacy campaign was organized. It was the Sandinista Youth that organized young people to free Nicaragua from illiteracy. This was a momentous task, which we as a youth organization are very proud of.

The battle on the production front, such as the production of coffee and cotton, also depends on the efforts of organized youth. The same is true for the health campaign and the construction efforts in the war zones threatened by the counterrevolution.

Q. In the United States there are many young workers and students who identify with the determination of the Nicaraguan people to be free of U.S. domination and who oppose the policies of the U.S. government. What is the meaning of the Sandinista revolution for U.S. working people and youth?

A. We think the Sandinista revolution cannot be exported. The Sandinista program is applicable to Nicaragua because it is rooted in the history of the Nicaraguan people's struggle against foreign domination since colonial times. Sandino [Nicaragua's national hero] represents the Nicaraguan people's struggle to control their own destiny. And the ideology of Sandinismo comes primarily out of Sandino's struggle. Nicaraguan reality determines the character of our revolution on the economic, political, and social plane.

We believe that other countries struggling for their liberation in Latin America, Africa, and Asia will also develop programs that correspond to their particular situations.

On the other hand, we cannot prevent the example of the Nicaraguan peoples' determination and dignity from inspiring other peoples to seek to build their own future.

So we are not only fighting for our own sovereignty but for the hopes of youth the world over for a just and equal world.

Q. What do you think about the demonstrations that will take place in the United States on April 25 against U.S. intervention in Central America?

A. I believe that this effort by the people of the United States to speak out against President Reagan's policy toward Central America and the apartheid regime in South Africa is a message to the U.S. administration that the world we live in today demands a civilized understanding among nations. A message that it is no longer possible to impose the policy of the Big Stick and the Monroe Doctrine around the world, but that it is necessary to solve conflicts politically and through understanding.

The actions can help the Reagan administration understand that in the case of Central America, a bilateral dialog between Nicaragua and the United States must be resumed. They can reinforce the importance of the Contadora process as a peaceful means for achieving understanding.

The demonstrations will also send a message that the apartheid regime has to end, that it must be abolished. It is a regime whose features correspond more to the epoch of slavery. Humanity can no longer allow this contemptible and intolerable situation to continue to dominate the peoples of southern Africa.

Q. Many young people in the U.S. have begun to participate in work brigades and to see the revolution with their own eyes. Do you think this is a good experience for U.S. youth?

A. Yes, though I think the Reagan administration sees things in a different light. That is why they closed down the Nicaraguan consulates in the United States. Four consulates were closed in order to weaken communication between the Nicaraguan and U.S. people.

The Nicaraguan government's response was to eliminate visa requirements so that people from the United States could travel to Nicaragua. I think that when young people come to Nicaragua they will find that we have nothing to hide. The revolution is there, with its successes and its mistakes, and its corrections of those mistakes. It is not a perfect process, not a utopia. It is a hard and difficult situation.

Regardless of their ideological or political views, young people from the United States can return to their country convinced that the only thing we Nicaraguans want is independence, peace, and the chance to exercise our right to self-determination for the first time in our history.

LET NICARAGUA LIVE!

If we lived in the war zones...

... of Nicaragua, what would we need to prevent our children from being added to the 19,000 Nicaraguans who have died in agony at the hands of the U.S. contra mercenaries?

PEACE — This is the greatest priority. Call Congress (202-224-3121) to end all support for the contra terrorists immediately!

If we were among the 250,000 men, women and children driven from their homes by contra terrorism — if the only clinic or school within miles were burned to the ground by contra sabotage...

What would we need?

We would need construction materials to build shelter for our families, to rebuild our clinic or schoolhouse, and everything from blankets to basic medicines, from lanterns to pencils and paper.

These are the things the people of Nicaragua need to survive the economic stranglehold of the U.S. trade embargo and terrorist destruction.

Send a tax-deductible donation today to LET NICARAGUA LIVE!/HAND:

LET NICARAGUA LIVE! is part of the international humanitarian aid campaign Nicaragua Debe Sobrevivir (Nicaragua Must Survive!) which sends high priority relief from 45 countries to those most affected by the U.S. contra war — Nicaraguan campesinos living in the areas most vulnerable to terrorist attacks.

Recent revelations about this unjust war challenge us to respond. WE NEED TO ACT! LET NICARAGUA LIVE!

Yes! I want to help Nicaragua survive the Reagan Administration's military and economic aggression.

Enclosed is my contribution for \$10 _____ \$25 _____ \$50 _____ \$100 _____ Other _____ to LET NICARAGUA LIVE!/HAND.

LET NICARAGUA LIVE! Campaign, 2025 I Street NW, Suite 1117, Washington, D.C., 20006. (202-223-2328). For information about Nicaragua, call the Nicaragua Network HOTLINE (202-223-NICA).



Photo: Cathy Kocy

West Virginia coalfield team warmly received

BY KATHY MICKELLS

MORGANTOWN, W.Va. — A four-person *Militant* sales team just completed a successful nine-day tour through the coalfields of West Virginia and eastern Kentucky. The team focused on these areas in order to participate in dis-

door sales in the rural hills and valleys, commonly referred to here as "hollers," and sales at mine portals and plant gates. We sold 76 copies of the *Militant* and 5 subscriptions at mine entrances and other work sites.

A particularly successful sale

Davis, West Virginia, are located near the mine and we went door-to-door in both and sold 24 issues and 5 subscriptions.

In Davis, a young miner bought a *Militant* and gave us directions to the mine. He explained that Dobbins was a highly productive mine. He told us that the Wilberg mine in Utah was trying to break the production record of Dobbins when the Wilberg disaster took place.

Eighteen miners and nine company officials were killed in the December 1984 fire, which was caused by mine safety violations.

After the Wilberg disaster, he and others vowed that they wouldn't let a Wilberg happen at Dobbins.

At the mine site, the team lined up on the road and many cars stopped. We found ourselves directing traffic as miners pulled over to see what the *Militant* was about. One miner gave us \$5 for an introductory subscription and

said he'd been looking for a paper that takes the side of workers.

At an afternoon shift change, our team sold 43 *Militants* and 5 subscriptions.

As we traveled through southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky, the team was struck by the poverty that exists in these hollers. It seemed like either you are a miner or laid off and poor.

We visited Gary and Welch, West Virginia, where USX Corp. had closed down its massive mining operations, bringing unemployment up to nearly 90 percent. Here Black miners — almost half the work force — found the paper's coverage on the antiwar, anti-apartheid struggle of particular interest.

In every town, the team talked with retired miners and miners' families. One retiree from eastern Kentucky who bought a subscription had helped organize the union in Harlan County, Kentucky, in the 1930s.

In North Matewan and Williamson, West Virginia, we sold subscriptions to officials and members of the UMWA who are involved in the continuing struggle against A.T. Massey Coal Co.

The team found people eager to have a paper that explains what workers are doing around the world. One woman whose father-in-law was killed in the battles with coal operators in the 1920s, felt very strongly that "the government has no business telling these other countries what they can do."

In the mining communities we sold 159 singles and 33 subscriptions to the *Militant*.

The team also talked to students at Marshall University in Huntington, West Virginia; Davis and Elkins College in Elkins, West Virginia; and Pikesville College in Kentucky. Some 65 singles and 3 *Militant* subscriptions, as well as Pathfinder literature and Young Socialist Alliance T-shirts were sold on these campuses.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

cussions among working people about the upcoming negotiations between the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the coal operators.

Like other subscription teams across the country and in Puerto Rico, we invited young people we met to the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, which will take place in Chicago on the weekend of May 23-25.

We concentrated on door-to-

took place at Island Creek Coal Co.'s Dobbins mine in Bayard, West Virginia.

In preparation for our trip to the portal we held a discussion among ourselves about the area we were going to and the recently negotiated agreement between the miners' union and Island Creek.

We thought it important to focus on a couple of towns where a concentration of miners from Island Creek lived. Thomas and

GI's, students, and coal miners buying 'Militant'

BY MALIK MIAH

Supporters of the *Militant* and the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* are gearing up for big sales at the April 25 antiwar and anti-apartheid marches in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco. (See box on page 1 for how you can participate in that effort.)

Expectations are high that not only will we catch up, but we'll jump ahead as we begin the second half of the spring campaign to win 6,700 new subscribers to the *Militant* and 1,800 to *PM*.

As we go to press, we are slightly behind schedule. As the scoreboard below shows, we've sold 1,990 *Militant* and 639 *PM* subscriptions.

One reason for the lag cited by a few salespeople is the difficulty convincing some students leaving for summer break to subscribe. These students don't know their new address yet.

Unlike many other publications, however, the *Militant* can turn around a change of address within one week of receiving the notice from a reader. Prospective subscribers to the publications who are planning to move should be told of this fact.

Areas with large concentrations of distributors continue to lead the drive. New York sold another 99 subscriptions over the past week. Newark, across the Hudson River, sold 53 subscriptions.

A three-person Newark sales team sold 18 *Militants* and 2 *PMs* at Fort Dix, New Jersey, reports Laura Carnes. Some 18,000-20,000 soldiers take basic training at this military base. One GI told the team, "Yeah, I want that paper. I like the headline. It sounds like me." The headline read: "March against war, apartheid April 25."

Three *Militant* subscriptions were sent in by Albany, New York, supporters who sold them to striking workers in Rome, New York.

A team of four supporters from Portland, Oregon, sold 10 *Militant* and 2 *PM* subscriptions in Eugene near the University of Oregon campus.

National sales teams continue to report an excellent response from working people. In addition to selling subscriptions, their priority for the next month is bringing as many young people as possible to the Young Socialist Alliance convention (see story on page 1).

Dick McBride, captain of the Alabama coalfield sales team, excitedly called in after one day of sales. The team sold 27 *Militants* at the Mary Lee mine in Parish, Alabama, after the midnight shift change. Another 21 *Militants* and 1 subscription were sold to coal miners at the North River mine in Berry, Alabama.

The southern Illinois coal team had a wonderful sale in a town called Nine. This all-Black community of less than 100 people was set up by the coal bosses in the 1920s. The team sold 7 *Militants* and 3 subscriptions going door-to-door.

In six days of sales, the team sold 68

Militants to miners at portals and 50 more to workers at other plant gates, reports team member Jim Altenberg.

Tony Dutrow reports that the three-person northwest Iowa, Nebraska, and South Dakota team finished with 23 *Militant* and 1 *PM* subscriptions; 95 *Militants* sold to workers at plant gates, including to meat-packers at six plants; 50 papers to students on several campuses; and the sale of more than \$80 worth of T-shirts and buttons distributed by the Young Socialist Alliance.

If you would like to join a sales team, call the number of the city nearest you listed in the directory on page 16. Or, order your own bundle by clipping and mailing in the coupon below.

☐ I would like to order a bundle of _____ *Militants* and _____ *PMs*.

☐ I would like to take a subscription goal of _____ *Militants* and _____ *PMs*.

Name _____

Address _____

City, State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

Mail to: *Militant* Business Office, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Or phone: (212) 929-3486.



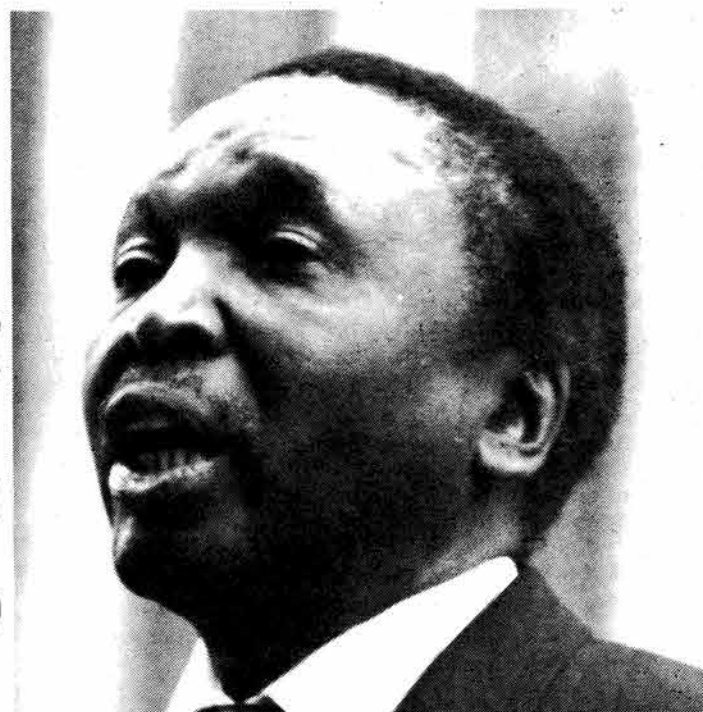
Militant/Kathy Mickells

West Virginia subscription team selling on campus. Teams are inviting young people to attend upcoming Young Socialist Alliance convention.

Spring Subscription Scoreboard

Area	Goals		Sold		% Sold
	<i>Militant</i>	<i>Perspectiva Mundial</i>	<i>Militant</i>	<i>Perspectiva Mundial</i>	
Phoenix	80	80	33	50	52
Stony Brook, N.Y.	10	-	5	-	50
New York	500	250	217	126	46
Milwaukee	100	25	46	7	42
Los Angeles	250	200	116	66	40
Amherst, Mass.	10	0	3	1	40
Toledo, Ohio	100	5	39	2	39
Chicago	225	75	76	40	39
Boston	240	60	75	40	38
Denver	100	15	40	4	38
Atlanta	110	10	38	6	37
Detroit	190	20	69	8	37
Des Moines, Iowa	100	10	32	5	34
San Francisco	100	60	31	22	33
Seattle	180	50	56	19	33
Miami	110	40	37	11	32
Baltimore	130	8	29	13	30
Portland, Ore.	125	25	37	7	29
Newark, N.J.	375	175	118	36	28
Pittsburgh	90	10	23	5	28
San Diego	85	55	27	11	27
Philadelphia	150	50	40	13	27
Morgantown, W.Va.	75	5	20	1	26
Austin, Minn.	80	10	22	1	26
Dallas	120	60	33	13	26
San Jose, Calif.	180	100	48	23	25
Charleston, W.Va.	100	0	24	1	25
Greensboro, N.C.	115	10	29	2	25
Capital Dist., N.Y.	110	12	26	4	25
Kansas City	120	20	33	1	24
Houston	125	25	31	4	23
Twin Cities, Minn.	200	15	46	4	23
St. Louis	250	12	57	3	23
Annandale, N.Y.	70	10	18	0	23
Oakland, Calif.	150	50	33	11	22
Omaha, Neb.	100	15	18	5	20
Salt Lake City	100	30	23	3	20
New Orleans	90	10	19	0	19
Cleveland	125	15	17	6	16
Birmingham, Ala.	130	2	20	0	15
Columbus, Ohio	25	5	1	2	10
Washington, D.C.	160	50	15	4	9
Price, Utah	45	2	3	0	6
Ames, Iowa	5	-	0	-	0
Athens, Ohio	8	-	0	-	0
Clovis, Calif.	5	-	0	-	0
Edmond, Okla.	5	-	0	-	0
Honolulu, Hawaii	15	-	0	-	0
Lawrence, Kan.	20	-	0	-	0
Oberlin, Ohio	5	-	0	-	0
Tucson, Ariz.	2	3	0	0	0
West Haven, Conn.	5	-	0	-	0
W. Palm Beach, Fla.	5	-	0	-	0
Teams	-	-	196	24	-
Other	-	-	71	35	-
Totals	6,700	1,800	1,990	639	31
To be on schedule			2,265	608	34

Racism in South Africa: Are there one or two categories of victims?



Militant/Ernest Harsch
Fred Dube, denied tenure at a New York campus for his political views, is fighting victimization.

We are reprinting below an article by Fred Dube on the effects of racism on white South Africans.

Fred Dube is a South African by birth. A teacher and political activist, he has for 33 years been a member of the African National Congress (ANC), which is leading the freedom struggle against the apartheid regime.

While still in South Africa, Dube was a provincial leader of the ANC. In the mid-1960s, as a result of his political activities, he was imprisoned for four years in the notorious Robben Island prison, where Nelson Mandela was also held at the time. Upon his release in 1968, he was forced to go into exile.

Fred Dube came to the United States in the early 1970s. In 1977 he began teaching in the African Studies Department at the Stony Brook campus of the State University of New York (SUNY).

On January 30 of this year, Dube was formally denied tenure (a permanent teaching job) at Stony Brook because of his political views and the contents of his courses. This followed a four-year campaign of smears and accusations against Dube by the university authorities, Zionist groups, and prominent office holders. Gov. Mario Cuomo himself intervened in the case, claiming that Dube's classroom lectures were "intellectually dishonest."

What these forces objected to in particular was a course that Dube taught, called the "Politics of Race," in which he encouraged students to think critically about the racist ideologies of the Israeli regime and of the apartheid regime in South Africa.

A visiting Israeli professor claimed that Dube's linking of Zionism to racism was "sloganeering that is practiced by the anti-Semite." This slander was also picked up by several Zionist groups.

Dube was denied tenure despite the fact that four different university committees recommended tenure. Their recommendations were overruled by Stony Brook's president, John Marburger, and by SUNY's chancellor, Clifton Wharton.

This blatant violation of academic and political freedom has provoked protests. Many students and faculty members have come out in support of Dube. On February 26 students took over the administration building at Stony Brook and staged an all-night sit-in.

Dube has also taken his fight for tenure to other campuses, speaking at a Central America teach-in at SUNY's New Paltz campus and at a rally against racist attacks at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.

"This is not just my fight," Dube said in an interview published in the April-May *Young Socialist* newspaper, "because if any group who dislikes someone comes together and makes some noise, and is able as a result to get a particular individual thrown out of teaching, it means that academic freedom has no meaning in the United States."

Dube stated, "I think that political pressure can help. I think it could help other people in similar circumstances not to be victimized in the same way that I have been."

Letters and telegrams of protest can be sent to: Chancellor Clifton R. Wharton, Jr., State University Plaza, Albany, New York 12246; President John Marburger, President's Office, SUNY at Stony Brook, Stony Brook, N.Y. 11794; and Governor Mario Cuomo, Executive Chamber, State Capitol, Albany, N.Y. 12224. Copies

should be sent to Dube's lawyers: Steven and Hinds, 209 W. 125 St., New York, N.Y. 10027.

The following essay first appeared in the Winter-Spring, 1986-87, issue of the *Philosophical Forum*, published by the City University of New York's Baruch College. It is reprinted by permission. The subheads have been added by the *Militant*.

* * *

BY FRED DUBE

My thesis is that there are, in addition to its obvious and primary victims, less obvious secondary victims of racism, the people we ordinarily think of as victimizers. The thesis, I want to emphasize, is based on personal observation on three continents: Africa, Europe, and North America as well as on the literature of racism.

Further, I will use anecdotal evidence to support my assertion that there are two, and not one, victims of racism. I am aware that I may be opening myself to criticism for providing a rationalization for racism, but I personally do not believe that that is what is intended by this paper, nor will the discussion lead to rationalization. My hope is that this paper will lead to a reassessment of the usual forms of investigation which have not as yet produced a new idea in the study of racism.

My evidence, anecdotal and other, suggests that racially based prejudice, unlike prejudices based on other human differences (e.g., ethnicity) tends to deny acculturation and is more stubbornly persistent. This, despite the fact that there is no scientifically acceptable, or "objective," definition of "race" as a natural, or biological category. "Race" is simply a social category.

In my article in the *Harvard Educational Review*, I defined racism as a "psychological phenomenon rooted in the belief that there is a causal relationship between certain inherited physical traits and certain aspects of personality and intellect. Combined with this is the notion that some 'races' are inherently superior to others. At times the notion of superiority takes the form of superior virtue, which ultimately is believed to be a biologically inherited trait common only to the virtuous 'races'."¹

A myth that gives rise to racism

By "psychological" in this definition I intended to suggest that racism does not arise out of a real thing called "race" but is a mental phenomenon. And by putting "race" in quotation marks I intended to suggest that "race" as a natural category is a myth, a myth which is nonetheless powerful enough to give rise to what we call racism, notwithstanding its mythical origins.

Given the mythical character of "race," the very least we can say of racist victimizers is that they are taken in by their own myth; they are, at the very least, intellectual victims. The Afrikaner child is in fact the victim, privileged as he may be in other respects, of systematic indoctrination, and the correlative inhibition of critical or independent thinking. But let me turn from these general remarks to my anecdotal report.

It may be difficult for people who have never been at

the mercy of racists to believe that there can be human beings who could find fun in seeing another human being in pain. What we are used to seeing on our television screens is a militaristically stern face of a Nazi official and not a relaxed, seemingly ordinary person who seems to think beating up a "nonwhite," particularly a political one, is his sacred duty.

When we arrived on Robben Island there were 16 of us, chained to each other at both feet and arms in two rows of eight people. When the boat from Cape Town harbor reached Robben Island harbor, we were met by a Chief Warder, the highest official among the warders, who, even before we touched ground, began to assault us with a stick. That assault was a signal to all the other warders, about 10 of them, to follow suit with obvious pleasure written all over their faces. Fastened to each other as we were, we were not able to defend ourselves or even to parry the blows. There was no explanation as to why we were being assaulted nor did we know the meaning of all this.

We were all without prior prison experience; this was for all of us our first. Waiting for us was an open truck. In the driver's seat was an African wearing prison gear. He waved at us, pointing at the truck to which we then jerkily ran and climbed up while still under the torrid assault. Only when we were all on the truck, bleeding with bumps on our heads and weals over our shoulders, did the assault stop. There had been no command, even though in prison that is the language, command, as to what we were expected to do. All we had heard from the Chief Warder, who is distinguished from all the others by the stripes on his shoulders and a dignity stick he carries, was "haak." As to what "haak" meant, we did not even have a clue.

Our driver as it turned out was an "A" grade, the highest grading you can get in prison based on good conduct. It goes with such privileges as being allowed to read a newspaper, owning a musical instrument, getting a lighter job, and receiving and writing a letter twice a month, and receiving a visitor once a month. As our driver drove us to the main reception office, we could see our assailants clustered and laughing, probably about how they beat us up.

Assaulted again

At the office we were taken out of our chains, registered, and given our new passes (cards) and prison numbers which were, for the duration of our stay, our names. After we were all registered we left the office. We were not told what we were then expected to do except that now we could leave. We were not told where to go, but simply pointed to a corridor where two rows of warders with sticks were lined up. As soon as those in front came to the two rows of warders they were assaulted again. There was no retreat because from behind, as from nowhere, there were other warders assaulting us. There was an open yard surrounded by buildings to which we ran with warders at our backs assaulting us all the way. Confused as we were, another prisoner pointed at a building; these contained showers and we were all naked as they were beating us. They only stopped once we reached the showers.

After showering, which was not even showering but

Continued on ISR/4

1. E.F. Dube, "The Relationship Between Racism and Education in South Africa," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 55, No. 1, 1985, p.88.

What are main problems of Filipino

Interview with chairman of the Peasant Movement of the Philippines

Jaime Tadeo is chairman of the Peasant Movement of the Philippines (KMP). On January 22 he led a demonstration of 25,000 demanding land reform from President Corazon Aquino's administration. The demonstrators were fired upon by Philippine marines outside the presidential palace, killing at least 19 and wounding hundreds of others. Thirteen of the those killed were members of the KMP.

Instead of prosecuting the military perpetrators of this massacre, on February 27 Aquino ordered sedition charges to be laid against Tadeo and four other KMP leaders.

In the following interview, Tadeo describes the background to the events leading up to the massacre and outlines the KMP's program for land reform. It was obtained by Russell Johnson and Sam Manuel in Manila on February 24. Johnson, from New Zealand, and Manuel, from the United States, were in the Philippines for several weeks in February and March as part of a *Militant* reporting team. The team also included Deb Shnoorkal from Australia.

Johnson. When was the KMP founded?

Tadeo. The Peasant Movement of the Philippines was organized nationally July 24-27, 1985. But this was a product of organizing on the local level since martial law was declared in 1972.

Johnson. In what parts of the country is the KMP strongest?

Tadeo. We have regional chapters all over the Philippines — Mindanao, Visayas, Southern Tagalog, Bicol,

“One of central objectives of KMP's land reform is free distribution of the land . . .”

Central Luzon, Northeastern Luzon, all over. We have a strongly organized mass base of 750,000 peasants and agricultural workers and a considerably larger influence.

Manuel. How did you get involved in the peasant organizations?

Tadeo. I have a BS degree in agriculture, and from 1962 I worked with the farmers on government programs as an agricultural specialist and later as a cooperative manager. But, I asked myself, why in spite of all these



Jaime Tadeo

Militant/Sam Manuel

programs did the farmer remain poor, uneducated, malnourished, and downtrodden? So I decided to leave the government service and help Central Luzon farmers organize. Because the farmers comprise 70 percent of the population I determined that we can only liberate the Filipino people by organizing the sector that makes up the majority.

Johnson. When was this?

Tadeo. In 1981 the government increased the price of fertilizer by 18 percent. I think it was the continuing increase in the costs of production and the low prices for our produce that united us. When we started we were only in the province of Bulacan. But we decided to contact the different organizations in Central Luzon and on November 14 we formed the Alliance of Central Luzon Farmers. I was the chair.

Manuel. What does the KMP see as the main problems confronting the Filipino peasants today?

Tadeo. The number one problem is landlessness. Seven out of 10 farmers do not own the land they till. Vast tracts are concentrated in the hands of a few.

Second is the high cost of production.

Third is the high rate, the usurious rate, of interest.

The fourth problem is the low prices of our produce. Thus the purchasing power of the peasant is low.

Finally there is the continuing militarization in the countryside.

Manuel. What does the KMP propose be done to solve these problems?

Tadeo. After the revolt [which overthrew dictator Ferdinand Marcos in February 1986] we saw our role as assisting the Corazon Aquino government implement the democratic reforms she promised. I was one of those appointed to draft the new constitution.

So we put in writing the 100 years of the Filipino peasants' struggle for land reform. Last May and June the KMP conducted a series of National Council meetings. We then drafted a comprehensive land-reform program covering three phases over a five-year period, which would amount to the abolition of feudalism in the Philippines.

Manuel. What do you mean by feudalism?

Tadeo. A system of production whereby the landlord exploits the Filipino peasant through the concentration of vast tracts of land in the hands of a few. That's the meaning of feudalism.

Johnson. Why did you decide to participate in the Constitution Commission?

Tadeo. So I could fight for the interests of the Filipino farmers. Because of what we call the "democratic space" created by Marcos' overthrow, the KMP had a position of critical cooperation regarding this new government.

But the problem during the deliberations was that while I was able, in consultation with my organization, to present a definite, clear, and very strong provision for genuine agrarian reform, it was watered down in the commission. So I voted no to the new constitution in the commission.

Johnson. What do you mean by genuine land reform?

Tadeo. We mean a comprehensive land-reform program covering all agricultural lands, including all arable land not yet cultivated, which are to be distributed freely to the farmers and the landless agricultural workers. This will include salt-making ponds and fish farms that are also owned by landlords. That is, we are calling for an agrarian and natural resources reform.

Johnson. What changes do you see for the peasant movement with the new government?

Tadeo. Before the snap election, in a speech to farmers on Jan. 16, 1986, Aquino promised to implement land reform, beginning with her own Hacienda Luisita. Her hacienda in Tarlac, Central Luzon, incorporates over 6,200 hectares [15,300 acres] of land and 11 barrios, involving 2,000 to 5,000 farm workers. Once in power, her government repeated the promise to implement an expanded land reform. But one year has elapsed, and we are still waiting.

We decided to hold a protest action last May. But the president ignored us. We called another mass action last July. Then on October 21, 25,000 farmers from across

the country organized a long motorcade, but still the president ignored us. So we decided to have a camp-out in January in front of the Department of Agrarian Reform. That resulted in the Mendiola massacre.

Manuel. What actually happened at Mendiola?

Tadeo. The talks with the Secretary of Agrarian Reform [Heherson Alvarez] collapsed because he was telling us to wait until after the ratification of the new con-

“The road to peace in the countryside is implementing KMP's land reform . . .”

stitution when a comprehensive land reform would be formulated by the next congress.

The problem is that the land-reform provision in the new constitution is open-ended and subject to different interpretations. Moreover, the next congress will be landlord-dominated so there will be no chance at all that a genuine agrarian reform will be formulated by it.

We told the secretary to place the KMP's minimum program for land reform before the cabinet meeting on January 21 and talk with the president. But when he came back that afternoon, he reported that the president again told us to wait until after the ratification.

By January 21 the talks with the secretary had collapsed. Alvarez visited the camp-out and broke some bread with us. But he would not confront our demands. So we decided to march to Malacañang [the presidential palace] on January 22, after one week of camp-out.

But, upon reaching the Mendiola Bridge that leads to Malacañang, we saw that it had been barricaded by the military — four to five layers of antiriot police, and five to six layers of marines, fully armed with long arms, pistols, and in full battle gear.

But we were not anticipating what would happen.

Key issues fa

The following interview with Bob Ortaliz took place in Manila on March 3. Ortaliz is secretary general of the May 1 Movement (KMU) trade union federation. The interview was obtained by Russell Johnson.

Johnson. Recent months have seen a series of brutal attacks on the Philippine workers and peasants movement. Why?

Ortaliz. These developments should be placed in the context of the so-called revolution that ousted Ferdinand Marcos last February [1986], which the KMU says never really was a revolution. For the ruling elite, in fact, it was a means to stop a real revolution that could give a better deal for the workers and the Filipino people.

The government which cropped up was a very loose temporary conjuncture of contending forces — those who had been displaced from power during Marcos, and the holdovers from his regime, including the military, of course. For a transition period, so-called liberal democrats were able to consolidate their influence inside the government. But basically, the government was really the elite, the ruling class.

About six or seven months later, two factions — the militarists, including the Marcos holdovers, and the liberals — were warring within the coalition government. Then, eventually, [Defense Minister Juan Ponce] Enrile was ousted. The ultrareactionaries within and outside the government tried to stage provocations like the January 1987 takeover of a TV station, Channel 7, but they were totally isolated.

The so-called liberal tendencies in the government seem to amount to nothing. There is this resurgence of attacks on progressive sectors of society. The answer to the open mass movement demanding basic rights is bullets, truncheons, and tear gas.

You should notice how the government handled the February 2 plebiscite on the new constitution.

The constitution was equated with Cory Aquino, who remains very popular, and people just voted yes. This al-

peasants?

piners

Even during the Marcos regime our marches were usually dispersed by water cannon only. We were even joking with each other as we approached the antiriot police that after a week of the camp-out, this would be the time to take a bath.

But when our negotiating panel, all of whom came from the National Council of KMP, were about one meter away, soldiers cocked their guns simultaneously. I think it must have been upon an order because cocking was simultaneous.

Then the senior police officer present, Col. Edgar Dula Torres, held up his hand and shouted from behind the police lines, "Wait! Wait! Don't shoot. Don't shoot. I am about to negotiate with Jimmy Tadeo." However, in a split second they started shooting.

Manuel. What has been the outcome of the Mendiola massacre?

Tadeo. The president for the first time agreed to discuss our demands in her cabinet. That cost us 13 lives. So we met with them on February 6.

Manuel. The newspapers say that the KMP has reached an agreement with the government.

Tadeo. The principle that has been agreed upon pertains to the distribution, at an affordable cost to the peasants, of Marcos and crony-owned land sequestered by the government; of private agricultural land foreclosed by government — not private — banking and financial institutions; and of idle and abandoned land.

The KMP views what is an affordable cost to be a question mainly to be decided by individual peasants. And if the peasants deem that they cannot afford payments, then they need not pay. Hence free distribution as an option remains.

I would like to explain why one of the central objectives of the KMP's comprehensive land-reform program is free distribution of the land.

We have three categories of peasants: 2 to 3 percent are rich peasants, about 15 percent are middle peasants, and the poor peasants and farm workers make up 75 to 85 percent.



The number one problem of Filipino peasants is landlessness. Seven out of 10 do not own the land they till.

cent. A comprehensive land reform must give land to the 75 to 85 percent. This is why we propose the free distribution of land.

The 75 to 85 percent, who only earn an income of as little as 15 pesos [US\$0.75] per day, are living like animals in the countryside. All that they can afford is a little food and transportation expenses. Their children can go to school through the elementary grades only.

From our experience under Marcos' land-reform decree PD 27, land valuation, based on production, was around 15,000 pesos [\$750] per hectare, payable over 15 years. But the records of the Land Bank of the Philippines show that only 9 percent of those buying their land under PD 27 were able to keep up their payments. The rest simply could not pay 15,000 pesos over 15 years. Therefore, the need for free distribution of land.

The despotic landlord should not be compensated. Only the deserving landlord and the small landlord should be. But it is the government which must compensate them, not the peasant.

This is actually an investment on the part of the government on what the Filipino farmers will give the Filipino nation — what we call progress. This will mean 35 to 40 million people with purchasing power. This will mean industrialization. This will mean more food, more raw materials. This will create job opportunities. This will help the domestic market.

The KMP is demanding that the Cory government implement a comprehensive program that is not limited to rice and corn lands as PD 27 was, but covers plantation crops too. We doubt this government will implement this because it will affect the interests of the multinational corporations.

Manuel. Why has the KMP been organizing farmers to occupy some of the sequestered lands?

Tadeo. According to United Nations' studies, for a land reform to be implemented you need two things. One, a strong political will on the part of the national

Continued on next page

cing labor movement in the Philippines

showed the more reactionary trend within the government to be consolidated.

Johnson. A new congress is to be elected. What is your view of that?

Ortaliz. Well, the problem will be the same one we faced when Aquino appointed the commission to draft the new constitution. Workers and peasants and other sectors of society won't be represented. It will be just the same politics of the elite.

Johnson. Why did the KMU call for a "no" vote in the plebiscite?

Ortaliz. The specific provision of the new constitution regarding labor is very much sugar-coated. But if you dig deeper there's virtually nothing in it for labor. Because the right to organize and the right to strike, are based on existing laws — and these are still the laws of Marcos. The recent Executive Order 111 does not fulfill the president's promise to recognize basic union rights made last May Day.

Johnson. How is the KMU responding to the increased violence against the workers and peasants?

Ortaliz. Even under Marcos the KMU's answer was to resort to the open mass movement. Let the people assert their strength by way of showing their numbers. Because we know that by way of the traditional avenue for grievances, nothing will happen. For example, the killing of [KMU Chairman Rolando] Olalia last November. Nothing has been done about it. Nor has anything been done about the Escalante massacre [of Negros sugar workers in September 1985] and other killings of trade unionists.

Of course, some peasants and workers have opted for armed struggle. That is their own decision.

Johnson. Last year, the KMU took the lead in helping to form the Labor Advisory and Consultative Council (LACC) with other trade union groups. Is the LACC still operating?

Ortaliz. It is. In fact, we expect that the May Day celebration this year will be a joint effort of LACC without TUCP [the pro-employer Trade Union Congress of the Philippines organized by Marcos].

Johnson. What further progress has there been towards broader trade union unity in defense of democratic and labor rights?

Ortaliz. Under Marcos many of the present affiliates of LACC were more or less hesitant about staging mass actions through fear of being crushed. But even during that period the WFTU [World Federation of Trade Unions] affiliates and some locals of the Federation of Free Workers began joining KMU in political mobilizations.

With the ouster of Marcos we floated the idea of forming a broader labor alliance, and eventually it evolved into the LACC. Today, through joint meetings and actions more and more bases of unity are being formed. Hopefully, a united labor center can emerge in the country, but it will take quite a process.

Because of the "democratic space" there has been rapid growth of the KMU in all regions of the country, so that, according to our own studies, it is now dominant on the labor front.

Even the secretary general of the TUCP [Ernesto Herrera] who had said that there could never be unity between KMU and TUCP because of ideology, has toned down a little recently. He is one of Mrs. Aquino's candidates for senator. He said, "Well I don't have any problems with KMU. Only with some elements." He's changing his tune now as a vote-getting tactic.

The trend since the uprising is that other sectors of Philippine society have been joining the KMU in political mobilizations. A new alliance is being formed called Solidarity with the Toiling Masses. It will be a broad multi-sectoral alliance involving not only labor, but peasants and other sectors, in which the KMU will be participating.

Johnson. When Aquino announced the end of the

cease-fire, her military commanders declared that one of the army's targets in their renewed war with the New People's Army guerrillas was going to be the alleged subversion of labor, peasant, and squatter organizations by communists. Do you have any comment?

Ortaliz. I would say we have been used to that already. This red scare is not new. In fact, in every Third World country where there has been a strong, open mass movement crying for justice, it has been branded as a communist movement. And the Philippines is no exception. Ever since the McCarthy era [in the 1950s], when charges of communism were used for the crushing of many militant trade unions, it has been used.

It is one response to the expansion of KMU. For example, in Cebu, the stronghold of TUCP, we have gained so many members from them. This is why the American Chamber of Commerce in Cebu and other big business interests launched a campaign called Save Cebu Crusade during the strike movement there last year. The cry was to save Cebu from "communism."

I made an investigation and found that of the 47 firms manufacturing rattan products for export, only seven were paying the minimum wage, which is about 32 pesos [US\$1.60] a day. It was because of the economic demands of the workers for the mere implementation of the so-called minimum wage that big business called for a crusade against communism. This was orchestrated by them and taken up by the military.

Johnson. At the end of April KMU will be organizing its annual International Solidarity Affair. What is its history?

Ortaliz. I think they started in 1982. In order to project the [Filipino] workers' struggle internationally, we had this idea of inviting trade unionists from other countries for a two-week program. Through this exposure to the plight of the Filipino workers we gained support — moral, political and financial — from these trade unions. We also gained the recognition of major trade union centers in other countries.

Problems facing peasants in the Philippines

Continued from previous page

leadership. And two, strong peasant organization. If the government lacks that political will to implement land reform, it is the hungry people who will implement it. That is the reason why we have these land occupations. We have them in Mindoro, in Negros, in Laguna, in so many locations. The KMP is implementing the strong political will of the peasant organization, because this government lacks the political will to implement an agrarian reform program.

Johnson. What is the response of the government and the landlords?

Tadeo. I think we have succeeded to force the government to talk about comprehensive land reform because of these land occupations. By January 22 we had been able to occupy and continue to work 20,270 hectares [50,100 acres] of land.

But the problem now being reported to us by our farmer members is that the political and military warlords are sending goons to reoccupy their lands. This is because after the Mendiola massacre the government is saying that agrarian reform will be implemented on sequestered, foreclosed, idle, and abandoned lands.

Johnson. Has any of the sequestered land been distributed?

Tadeo. No. Not yet. Previous to the Mendiola massacre the Department of Agrarian Reform had ordered the eviction of our farmers from occupied land in Mindoro and Laguna. But after the massacre there is more security.

Manuel. Has there been harassment of those occupying land?

Tadeo. We can implement land occupations only where we have strong organization in an area, so we can have assistance to barricade it off.

Manuel. But there's been no murders of organizers?

Tadeo. Not yet. But there has been harassment of our leaders.

Manuel. What's the meaning of the February 10 massacre of peasants at Lupao?

Tadeo. Events like this will multiply because the government preserves the interests of the ruling class and of the foreigners. Preserving their interests means there will be continuing militarization in the countryside. There is still militarization in the countryside because there is injustice.

The road to peace in the countryside is implementing the KMP's land reform. I told the president that we want political and economic stability and will cooperate in implementing this program. But the president is surrounded by landlords and big businessmen, and she would not like to create any enemies among them.

The second problem of the Aquino government is she lacks control over the military. In response to the con-

tinuous coup attempts from within the military, Aquino has not responded by utilizing "people power," but by siding with [army Chief of Staff Gen. Fidel] Ramos and [Defense Minister Rafael] Iletto, both West Pointers. And behind them are the U.S. imperialists. She is now on the right.

It is very hard to oppose Aquino because the people do not understand. It is not like the Marcos regime which they could easily understand.

Johnson. Why does she still have such widespread support?

Tadeo. The toppling of the dictator, that's the beginning of her popularity. Also, the organized sectors of

Philippine society are only 5 to 10 percent. To analyze the whole Philippine situation, it's necessary to ask about the 90 percent unorganized sector. That's the base where the Aquino government is very popular.

But there is a continuing intensification of poverty and hunger and militarization in the countryside. This is a government sitting on a social volcano that will erupt any time in the near future.

Look what's happened with the New Armed Forces of the Philippines. Hiding behind a popular government, killing people. Could you imagine the Mendiola, Bataan Export Processing Zone, and Lupao massacres. These will multiply. Because the government is not solving the problems of the Filipino people.

Effects of racism on white South Africans

Continued from ISR/1

just dipping, we heard that same "haak" and out of the showers we came and this time found the "A" grade criminals, for they were the only "A" grade prisoners, who then handed out our prison clothes. That was our baptism at Robben Island. From there we were assigned to different cells, which were to be our homes until changed by an order of the Chief Warden.

We thought our ordeals were over. We were mistaken because they had just begun. Of all the sadists we had met, the worst were the two Kleinhans brothers, Pete and Hans. I thought I could never forget, let alone forgive, these two. As a prisoner, worst of all a political prisoner, you always had to be near these two. In full view of even their seniors and for no reason at all, they would assault us in a manner for which the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals would press criminal charges. There was no such society to protect us. The Kleinhans brothers were the worst of the lot but not the only sadists.

Why do I say that these sadists were also victims? To understand this consider also another anecdote. On Robben Island I met a warden who seemed to have some education, probably a junior high school education, which was rare among them. These were incidentally all "white" wardens for no "nonwhites" were wardens on this island. Prior to being a guard over us he had been working in the general office and he used to see me coming to pick up my correspondence lectures from the University of South Africa, the only correspondence university in South Africa.

As the wardens used to pick prisoners they wanted to supervise, he picked me among others to work under him. As we were working he came to me and said in Afrikaans, "Kaffirs will always be stupid no matter how educated they may be." I then asked him why he thought that to be the case. He then said, "Look at you. You are in this shit. What made you think you could fight this government?" He was surprised when in turn I said to him, "You know what? We are in this shit together." In

reply he said, "I am not a prisoner, you are." I said, "That makes it even worse for you, because while in the same shit with me you do not even know." As the conversation between us continued, a criminal prisoner who was carrying his coffee flask whispered to me that the Warden had a weekend off but that he was not going to Cape Town. I then turned the discussion over and asked him whether he was going to the mainland on the coming weekend. He said no and then I asked him why. His answer was that he had not asked for a pass which he needs to leave the Island. I then said, "You a free man need somebody's permission for where you spend your day off, the same way I need permission from you to go to the toilet?" He had difficulty with that one.

This was a very cold April day. It was about 11:30 in the morning and we had left the prison for work at 8:00 a.m. I then turned the discussion to his coffee. I asked him to take a sip of his coffee which he did, but he just gulped it down as though he were drinking cold water. I then asked him whether his coffee was not hot since he drank it as if he were drinking cold water. He then said, "Don't be silly. I have been out here since morning. This coffee cannot be still hot." I then said to him, "I know, but still you are a free man not a prisoner who should be drinking cold coffee."

From that day onward, he used to make sure that I was in his working gang and we then drifted our discussions to South African politics. My point to him was to say that he and others like him were being used by politicians. They were not being told the truth about us and our abilities nor about what opportunities there are for them as "whites." As it turned out, he grew up in an orphanage. Because he was bright he skipped some grades but, when he turned 17, he was told he could no longer be supported by the State. He therefore had three options: join the army, join the police force, or become a prison warden. I then said to him he had far wider choices as a "white" than those three choices.

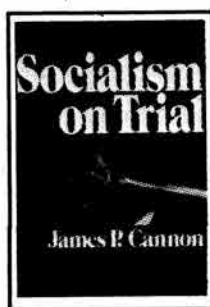
One day he came to me and told me that he had been looking at the newspaper advertisements, a thing he had never done before, and saw an attractive opening that could lead him towards gaining his high school diploma. He then asked me if I could help him to draft an application. I did. Three months later he came to tell me that he got the job I had helped him write the application for and he had already given notice to leave the Island.

Conclusion

These are just two examples of the many that could be cited. The question then is, are these sadists and those contemptuous of African people solely responsible for their sadism and contempt of Africans? My answer would be yes and no. The reason is that their parents or elders around them, their churches and schools, and their general society were, from their childhood, feeding them with information that made them believe, without questioning, that they are God-ordained to be superior to "nonwhites." Their society made them believe that even questioning this superiority was a sin against God and thus they could not do this without a feeling of guilt. Even then, they had no reason to question either their elders or, worse, their messengers of God, their priests. Never having been taught to think on their own on matters of "race" superiority/inferiority, they simply accept what is given to them. Independent thinking among them is discouraged. Any defender of "blacks" is considered not only to be a "kaffir boetie" (nigger lover) but is also considered to be a traitor to the Volk (people).

With this immense negative weight opposing those who might become independent in thought and action, it ought not to be difficult to understand that, where many South African racists are concerned, one is not dealing with independent actors but virtually with automatons.

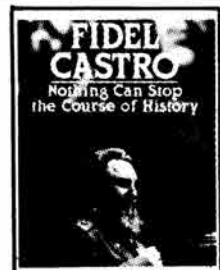
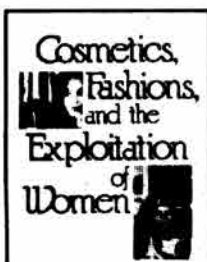
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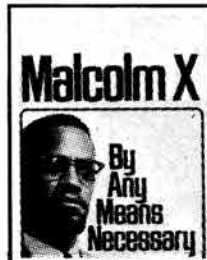
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Issues in the 'Baby M' court case

Part II: 'Fathers,' 'mothers,' and rights in raising children

BY CINDY JAQUITH

Last week's *Militant* article on the New Jersey "Baby M" case explained that "surrogate mother" contracts are unconstitutional and therefore invalid.

To enforce such contracts is to reverse the gains conquered by the labor movement when it won the outlawing of indentured servitude. Surrogate mother contracts abuse children and violate women's rights.

Upholding such contracts also reinforces reactionary ideology about the "right" of adults to "their own" child, based on the false idea that there is an instinctual drive to procreate.

The article explained that there is no way a court can constitutionally hold Mary Beth Whitehead to the contract she signed. Under that contract, she agreed, for a \$10,000 wage, to be inseminated with William Stern's sperm, to carry a pregnancy and give up her right to control her own body for nine months, and to turn over her newborn baby to Stern and his wife Elizabeth.

The March 31 court ruling — which upheld this contract, took away Whitehead's daughter Sara, and gave her to the Sterns — was reactionary. It should be reversed. The child should be allowed to live with Whitehead.

Several questions remained unanswered in last week's article, however, and other points were not fully developed.

Even if surrogacy contracts are invalid, wasn't the Stern-Whitehead court fight also a custody case?

Doesn't a "biological father" — the man who provides the sperm — have the same "right" to raise a child as the woman who gave birth to that child?

Doesn't a woman who provides the egg for a pregnancy have a "right" to the child even if another woman has carried the pregnancy?

The answer to all three questions is no. Let's explore the reasons why.

'Routine custody case'

Judge Harvey Sorkow, who presided over the New Jersey trial, called it a "routine custody case."

His portrayal of the trial as a dispute between a "father" and a "mother" confused the issues and distracted attention from the exploitative and unjust nature of surrogacy contracts.

A custody case usually arises when two people who have been jointly raising children separate and cannot agree on who will get the children. William Stern and Mary Beth Whitehead were never jointly raising Whitehead's newborn daughter and never intended to.

'Biological father'

Stern's sole "claim" to the child was a scrap of paper called a surrogacy contract. In upholding this "contract," the judge argued that Stern is the "biological father" of Whitehead's child. According to the judge, this gives Stern a "right" to "his own

biologically genetically related child." Whitehead was merely "the surrogate" hired by Stern to "carry his child to term."

Psychologist Lee Salk, a witness called by Stern's lawyers, went so far as to propose that Whitehead be termed a "surrogate uterus" rather than a "surrogate mother," to remove any suggestion that she has a legitimate relationship to her daughter.

But it is precisely Whitehead's biological, social, and emotional relationship to the child that is key to the case. Stern's supposed "biological" connection is irrelevant.

Stern is not the "father" of Whitehead's child. Richard Whitehead, who is living with Mary Beth Whitehead and her other children, is the "father" in this case.

Being a "father" is not determined biologically (leaving aside the fact that there is no scientific way to prove it was Stern's sperm that made Whitehead pregnant).

Throughout human history, a "father" has been the husband or companion of a woman who is raising children. It is based on his relationship to the woman that a man becomes "father" to the children.

Due to death, divorce, or husbands who walk away, many women may then live with someone else, who then becomes a "father" to her children. They remain "fathers" as long as they are living with the woman and sharing responsibility for the children. In a growing number of cases, women are bringing up children without "fathers" at all.

Sperm donors, egg donors

Being a sperm donor gives no man a right to raise the resulting child, any more than being an egg donor gives a woman that right.

(In the practice called "surrogate gestation," a woman is implanted with the fertilized egg of another woman. The "surrogate gestator" carries the pregnancy and gives birth, turning the baby over to the other woman. The practice is used in some cases by a couple of one race who hire a woman of another race to bear a child who will also "look like them.")

Neither eggs nor sperm can be the basis for deciding who is the "mother" or "father" of a child, or who has the right to bring that child up. There is only one criterion that conforms to the reality of the society we live in and the obligation of society to act in the best interests of the child.

It is the woman who carries the pregnancy, gives birth to the baby, and begins nurturing that baby who has the right and responsibility to raise the child — and the right to all the social benefits she needs to do so. The only reason the state should intervene to take her child away is if she is guilty of child abuse.

Nothing of the kind was proven in the case of Mary Beth Whitehead. The Sterns brought into court an army of psychologists and social workers who insisted Whitehead was an "unfit mother." Their evidence?

Whitehead had a "narcissistic personality disorder," in part because she dyed her hair; she gave her children pandas, instead of pots and pans, to play with; she had a shouting match with a nun who teaches her son at a Catholic school; she once worked as a dancer in a bar; and her husband was an alcoholic.

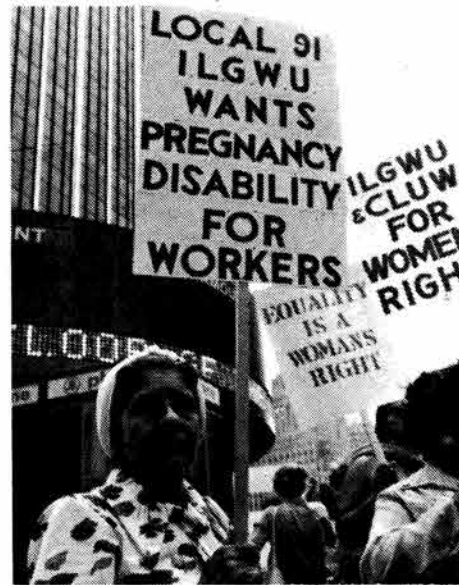
Lawyers also proudly pointed out that the Sterns make more than \$90,000 a year, while Whitehead is dependent on the \$28,000 her husband makes as a sanitation worker.

But none of this is relevant to whether Whitehead is "unfit" to raise her child. What is relevant is that she gave birth to the child and began raising that child.

Equal rights in custody cases?

This applies not only in Whitehead's case, where a surrogacy contract was the key issue, but to custody cases, where a man and a woman have been living together.

Some feminists argue that men and women should have an equal "right" to child custody. Awarding the child to the woman, as the courts have generally done, is discriminatory, they say. It bolsters the false idea that women are child rearers by



Militant/Lou Howort
Along with demanding that the government guarantee care for children, labor movement must fight all barriers to women's full participation in society.

nature, which is used to deny them rights.

But far from advancing the struggle for women's rights, this view obscures the real issue and sets back that struggle.

We have to start with the facts. First, it is women who give birth to children. As with other mammals, the human female begins nurturing her offspring immediately after birth, feeding the child and furthering his or her development. There clearly is a natural instinct on the part of the woman to do so.

Human infants have less capacity to survive on their own and require a longer period of care than other mammals.

The instinct to take care of the child one has borne is quite different from the phenomenon of wanting a child. That desire, as we pointed out last week, is socially conditioned. It is not an instinct. And it does not give adults a "right" to have "their own" child.

A few women who give birth decide to put the baby up for adoption if they don't think they can provide adequate care. But that too is done as a way of seeking nurture for the infant. Only an emotionally disturbed woman reacts to her newborn child by trying to abuse or abandon the baby without any provisions for its welfare.

Moreover, as children develop, it is women who give them the greatest amount of care and nurture. This has been true since the beginning of humanity.

In today's society, if the woman is living with a man, he most likely provides financial support and may give her some help with caring for the children. He shares legal responsibility with her for the children.

But his relationship to the children, and even his sense of responsibility for them, is quite different than the woman's. If a conflict between the man and woman occurs, it's generally the man who walks away, leaving the woman and children.

The woman cannot walk away nearly so easily, especially because she faces a rougher time financially if she does so. If she does separate from the man, however, she generally takes her children with her.

All the above facts dictate that when a man and woman living together with children are separated, the burden of proof is on the man to show why the woman should not be allowed to raise the children. Unless she is proven to be abusing the children, she should get custody.

Are there "mothers' rights"?

The woman's right to raise her children is not solely determined by giving birth. Take, for example, a woman who gave birth to a child five years ago and gave the baby up for adoption. Does that woman now have the right to regain custody of the child based on being the child's "real mother"?

No. There is no such thing as "mothers' rights." The issue here is women's rights and guaranteeing the best possible care for children.

In the above case, another woman has become the child's "mother." She has taken on the responsibility for the child and

has the right to continue raising the child. The fact that she did not give birth to the child makes her no less "fit" to be a "mother."

And the fact that the child is adopted, not "natural," does not mean that child should be placed in a separate, inferior category. The child deserves the same protection and social benefits as all other children.

The very idea of "natural" vs. adopted children is only posed because for ruling-class families, the chief concern is passing on property through one's offspring. The pressures from this ruling-class outlook permeate all of society, affecting all classes.

An atmosphere is created whereby some adopted children feel compelled to search for their "real mother" or "real father."

But it is a reactionary myth that humans have an inherent drive to find out where their genes came from. It is a socially conditioned phenomenon produced by capitalism, which encourages feelings of inferiority on the part of adopted children and guilt on the part of women who put their children up for adoption.

As we discussed last week, such pressures have less hold on the working class today than ever before.

What are society's responsibilities?

In the struggle to end women's oppression and guarantee children the best care possible, the working class needs a twofold approach.

It needs to fight for women's right to enter the work force and all arenas of society without any restrictions or discriminatory treatment because of their child-bearing capacities.

It also needs to fight for the government to carry out its responsibility to provide care for children and all other dependent human beings, instead of allowing the burden for this care to fall on individuals, especially on women.

The government should provide low-cost child care from infancy on up. It should guarantee an education, medical care, decent housing, and recreation for all the young, aimed at helping them develop into independent human beings. All laws or practices that discriminate against children — based on class, race, sex, handicaps, or "legitimacy" — should be eliminated.

The working class must also challenge any disqualification of women based on their having or not having children.

This begins with championing the right of women themselves to freely decide when and if to bear children. It means the right to safe, legal abortion and birth control, as well as sex education in the public schools. It means protection of women from forced sterilization.

Women's physical ability to bear children should not be used as a pretext to superexploit them on the job by paying them less than men, excluding them from certain jobs, or denying them employment if they are pregnant or already have children. The working class should demand equal pay for equal work and affirmative action so women can achieve full equality in employment and education.

Workers should demand full maternity benefits for women, including the right to return to the same job — without loss of accrued seniority time — after the birth of a child. Absence from work because of pregnancy should be treated exactly like other contractual situations related to leaves from work.

For women who have children, the working class should demand all the state aid they need to care for them. And it should defend their right to have the courts compel men who walk away from shared responsibility for children to pay child support.

The struggle for these demands is part of the fight for a different type of government, one that acts in the interests of workers and farmers, not a handful of capitalist families. By bringing such a government to power, working people will lay the basis for further measures to provide care for children and to achieve equality for women.

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Hundreds hear talks on Malcolm X legacy

BY KEN MILNER

ATLANTA — In the six weeks between February 21 and April 4, Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, spoke at five meetings on the topic "Malcolm X, His Life and Its Meaning for Today." The meetings were held in Pittsburgh, New York, Los Angeles, Atlanta, and Chicago. Altogether they drew more than 700 people.

In each city, except New York, the meetings were organized as part of active workers conferences attended by members, supporters, and friends of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Malcolm X was a prominent revolutionary leader, who broke from the Nation of Islam, headed by Elijah Muhammad, in 1964 and formed the Organization of Afro-American Unity. He was assassinated on Feb. 21, 1965, while speaking at a meeting in Harlem in New York City.

Barnes, who was then the national chairman of the YSA, interviewed Malcolm X for the *Young Socialist* in January 1965. Barnes is also the editor and an author of the pamphlet *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, published and distributed by Pathfinder Press.

Many people attending the meetings had not read much by Malcolm X and weren't very familiar with his ideas, even though they had heard a lot about the man. They came to hear an evaluation of Malcolm X's ideas from a communist standpoint and learn what relevance they have for those

seeking a road forward in the struggle for social and political justice today. At every meeting a lively discussion occurred, sometimes going late into the evening after the formal meetings had adjourned.

The meeting in Atlanta on March 28 had a particularly broad attendance. There had been a great deal of discussion here in the past couple of months about racism and how to combat it following the antiracist march in Forsyth County, Georgia, on January 24. Special efforts were made to try to get a wide range of activists from the city and the region to come to the meetings sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum.

Among the nearly 125 people who attended were David Ndaba, a leader of the African National Congress, who received a warm welcome when he was introduced.

From Miami, a local officer of the American Postal Workers Union and a leader of the Haitian community, who were in town for the Atlanta Active Workers Conference, also attended.

Organizers of a fight against police brutality in the Black community in Chattanooga, Tennessee, attended and set up a table with literature.

Many trade unionists were present, as well as activists from the Atlanta Committee on Latin America.

There were also students from the Atlanta University Center, Emory University, and Georgia State.

Some members of the Nation of Islam from Atlanta attended and participated actively in the discussion. Most of them were

Strikes challenge apartheid regime

Continued from front page

affiliated. They combed the 10-story building floor by floor, arresting scores of people and seizing documents. Bystanders could hear the thud of nightsticks on flesh.

Upon hearing news of the murdered unionists, tens of thousands of workers in the region walked off their jobs in solidarity. In Soweto, the huge Black township outside Johannesburg, participants in an 11-month rent boycott clashed with police.

Jay Naidoo, COSATU's general secretary, vowed that the 700,000-member union federation would continue to fight for the workers' rights.

In the weeks preceding the rail and transport strike, conflict had been mounting between the workers and the SATS management. Workers held mass rallies to protest the barracks-like housing to which they are confined and to demand a wage increase of 58 percent (the current minimum wage for SATS workers is the equivalent of \$190 a month). They also demanded recognition for their union.

But rather than negotiating with the workers, SATS officials sent police and dogs against them.

This set the stage for the strike. It began after a SATS driver, Andrew Nendzanda, was fired for a minor infraction. Nendzanda's fellow workers viewed this as a victimization, since Nendzanda is a SARHWU member.

The 500 workers at Nendzanda's depot in Johannesburg immediately walked off their jobs. The strike quickly spread, drawing in thousands of other rail and transport

workers.

In addition to demanding Nendzanda's full reinstatement, the strikers are calling for no victimization for those who struck, full pay for the time they have been out, and a clear statement of intent to eliminate racism "anywhere and everywhere in SATS."

This strike was just one part of a broader rise in militancy within the South African labor movement, involving fights for workers' rights on the job and for political freedoms in defiance of the oppressive apartheid system. Unionists are more openly expressing support for the outlawed African National Congress and the Freedom Charter, the program championed by the ANC.

In recent weeks, there have also been strikes by gold and coal miners, chemical workers, postal employees, and paper workers.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions and its affiliates have launched a national campaign for a "living wage." They are demanding a 40-hour workweek with no loss in pay (including a ban on overtime), six months' paid maternity leave, an end to the migrant labor system, and the right to decent education.

COSATU is likewise pressing for an end to tax deductions from workers' paychecks. "We have never been consulted about taxes and are not represented in the parliament which levies the taxes — why should we pay them?" asked COSATU General Secretary Jay Naidoo.

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), a key COSATU affiliate and the largest union in the country, held a national congress in late February. It formally adopted the Freedom Charter "as a guiding document in our struggle from national oppression and economic exploitation." It thus became the largest labor organization ever to adopt the charter.

"The workers' struggle in the mines cannot be separated from the struggle in the community," the NUM proclaimed.

Reflecting the unions' growing involvement in the broader anti-apartheid struggle, the platform at the miners' congress featured not only NUM President James Motlatsi and COSATU's Jay Naidoo, but also Winnie Mandela and Murphy Morobe, a central leader of the 2-million-member United Democratic Front.

Motlatsi told the congress, "We must build firm, disciplined and effective alliances with the democratic organizations."

Socialist candidate excluded from ballot in Charleston, W.Va.

BY DAVID SALNER

CHARLESTON, W.Va. — City officials here have excluded Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Margaret Husk from the April 20 ballot.

The SWP campaign had turned in petitions signed by close to 600 Charleston residents to have Husk's name placed on the ballot. Only 178 valid signatures are required by law. Under protest, the campaign had also paid a \$600 filing fee.

City officials refused to count many signatures that were obviously valid and crossed off entire pages of names collected in housing projects.



Jack Barnes addressing New York City meeting

Militant/Holbrook Mahn

women, and they were interested in discussing the different approaches of Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X toward women and women's rights. They also raised questions about the relationship between religion and politics.

Several of them bought some literature at the Pathfinder table, including copies of

the *Militant*.

As he did in all the meetings where he spoke, Barnes urged those attending to read the speeches and interviews of Malcolm X so they could learn about his views directly. He pointed to *By Any Means Necessary* and *Malcolm X Speaks*, both available from Pathfinder Press.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Mass outpourings block Argentine coup bid

A military uprising collapsed in Argentina April 19, in face of huge popular mobilizations around the country to block any right-wing coup attempt.

The rebellion began four days earlier when military officers in Córdoba ordered their troops to take over an army base there in support of Maj. Ernesto Barreiro. The major had refused a summons to appear in court on charges of human rights abuses.

Barreiro has been accused of being the chief interrogator at a torture center under the previous period of military rule. Thousands of trade union and political activists were murdered or "disappeared" between 1976 and 1983. Since



Buenos Aires rally against military revolt.

then, several top generals have been jailed for human rights abuses. Barreiro is among 280 other officers facing charges, about one-third of them still on active duty.

Although Barreiro soon fled the Córdoba base and the mutiny there ended, other officers took over the Campo de Mayo army base on the outskirts of Buenos Aires.

As President Raúl Alfonsín appealed to the troops to surrender, thousands of civilians converged on the camp, shouting anti-military slogans. The crowd ignored calls from the police and government officials to go home. Police set up roadblocks to prevent the protesters from trying to storm the base.

Meanwhile, in Buenos Aires and provincial cities around the country, hundreds of thousands of Argentines poured into the streets to oppose the mutiny. Leaders of every political party declared their opposition to a military coup against the Alfonsín government, and the major trade unions called a national work stoppage for April 20.

Faced with this situation, the mutineers at the Campo de Mayo surren-

dered April 19, following a visit there by President Alfonsín. Crowds of civilians brushed past the military guards and police to occupy the base in celebration. In Buenos Aires' Plaza de Mayo, an estimated 400,000 Argentines chanted "Democracy!" and sang the national anthem.

Police attack South Korean protest

Thousands of policemen attacked an anti-government demonstration in Seoul, the South Korean capital, April 19. It was the 27th anniversary of a 1960 student uprising in which security forces had killed 200 people.

To commemorate those martyrs, thousands of demonstrators gathered at the cemetery in northern Seoul where many are buried. Linking the repression of that period to the policies of the current regime of Gen. Chun Doo Hwan, speakers called on South Koreans to "overthrow the military dictatorship through a people's revolution."

About 1,000 protesters marched into the street, combat police attacked without warning, firing tear gas and swinging clubs. Fleeing protesters were dragged out of nearby houses and beaten. Scores were arrested.

Meanwhile, about 50 supporters of opposition leader Kim Dae Jung were seized while trying to hold a rally to protest the strict house arrest imposed on him.

These repressive moves are part of a broader crackdown on political dissent and protest, following an April 13 announcement by General Chun suspending all public discussion of changes to the constitutional process of selecting the next president.

Two accidents at French nuclear plants

Within days of each other, two of France's most important nuclear facilities experienced serious accidents.

First, the Superphénix, the world's largest fast-breeder reactor, began leaking sodium. The chemical explodes when it comes into contact with water. Although about 25 tons of the chemical escaped, authorities at the plant say they have not been able to trace the source of the leak.

Then on April 12, the government-run Atomic Energy Commission said it was halting uranium enrichment for a week at the nearby Tricastin plant. This followed a leak of radioactive toxic gas, which injured seven workers. The Tricastin plant is the largest facility in Europe for producing fuel for nuclear reactors.

Government use of spy files challenged

Continued from front page

Concurrently a "Cointelpro" (Counterintelligence Program) disruption campaign was conducted, aimed at weakening and harming the party and its members.

Boudin stressed that a staggering 9 million pages of secret files accumulated by the government revealed only "lawful, constitutionally protected activity."

Because the government had declared it had terminated its long "investigation" of the SWP in 1976, Griesa awarded the organization \$264,000 for damages done prior to that year. He said he would next deal with the illegally gathered pre-1976 files held by the FBI and other government agencies.

The SWP then proposed that he issue an injunction that would bar the government from making use of any illegally obtained records, or information developed from them, with strict penalties for violations.

Government's proposal

Now, Boudin explained, the government proposes that it be permitted to use the illegal files against people today under two remarkably broad circumstances. In one case, the government would apply to a judge of its choosing, without any notice to the SWP, to use such records.

Or, it proposes, it be granted the right to use the material without even a court order in any situation it deems to be an "emergency."

Pointing to court statements submitted by an entire range of government agencies — from the CIA to the Secret Service — on why they assertedly need access to these illegal files, Boudin said they proposed to use them to enforce "loyalty-security" programs covering government employees and workers in plants with Pentagon contracts. Also, Meese claimed, access to such files are needed to protect the physical safety of the president and foreign dignitaries.

The government now wants to use these files, Boudin charged, "to keep people out of government employment; to be sure that



Participants in news conference. From left: Edith Tiger, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; Rabab Hadi, Network for Peace and Justice in the Middle East; and suit attorney Leonard Boudin.

the Immigration Service can exclude people; to be sure they can deport them."

An important inconsistency

This, he noted is totally inconsistent with the government assertion that it ended its surveillance of the SWP in 1976 because it did not regard party membership as a reason for excluding people from government employment.

Adding to this point, Political Rights Defense Fund director Studer said that if the judge were to approve the Meese proposition, it could lead to the victimization of anyone requiring security clearances to work in plants with government military contracts.

Other speakers at the news conference assailed the government stance.

One was Rabab Hadi, a representative of the Network for Peace and Justice in the Middle East, and of the Committee for Justice to Stop McCarran Act Political Deportations that is defending eight Los Angeles Palestinian-rights activists now facing deportation by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Noting that the INS is a defendant in the SWP suit, Hadi said that the eight were

also being victimized solely for their ideas. She reported that after an extensive investigation that established no illegal activity, the FBI had turned the case of the eight over to the INS for deportation on the grounds of "spreading the doctrine of world communism through written or printed material."

Edith Tiger of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee pointed to the illegal FBI activity directed against sanctuary activists and members of the clergy involved in Central American solidarity efforts.

"We must win this case" of the SWP, she said, "so the American people can feel the Bill of Rights is theirs."

Important to activists on all issues

Eleanor Furman of the Bill of Rights Foundation echoed these sentiments and noted that the foundation has backed the SWP suit since it was filed in 1973.

Joshua Nessen of the American Committee on Africa declared that the SWP suit was important "to activists on all issues, domestic and foreign."

If the government were to win against the SWP, he said, "it would definitely harm our efforts to change U.S. policy in southern Africa."

"We feel it's no accident," Nessen added, "that the same administration that continues to support the South African government would try to clamp down on those who oppose its policies at home and abroad."

An angry denunciation of "the continued harassment of, and threats against, the Socialist Workers Party by the FBI, the U.S. Justice Department, and Attorney General Edwin Meese" was made by Ben Dupuy of the Committee Against Repression in Haiti, and editor of *Haiti Progrès*.

Dupuy said the Justice Department had entered into an antirights accord with "the neo-Duvalierist military junta" now ruling Haiti.

"All of this," he said, "is primarily to enable the two governments to monitor and subvert the popular movement in Haiti as well as opposition voices in the United States. Thus, the papers being filed by Leonard Boudin today have an international relevance."

"We support the efforts of the Political Rights Defense Fund, Leonard Boudin, and the many others," Dupuy said, "who are working to protect the SWP and all of us from microphones, cameras, probes and 'dirty tricks' of the U.S. intelligence and 'justice' services."

Sharp criticism of the government move was also voiced by Elombe Brath of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, a veteran Black rights fighter.

A statement by SWP spokesperson James Harris emphasized that all working people, all fighters for social justice, have a stake in the fight.

"Edwin Meese and the government," he charged, "are squarely confronting the right of the American people to defend their wages and working conditions, to hold a job, and to engage in politics. They clearly place themselves above the law."

Marea Himelgrin of the YSA noted that "a new generation is coming forward to press for our rights. The ability to speak out and organize is fundamental to our fight for a world free from exploitation, oppression, and war."

John Studer explained that the broadest support was necessary in this fight, and the Political Rights Defense Fund is now on a national drive to obtain 4,000 new sponsors for the case.

And, in order to finance this next stage of the legal battle, the PRDF has opened a special nationwide campaign to raise \$90,000.

Statements of support for rights suit

The following are from statements of support issued at the Political Rights Defense Fund news conference.

William Henning, Jr. Second vice-president, Communications Workers of America Local 1180

On April 25 hundreds of CWA members will join thousands of other trade unionists in a massive protest of U.S. policy in Central America and South Africa.

Our rights to participate in such actions free from government harassment is strengthened by the court victory won by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

I support the extension of that victory by the immediate issuance of an injunction barring the government from using the illegally gathered files in its possession.

Prof. Fred Dube Exiled leader of the African National Congress of South Africa, currently fighting a denial of tenure at State University of New York at Stony Brook

We who uphold the U.S. Constitution ought to come together and fight whoever tries to determine what we should believe, say, or with whom we associate. Only then will we be true to the U.S. Constitution. When the U.S. behaves immorally in Nicaragua or anywhere else, we should speak out in the same way as we would when our freedoms are interfered with.

Lois Galgay Reckitt Vice-president, National Organization for Women

I applaud the Socialist Workers Party for their courage and tenacity in their suit to stop government spying — a suit waged for all of us who believe in the fundamental right of citizens to peaceful political protest.

Michael Ratner Attorney, Center for Constitutional Rights

The Socialist Workers Party has struck a great blow for political freedom by the victory in *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General, et al.* It represents the first case to attack, comprehensively, the use of the FBI and CIA as thought police to control dissent in America. We at the Center for Constitutional Rights unequivocally support the issuance of a court order absolutely prohibiting the FBI, CIA, and Immigration and Naturalization Service, from using any of the files they have illegally gathered.

Michael Harrington Co-chair, Democratic Socialists of America

Government harassment of the left was one of the greatest scandals of the postwar period. That the government in this bicentennial year of the Constitution would continue to defend these outrages is intolerable. Every American concerned with freedom of whatever political repression should support you in your struggle.

Connie Hogarth Director, Westchester Peace Action Coalition and co-chair, New York Mobilization for April 25

The proposed injunction by Judge Thomas P. Griesa to bar the use of government files from FBI spying and disruption against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance is a needed decision.

Political activists — such as those organizing today to participate in the April 25 March on Washington Against U.S. Policy in Central America and Southern Africa — must be able to work free of fear of harassment or from having information in a file on them documenting their participating in the peace and justice movement being used by the government to victimize them.

This fight can yield a precedent important to all of us.

David McReynolds Staff member, War Resisters League

The ruling by Judge Thomas Griesa was not a victory for the Socialist Workers Party — it was a victory for the Constitution of the United States. It would be most fitting if the Justice Department were to help celebrate the 200th anniversary of the Constitution by supporting, rather than opposing, the decision by Judge Griesa.

Paul O'Dwyer Attorney for Irish solidarity activists and former New York City Council president

Judge Griesa's decision which prohibited the government from using illegally obtained files in the case of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance follows the best American tradition. It is regrettable that the attorney general, a cabinet officer sworn to uphold the Constitution, should favor the use of polluted evidence in an American court of justice.

Join the fight for democratic rights . . .

Help the Political Rights Defense Fund protect the Bill of Rights. Support the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government spying.

- Contribute to the \$90,000 fund
- Sponsor the suit against FBI spying
- Get & distribute information on the suit

☐ Enclosed is my tax-deductible contribution of: \$500 _____ \$100 _____ \$10 _____ other \$ _____

☐ I want to be a sponsor of the PRDF.

☐ Send me _____ copies of the federal judge's decision against FBI spying and harassment (\$1 each).

☐ Send me _____ copies of an 8-page tabloid containing the Justice Department's attack on the decision. Reprints government agencies' statements claiming "right" to spy.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Organization _____

Signature _____

Send to: Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003

CALIFORNIA

Oakland

Stop Runaway Shops and Union Busting. Speakers: a panel of trade unionists. Translation to Spanish. Fri., May 1, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

Health Care: A Human Right, or for Profit? Speakers: Dr. Jim Cone, assistant professor of medicine, UCSF, and director of Occupational Health Clinic; Suzanna Hennessy and Everado Hernández, La Clínica La Raza, Oakland; and Paul Montauk, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 9, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

COLORADO

Denver

Latin American Debt Crisis. Speakers: Duncan Williams, Socialist Workers Party; Chris Turner, member International Association of Machinists and student activist who visited Cuba in 1986. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 2, 7 p.m. 25 W 3rd Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (303) 698-2550.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

The Simpson-Rodino Immigration Law:

Why It Is an Attack on All Workers in the United States. Speakers: Pasquale Lombardo, Lawyers Guild Central America Task Force; Pedro Vázquez, 1987 Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Chicago. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 2, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

IOWA

Des Moines

U.S. Out of Nicaragua. Break All Ties With Apartheid! A panel discussion with reports back from April 25 demonstration. Sat., May 2, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

OHIO

Toledo

Peasants Fight for Land in the Philippines. Speaker: Ray Santiago, secretary-treasurer of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, recently returned from the Philippines; video on the Mendiola massacre of peasant demonstrators in Manila. Sat., May 2, 7 p.m. Donation: \$2. 1701 W Bancroft St. Sponsor: Militant forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Affirmative Action Victory: Its Significance for Women, Blacks, Labor. Speakers: Valerie Caffé, chair of National Organization for Women, New Jersey, and Task Force to Combat Racism; Andrea Spencer, co-coordinator of Women's Resource Center, Drew University; Mary Dunlevy, instrument maintenance mechanic, member Teamsters Local 877; Karen Kopperud, Socialist Workers Party, locomotive engineer and member of United Transportation Union Local 800. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 2, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

The Continuing Struggle in the Philippines. Speakers: Ramon, Philippine Workers Support Committee; Fred Feldman, staff writer for the *Militant* newspaper. Sat., May 9, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Translation to Spanish. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Albany

Eyewitness: El Salvador Today: Slideshow and discussion. Speaker: Don Gurewitz, Socialist Workers Party, member International Union of Electronic Workers Local 201. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 2, 7:30 p.m. 114E Quail St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

Manhattan

The Future of the Soviet Union: Lenin's Unfinished Fight. Speaker: Doug Jenness, coeditor of the *Militant*. Translation to Spanish. Fri., May 1. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: forum, \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Struggle Against Apartheid in South Africa. A video interview with Winnie Mandela. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 2, 7:30 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

Issues in the "Baby M" Court Case. Speakers to be announced. Sat., May 2, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

The Labor Movement Today: How Can the Unions Fight to Win. Speaker: Fred Halstead, author of *The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota*. Sat., May 2, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.



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On the road with Fla. 'Militant' team

BY LEROY WATSON

TAMPA — The Florida *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* sales team spent three days in this city where four Blacks have been killed by white cops in the last four months. On April 11, just before the team arrived, six Black high school students were attacked by racists with chains and whips at a convenience store. Three youths were sent to the hospital.

The father of one 17-year-old who witnessed the attack told the team, "Since cops are getting away with murder, racists are emboldened."

We visited the Richardson family. They live in a low-income housing project in a Black community where there are nightly bottle- and rock-throwing episodes against the police stationed there. This was the scene of two nights of rebellion in February that protested the murder of a young Black by policeman using a chokehold.

In response to racist police violence, some have suggested that the problem is not enough of the city's cops are Black. But Patricia Richardson told the team, "That's a poor excuse for not treating people like human beings. A policeman is a policeman. He is not your friend."

At a nearby grocery store in the community the team sold 10 copies of the *Militant* and 1 subscription in a half hour.

A radio station taped a segment with the team. We also visited the University of Tampa and the University of South Florida where we gave talks on Cuba and Nicaragua. We got a good response from students who wanted to discuss Central America, South Africa, and revolutionary ideas.

Some \$50 in Pathfinder literature, 47 *Militants*, and 3 *Perspectiva Mundiales* were sold at the two campuses.

The team traveled into central Florida's agricultural heartland and phosphate mining areas, passing through the vast orchards of citrus trees. We spoke to some of the mainly Mexican workers who pick oranges.

South of the citrus groves lie hundreds of acres of sugar cane. At one company-owned migrant camp we talked to sugarcane workers and sold a *Militant* subscription.

The team also sold 19 copies of *PM* and 4 subscriptions to migrant agricultural workers in an area south of Miami.

We also sold in the Haitian and Black communities in Miami. Nine Eastern Airline workers bought *Militants* at an early morning plant-gate sale at the Miami airport.

Join the '87 campaign

Window signs for cars, trucks, and homes, \$2.00 each or \$1.20 each for 10 or more. 50¢ shipping per order.



Order from Latin American Support Committee, P.O. Box 11395, Fresno, Calif. 93773.

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and Pathfinder bookstores.

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 1306 1st Ave. N. Zip: 35203. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1809 W. Indian School Rd. Zip: 85015. Tel: (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 2803 B St. Zip: 92102. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

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

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 137 NE 54th St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 370486. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. Tallahassee: YSA, P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 222-4434.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd Floor. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

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

IOWA: Des Moines: SWP, YSA, 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-1695.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3640 Magazine St. Zip: 70115. Tel: (504) 895-1961.

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

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 107 Brighton Ave., 2nd floor, Allston. Zip: 02134. Tel: (617) 787-0275.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 2135 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48201. Tel: (313) 961-0395.

MINNESOTA: Austin: SWP, YSA, 407½ N. Main. Zip: 55912. Tel: (507) 433-3461. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4725 Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 4907 Martin Luther King Dr.

Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: SWP, YSA, 140 S. 40th St. Zip: 68131. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

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

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 114E Quail St. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 434-3247. New York: SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668. Pathfinder Books, 226-8445.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: SWP, YSA, 2219 E Market. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

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

Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. **Columbus:** YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 1701 W Bancroft St. Zip: 43606. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 402 N. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-

6767.

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

Dallas: SWP, YSA, 336 W. Jefferson. Zip: 75208. Tel: (214) 943-5195. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

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

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699, 797-7021.

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 116 McFarland St. Zip: 25301. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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

It figures — The Justice Department — which is well known for letting big-business polluters off the hook — charged James Bil-



Harry Ring

lie, chief of Florida's Seminole Indians, with violating the Endangered Species Act by shooting a panther on a reservation in 1983.

Safe as can be — In Ohio, someone shut down the Perry nuke

plant by dropping a wrench which bounced and hit a circuit breaker. Earlier, someone shut down the Davis-Besse plant by bumping into an electrical switch. The area Nuclear Regulatory Commission rep assured such things had happened before and saw no need to revise safety procedures.

The town wit — An outfit titled the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Consulting and Brokerage Co. advertised for help with resumé to be sent to NUKEM, Inc.

Kind of kinky — "One day I decided to quit smoking. . . . On the other hand, my husband will never end his affair with cigarettes. . . . I don't mind. . . . I

find the odor of cigarette smoke no less appealing than the aroma of perfume. . . . It reminds me that my husband is nearby. The scent teases his clothing and our bed linens. Confidentially, I think it's a turn-on." — Roberta Sandler in *Philip Morris Magazine*.

Give that man a promotion — Joseph Alonzo has been an alcoholic and drug addict, suffered hallucinations, and lied "hundreds of thousands of times." He's a paid FBI informer and was a key witness in a New Jersey racketeering trial. Most of his info came from a relative who, he conceded, was also an inveterate liar.

Praise the lord and pass the

ketchup — Despite the problems of founder Jim Bakker, Heritage USA, the religious theme park biggie, is continuing construction of what will be the world's biggest Wendy's — a 10-story castle, seating 300.

Not bad — Big Apple Mayor Edward Koch's tax return gave a partial answer to his favorite campaign query, "How'm I doing?" When he took office in 1978, he had declared assets of \$106,890. Today, he's "worth" \$606,816.

'With justice for all' — Under the new tax "reform" law, interest on a student loan is no longer deductible. But yachts are still in-

cluded as a deductible "second home."

Our healthy society — Lick Your Chops, a New York-area chain, is doing a brisk business with health-oriented pet food, vitamins, and cosmetics. "Americans are very health conscious and that's begun to spill over to their pets," explains the owner.

Beyond the wheat germ — A New York pet's n' people shop features leather coats, handmade wool sweaters, and mink coats. Plus sequins and pearls. Matching outfits for pet owners. "It's all part of the designer movement sweeping the country," confides the proprietor.

Background to struggle of Calif. cannery workers

BY JOEL BRITTON
AND RICK TRUJILLO

WATSONVILLE, Calif. — In September 1985 Watsonville Canning and Frozen Food Co. and Shaw Frozen Foods set out to slash workers' wages and benefits by 30 percent. Those proposed cuts were nearly twice as deep as the ones imposed on Teamster Local 912 members who work for other food processors in the area.

Half of all U.S. frozen vegetable proces-

sing is done in this area.

After a five-month strike, Shaw settled for what the other canneries had gotten, but Watsonville Canning owner Mort Console insisted that since most of his workers were just a bunch of "wetbacks," it was only a matter of time until he would prevail.

The wage rate for production workers on the seniority list at Watsonville Canning before the strike was \$6.66 an hour. Console wanted it cut to \$4.25. Other local out-

fits had imposed a cut to \$5.85 an hour and had lowered the wages of the highest paid mechanics to \$10.39 an hour.

During the strike Console hired hundreds of scabs at \$5.05 and later \$5.15 an hour in his drive to keep production going and break the union. He was backed by a \$23 million loan secured from Wells Fargo Bank.

He hired a high-powered San Francisco law firm to spearhead his attack on the union. Oakland labor attorney Dan Siegel estimates that Watsonville Canning gave over \$1 million to the lawyers.

The first day of the strike, September 9, was a state holiday, but the company's lawyers got a judge to come to court anyway so he could issue a restraining order limiting the union to two pickets per gate.

Additional injunctions imposed further restrictions, including one that kept non-picketing strikers and supporters 100 yards from the gates.

Landlords and bankers pitched in on be-

half of Console, trying to evict the strikers or foreclosing on their homes.

It was in the face of this onslaught the Watsonville workers scored their victory.

All strikers will be called back to Norcal, a company created when Console went out of business, based on the seniority accrued at Watsonville Canning. This includes strikers with charges pending against them for alleged "strike crimes."

The strikers will replace the scabs in the plant. There will be no probation for workers who were on Watsonville Canning's seniority list. And the strikers who had medical coverage when the company was operated by Watsonville Canning will have medical benefits after 90 days. Under the contracts at other local food processors, seasonal workers with a limited number of years in have to work 1,400 hours before being eligible for coverage.

Wages will range from \$5.85 an hour for most production workers to \$10.39 for mechanics, the current industry standard.

Key to Watsonville victory

Continued from back page
wages even more.

Some years ago, Lerma explained, her husband had been a member of the United Farm Workers union (UFW). He had participated in a year-long battle in the lettuce fields. Now a Teamster truck driver, he pitched in on the Watsonville strike. He worked six months out of the year so they could survive, then helped full time on the food drive the next six months.

Many of the strikers were former farmworkers, veterans of long, tough battles to organize the fields. Among the high points of solidarity with the Watsonville strike was a spirited march of 300 UFW militants.

Another vital ingredient in the victory was the solidarity organized through the Watsonville Strike Support Committee headed by Cruz Gomez. She explained that many workers' families were headed by single mothers. The committee fought against evictions, foreclosures, utility cutoffs, and victimizations.

Gomez introduced us to a Watsonville high school student and a student senator at nearby Cabrillo College. They told us about their efforts to rally support for the strikers. Many students whose parents were on strike quit school to get jobs so their families could survive.

Watsonville High students were arrested for demonstrating in support of striking

parents. A teacher faces charges stemming from that action, Gomez explained.

"Nineteen strikers and supporters went through trials on various charges including 'inciting to riot' and all got off," Gomez said.

Others still face serious charges involving alleged firebombings. Gomez said a defense campaign for these workers is being discussed.

Gloria Betancourt, president of the Strikers' Committee, said many unionists and supporters had spent time in jail. Two activists were jailed for eight months following a confrontation with scabs.

We asked her why the strike had been so solid in the face of the company's intransigence and the help it got from the courts and the cops. She said it had been difficult with "bills to pay" and other pressures. Some, she said, "sold homes and went back to Mexico rather than go back into that plant." More than 90 percent of the workers were Mexican.

Later we talked to a 22-year-old worker who had just checked into the union hall after returning from Mexico. He had worked on his father's farm during the strike, helping him to raise corn. Many Mexican workers, he explained, had learned from bitter experience, "We can't win strikes by crossing each others' picket lines." — J.B. and R.T.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

April 29, 1977

Ten years ago the *Militant* obtained a copy of the 1977 contract summary in basic steel and printed it in full. The text was unavailable to rank-and-file members of the United Steelworkers union.

Supporters of the *Militant* went on a campaign to get the summary into the hands of steelworkers through plant-gate and shop-floor sales. Below is an excerpt from an article accompanying the reprinted summary.

* * *

The 1977 basic steel contract, approved April 9 in Washington, directly covers some 340,000 members of the United Steelworkers of America. It has aroused protest and debate throughout the union.

In steel, a powerful challenge has been raised to the do-nothing, pro-company policies of the union officialdom. A quarter of a million steelworkers voted February 8 for Ed Sadlowski for USWA president. Sadlowski opposed outgoing President I.W. Abel and his handpicked successor Lloyd McBride.

Sadlowski and other candidates on the Steelworkers Fight Back slate campaigned for union democracy and militant defense of the workers' interests against the bosses.

They campaigned for abolition of the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), in which the union gives up the right to conduct a national steel strike.

They campaigned for using union power to defend the rights and champion the struggles of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and women workers — those hardest hit by today's economic and social crisis.

The Abel-McBride machine responded to these proposals by branding Steelworkers Fight Back as "reds," "strike-happy," and "outsiders."

Abel insisted that his alliance with the companies — against strikes, against imports, against any challenge to the capitalist status quo — delivered the great-

est gains for steelworkers. The 1977 contract, negotiated by Abel under the ENA no-strike pact, is a test of this perspective.

THE MILITANT
Published in the interests of the Working People
April 30, 1962 Price 10c

A number of letters received by The *Militant* indicate common reactions among steelworkers throughout the country to the recent big-steel settlement and to the price-rise dispute between President John Kennedy and the U.S. Steel Corp.

Most significant among these widespread reactions were: 1. Relief that the settlement occurred without a strike. 2. Lack of confidence in the union's top leadership. 3. Acceptance of the Kennedy-corporation argument that wage increases cause price increases and a willingness to accept the poor settlement as a necessary sacrifice to combat inflation. 4. An almost violent reaction against the corporations for their April 10 price-increase announcement. 5. Enthusiasm for Kennedy because of his action against the price increase.

The attitudes toward striking and toward the leadership of Steelworkers President David McDonald are directly related. For example, a worker in a West Coast steel plant writes:

"Since McDonald had raised no specific demands worth fighting for, and since it was obvious that the two issues of major concern to the steelworkers — working conditions and a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay — were of no concern to the International, there was no enthusiasm for a strike.

"There is a general feeling, since the 1959 marathon, that you don't win anything by strikes — at least not with McDonald. Then, too, there has not been continuous employment since the 116-day 1959 strike, and the financial condition of the steelworkers here is pretty bad."

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Behind U.S. tariffs against Japan

The White House announced on March 27 that the U.S. government is imposing trade sanctions against Japan. This is the first time retaliatory sanctions of this scope have been imposed on Japan since before World War II. The Reagan administration, under growing pressure from Congress, accused Japanese companies of "dumping" semiconductors (computer chips) on the international market and denying U.S. semiconductor firms access to Japan.

Semiconductors are components used in the construction of computers and hundreds of other electronic products. They are widely used in military production.

On April 17, U.S. government officials announced that a 100 percent tariff would be imposed on Japanese small computers, on 18- to 20-inch color television sets, and on a variety of small power hand tools.

White House spokespeople tried to minimize the impact of the tariff claiming it would not lead to higher prices.

Growing capitalist competition

While affecting a small amount of Japanese electronic products sold in this country (last year they accounted for \$300 million of the \$23 billion sold), the tariff reflects a step in the sharpening competitive pressure among the capitalists in different countries. This is shown by the increasing difficulty the capitalist governments have in negotiating trade agreements with one another. This, for example, was also a key issue discussed during President Reagan's recent meeting with Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

Why is international competition heating up? The capitalist world economy entered a period of long-term stagnation more than a decade ago. As a result, there is far more manufacturing capacity than there is a profitable market for goods produced. Though all types of goods — including food and decent clothing — are needed by hundreds of millions around the world, they simply do not have the money to buy them.

From the profit standpoint most industries suffer from overcapacity. This is true of steel, auto, textiles, electronics, and others.

The auto industry, for example, has the capacity to produce more than 40 million cars a year worldwide but only a little more than 30 million are being sold. Not only are cars being produced in and exported from the advanced capitalist countries but also from semicolonial countries oppressed by imperialism like South Korea and Malaysia.

U.S. trade deficit

The growth of modern and efficient manufacturing plants in Western Europe, Japan, and other capitalist countries over the past few decades has had a big impact on the world capitalist economy. Far more goods are now being imported into the United States than the U.S. capitalists are selling abroad. The United States had a trade deficit of \$170 billion last year. The \$15 billion deficit this past February set a record for a single month.

And last May, for the first time since August 1971, more agricultural products were imported into this country than were shipped abroad. And farm products as a percentage of the total U.S. exports are at their lowest levels since the early 1940s.

The employers, bankers, and big trade merchants in

the United States, Japan, Western Europe, and the other capitalist countries try to shift the burden for the economic crisis onto the shoulders of working people.

Since the 1974-75 worldwide economic crisis, the capitalists have claimed that because of foreign competition it is necessary to cut wages, speed up the pace of work, retool plants, and cut the work force. Social services must be cut, we are told.

A 1985 congressional study showed that the standard of living of an average U.S. family with children dropped by over \$3,000 a year over what it was a decade ago.

The indebtedness of farmers is skyrocketing and tens of thousands are being driven off the land.

Working people are under attack in all capitalist countries. In Japan, tens of thousands of steelworkers, auto workers, coal miners, textile workers, shipyard workers, and rail workers are losing their jobs as a result of the same ferocious competition. Unemployment in Japan in January was nearly 3 percent, the highest it has been in decades.

And the burden for the crisis is disproportionately shifted onto the backs of workers and peasants in Latin America, Asia, and Africa through unequal trade relations and the overwhelming foreign debt.

Capitalist economic schemes

Capitalists in the United States and elsewhere push various schemes as a way of rectifying the crisis. This includes letting the dollar fall against other currencies. Some capitalists demand that the governments of other countries lift their tariffs or reduce subsidies to farmers so U.S. companies can get a bigger share of their markets. Other U.S. capitalists advocate trade barriers to make products from other countries more expensive in the United States so they can increase their own sales at home.

Democratic and Republican Party politicians echo one or another of these schemes. The trade deficit and protectionism is already an issue in the 1988 presidential election. One candidate, Missouri Rep. Richard Gephardt, has sponsored several protectionist bills in Congress and is trying to rally workers and farmers behind his presidential bid by making protectionism the centerpiece of his campaign.

Retaliatory protectionist measures like the ones advocated by Gephardt can lead to other countries shutting their borders to U.S. products. Under these conditions, competition is temporarily slowed, and prices for everything from cereal and clothing to automobiles increase. As prices climb, purchases slow down and layoffs increase, eventually affecting even the industries the protectionist measures were supposed to aid.

What stance should workers and farmers in the United States, Canada, Japan, and elsewhere take toward the capitalists' various economic proposals?

Working people around the world need first of all to get the bankers, employers, and trade merchants off our backs. We have no stake in defending policies designed to line the pockets of the billionaire ruling families. Our battles in North America, Europe, Japan, Latin America, and elsewhere will be strengthened through solidarity with the struggles of workers and farmers in other countries. The gains they register weaken the same international handful of rulers who are standing in our way.

Protest repression in Israel

Political and civil rights activist Michel Warschawski was released on \$50,000 bail March 17 by the Israeli Supreme Court.

Arrested on February 16 along with several other staff members of the Alternative Information Centre in West Jerusalem, Warschawski is charged under two notoriously repressive laws: the Emergency Defence Regulations of 1945 and the Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance of 1948. The other AIC staff members were freed shortly after their arrest.

This is the first time since the Israeli settler state was set up in 1948 that an Israeli Jew has been charged under these totalitarian regulations.

Warschawski faces up to 10 years in prison for rendering typing services to a prohibited organization; up to 10 years for possession of material belonging to a prohibited organization; and up to three years for supporting a terrorist organization.

The alleged terrorist group is the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), an illegal organization in Israel.

While not being charged for direct collaboration with the PFLP, the police and the court claim Warschawski and the AIC have rendered services to student and women's organizations that the Shin Bet (Israel's FBI) assert are front organizations for the PFLP.

Warschawski and the AIC deny all the charges.

The arrest of Warschawski and the closing of the AIC offices for six months are aimed at all critics of the Israeli government and supporters of democratic rights.

The AIC was formed three years ago. It has provided

information and analyses on the Israeli government's abuses of civil rights, particularly its oppression of Palestinians living in the occupied West Bank.

The AIC publishes an informational biweekly newsletter in English, *News From Within*.

The attack on the AIC and Warschawski, who is its director, comes in the context of rising protests by Palestinians, particularly on the West Bank, and the Israeli government's use of political and military repression to put down opposition to its rule.

An increasing number of Israeli Jews oppose the government's antidemocratic policies and seek discussion with all Palestinian organizations. Supporters of democratic rights internationally launched protests against Warschawski's arrest, which were a crucial factor in pressuring the court to grant him bail.

Under his bail arrangement, Warschawski is prevented from typesetting, printing, copying, or editing articles. He must also appear at the central Jerusalem police station three times a week.

No trial date has been set. It could be weeks or months.

Supporters of democratic rights here should join in this solidarity effort by demanding that all charges against Warschawski be dropped, and the Alternative Information Centre offices be immediately reopened and all its equipment and files returned.

Statements of support can be sent to: *News From Within*, P.O. Box 165, West Jerusalem, Israel. Contributions to the defense effort can be sent to: *News From Within*, Account No. 0616668/28, Bank Hapoalim, Main Branch (690), Jerusalem, Israel.

The fight to separate church and state

BY DOUG JENNESS

The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution states, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. . . ."

This seems like a simple proposition, one that should have been easy to carry out after the Bill of Rights was

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

ratified in 1791. But it has turned out to be a long struggle to get it implemented, clarified, and the scope of its guarantees extended. And challenges continue to be leveled against it.

When the 13 colonies declared their independence from Britain in 1776, either the Anglican Church or the Congregational Church was the official church, supported by public taxes, in nine of the colonies. This was particularly resented in the six where the Anglican Church was established, because in none did the majority of residents adhere to the church.

Most states ended this privileged status during the War of Independence, but in several an official church remained for several decades. Even after the Bill of Rights was adopted, some states continued to require a religious oath before a man could take office and imposed religious restrictions for voting. One of the principal aims of these measures was to exclude Jews and Roman Catholics.

And it wasn't just the states. In 1833 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the imprisonment for blasphemy of a Massachusetts man who denied the existence of God.

These policies were eliminated during the early 19th century as part of the struggle of working people against property qualifications for suffrage, debtors' prisons, and other undemocratic policies. Impetus was also given to this fight by the arrival of more and more immigrants with diverse religious beliefs.

New Hampshire disestablished the Congregational Church in 1817, Connecticut in 1818, and Massachusetts in 1833.

But government policy continued to be intertwined with religious activities. One of the most prominent arenas was education.

From the war of independence on, the struggle for compulsory public education was a major battle in this country. This not only included beating back opposition to taxes for support of public schools and abolition of tuition but bringing schools under government rather than church control. Opponents of universal education at public expense often labeled it "socialist."

The biggest advances for public education came after the Union victory in the Civil War, which resulted in the abolition of slavery and Radical Reconstruction.

But even as compulsory public education was being won, local and state governments continued to promote religious instruction, Bible reading, and prayers in public schools.

It's only been since the workers' upsurge of the 1930s, which led to organizing millions of industrial workers and the rise of the civil rights movement, that big strides have been made to bar government bodies from promoting religion in publicly financed schools. Supreme Court rulings over the past 40 years have barred religious instruction and, in 1962, prayer from the public schools.

In the 1962 ruling, the court stated that "prohibition against laws respecting an establishment of religion must at least mean that in this country it is no part of the business of government to compose official prayers for any group of the American people to recite as part of a religious program carried on by government."

Another gain registered by Supreme Court rulings has been to outlaw direct grants of government aid to religious schools. But there are still many ways that state and local officials circumvent this. In New York, for example, the state gives religious schools "indirect" assistance for transportation, library materials, and other services.

This is a clear abridgement of the constitutional provision of separation of church and state. No part of the funds raised from taxpayers, who hold a wide range of religious views or are not religious at all, should be used to help finance any religious organization.

The constitutional right to practice one's religion without government interference includes the right to organize schools for religious instruction. However, it does not mean that parents should have the right to keep children out of public schools on religious grounds, either to instruct them at home or in private religious schools.

This places their alleged "rights" as parents above society's obligation, won through hard-fought struggle, to universally provide every child a free, secular education. Moreover, to permit parents to keep children out of public schools can only serve to undermine the entire system of public education. The battle, then, to fully separate church and state is far from over.

Next week I'll take up how the democratic right to privacy has been extended since the Constitution was adopted.

Nicaraguan, South African students tour U.S.

BY MARLA PUZISS

BALTIMORE — Roberto Fernández, student body president at the medical school of the National Autonomous University in León, Nicaragua, and Kevin Moeketsi Qhoboshiane, representative of the African National Congress (ANC) Youth Section, have been touring the Mid-Atlantic region.

Sponsored by the Nicaragua Network, American Committee on Africa, and U.S. Student Association, the tour built support for the April 25 antiwar, anti-apartheid demonstrations among high school and college students. The theme was "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua."

Fernández took part in the 1979 insurrection that toppled the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza. He participated in the national literacy campaign organized by the Sandinista government in 1980. From 1982-1984 he served as a medic in the army. After completing military service, he returned to León to finish his medical studies.

Qhoboshiane participated in the 1976 uprising in the South African township of Soweto. At Ngoye University he became a leader of the Azanian Students Organisation. He was expelled from the university because of his political activity in 1983. Today he lives in Zambia and works with the educational department of the ANC

Youth Section.

While in Baltimore March 30 through April 2, the two youths spoke to more than 400 high school and college students. Fernández and Qhoboshiane took these opportunities to explain the effects of the U.S.-run contra war against the Nicaraguan people and the oppression experienced by the South African people under apartheid.

Qhoboshiane called for total divestment from South Africa. "The companies in South Africa are there for huge profits, not to help the South African people," he said.

Fernández described the gains registered by Nicaragua's workers and farmers since their 1979 revolution. He said the contras can only offer the Nicaraguan people "death and destruction." He hailed the "tremendous solidarity expressed by the American people when they organize marches and rallies against the policies of President Reagan toward South Africa and Nicaragua."

Seattle rally builds antiwar actions

BY CHRIS HORNER

SEATTLE — "The 25th is an important day in history," Henry Nicholas, president of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, told 250 people at an April 11 rally here. The event was a boost to efforts by



Hundreds of thousands of Nicaraguan peasants learned to read and write during national literacy campaign organized by government in 1980. Nicaraguan student leader who recently toured United States participated in campaign.

local activists to build Seattle-area participation in the San Francisco demonstration on April 25th.

Nicholas made several references to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's attempt to prohibit AFL-CIO bodies from endorsing the April 25 demonstrations.

Nicholas said he was in favor of cutting off aid to the regimes in El Salvador and Guatemala, specifically disputing Kirkland's assertion that these governments are

democratic.

Nicholas called on labor officials who have endorsed the action to join him on the speakers' platforms in D.C. and San Francisco.

Nicaraguan government representative Martín Vega described the blows the Sandinista army has struck against the U.S.-run contra forces. Vega was introduced to the crowd by Harold Belmont, a leader of the Suquamish Indian nation. Belmont read a letter written by Sandinista National Liberation

Front founder Carlos Fonseca solidizing with the struggles of Native Americans in the United States.

Themba Ntinga from the African National Congress blasted Washington's backing for the apartheid regime in South Africa. Seattle antiwar and anti-apartheid activists also spoke.

Farm leader speaks to unions about April 25

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — "The meeting went on for two hours. The guys just didn't seem to lose interest."

Albert Carson, president of International Molders' and Allied Workers' Union Local 255, was referring to a March 14 union meeting that featured a presentation on Nicaragua by Alabama farm organizer George Paris.

Antiwar activists from the Birmingham area spoke at meetings of the Molders, United Mine Workers of America, Alabama Women Miners Support Group, United Food and Commercial Workers, and American Federation of Government Employees during March and April. The activists were helping build the April 25 demonstration in Washington, D.C.

Paris, a leader of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, recently returned from a tour of Nicaragua. He is scheduled to speak at the Washington, D.C. rally.

LETTERS

A doorway

I think of the *Militant's* letters' section as a kind of doorway to let in a wider spectrum of opinion sympathetic to socialism, where searching questions can be asked as when Leann Lamb of Lubbock, Texas, questions Nicaragua's tearing down of its forests and thus contributing to the destruction of the earth's ecosystem.

That's a good letter and I'm glad you printed it.

By the way, why not print your own answers to letters that criticize or ask questions?

Chris Knipp
San Francisco, California

'Fidel and Religion'

Frei Betto, whose discussions with Cuban President Fidel Castro make up the book *Fidel and Religion: Conversations with Frei Betto*, has been named Intellectual of the Year 1986 in Brazil, where the Portuguese-language edition of his book has been a best seller for many months.

The book has been extremely popular throughout Latin America. Its Cuban edition in Spanish was sold out within days. Pathfinder bookstores in this country that have a large number of Spanish-speaking customers, such as the one in San Francisco, have had a hard time keeping the book in stock.

In 1971 Frei Betto, a Catholic priest, was in jail serving a four-year sentence imposed by the Brazilian dictatorship for "crimes against national security." In his cell he read about the declarations that Fidel Castro made in meetings with Catholics that year during his visit to Chile.

In 1980 Betto was able to meet Fidel in Managua at the first anniversary celebration of the Nicaraguan revolution, at which time he was invited to visit Cuba. In May 1985, Betto was able to obtain 23 hours of conversations with the Cuban revolutionary

leader.

In the introduction to the book, Armando Hart, Cuba's minister of culture, explains the importance of the book this way:

"A practicing Catholic of deep Christian faith and a communist leader well known for his firm position of principles, held an extensive dialogue, and, when the exchange was over, each felt surer of his own convictions and more interested in establishing closer relations in the practical political struggle." Each recognized the "need for Christians and communists to unite in the struggle for a better world."

In acknowledging the award, Betto said: "In the making of the work I was simply the interlocutor, an interviewer, and all the credit goes to Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro, whom to call Intellectual of the Year would be very little. He should be called Intellectual of the Century."

Daniela Dixon
San Francisco, California

Machinists strike Rohr

In February members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) went on strike at Rohr Industries plants in Chula Vista, and Riverside, California. This was the first strike at Rohr in 15 years. The 11-day strike succeeded in beating back some of the company's demands for concessions.

The large aerospace contractor reported profits of \$47 million in 1986. In its final offer to IAM locals 755 and 964, Rohr proposed several takebacks. They included widening the two-tier pay structure, forcing changes in medical coverage, and putting the cost of living adjustment payments in a fund that would be paid out annually but that would never be folded into the hourly pay rate.

The worst part of the offer was that no pay raise was proposed over the life of the contract.

This was the only strike on the

West Coast during the recent round of aerospace contract negotiations. Negotiations, however, are continuing at two McDonnell Douglas plants in the Los Angeles area.

The strike ended after the company dropped their cost-of-living proposals and improved the original offer on pensions.

Under the ratified contract, a new hire will make \$5 an hour less than someone hired before the 1983 contract was signed.

Thirteen workers were arrested at the Riverside plant during the strike. The company refused to grant them amnesty and they face the prospect of losing their jobs.

Tom Barton
San Diego, California

Keeps me sane

If I didn't buy the *Militant* every week from the Seattle Pathfinder Bookstore I would certainly subscribe. It keeps me sane in an insane system.

It's the only place you can get the truth — and the truth is that we can fight and win!

Since beginning to read the *Militant* I have found it not only informative, educational, honest, and principled, but inspiring as well.

The big-business dailies would have us think that nothing we do has an impact — or can be successful. The *Militant* shows me otherwise.

K.B.
Seattle, Washington

No white pages

General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev has said that there must not be white pages in Soviet history. With great interest I look forward to whether the white pages Leon Trotsky left will be filled. Today he is nearly a nonexistent person in Soviet historiography.

A new worldwide comic book distributed in many languages titled, "The 1917 Russian Revolu-

tion, How Did It Happen?" — perhaps one of the first comic books ever published in the USSR about the October Revolution — includes no mention of Trotsky!

Kosti Tolonen
Heinola, Finland

Drug testing

The push for widescale drug testing by employers and the U.S. government is a major attack on the democratic rights of working people.

On the one hand, mandatory testing can be used to victimize union activists and militant fighters for workers' rights; and on the other, to blame workers for lower production, poor quality, and accidents.

Take the railway accident that killed 16 people on January 4. Instead of determining what can be done to make the railroads safer, the government and media focused the spotlight on the engineer and brakeman of one of the two trains. It was announced with much fanfare that marijuana was found in blood and urine samples.

At a recent panel at Boston University, a representative of the U.S. Justice Department stated, "Workers who use drugs are two-thirds as productive, five times as likely to file a grievance, and three times more likely to be injured on the job."

However, also on the panel was Arthur McBay, a leading toxicologist, who pointed out the shortcomings of drug testing. He mentioned false positives and the inability to demonstrate whether a person was at all impaired if indeed there was drug use.

We are asked to trust the bosses to honestly produce test results. Even if they do, the results are not guaranteed to be accurate. And even if they were accurate, no inference of intoxication or impairment can be drawn.

McBay pointed out that the Federal Aviation Administration laboratory that had found marijuana in

the sample taken from the rail workers has retracted its finding. As a result of this, the FAA has suspended use of its Oklahoma City facility as of the first week of April.

I don't suppose that demanding that the bosses and the capitalist politicians be tested would be particularly useful since their impairment would not affect production, injuries on the job, or increase in grievances.

Gary Cohen
Somerville, Massachusetts

No programs

I have to be confined in a 9-by-12 cell. Do you know how it feels and what will happen when they release me to the street without any assistance?

Why do you think ex-prisoners return 90 percent of the time? There are no programs to reestablish a person back to society. And people are forced to commit more crimes to get reestablished.

I ask all the prison officials about readjustment to society. There are no programs to help ex-cons.

A prisoner
Jefferson City, Missouri

Prison fund

I am still in segregation here in the prison. Your publication is one of my only sources of information about events in the outside world and it fills a very real need. I deeply appreciate the donations of people out there who make it possible for some of us to receive the *Militant* without cost.

A prisoner
Florence, Arizona

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.

Watsonville: How the strikers won

BY JOEL BRITTON
AND RICK TRUJILLO

WATSONVILLE, Calif. — An important victory was won here recently. A victory for the 1,000 strikers who stayed out for 18 months against Watsonville Canning and Frozen Food Co. and its successor, Norcal Frozen Foods.

A victory for the thousands of workers in Local 912 of the Teamsters union, which organizes both Norcal and other vegetable-processing workers.

And a victory for the entire labor movement as it looks for ways to fight back effectively against the employers' takeback drive.

The Watsonville strikers, a large majority of whom are Mexican women, waged a stubborn fight that halted the downward spiral of wages and benefits in this canning and freezing industry center.

The united fight of the ranks (not a single striker crossed the picket line according to strike activists and union officials we talked to) was backed up by a broad-based strike support effort.

And a courageous 11th hour decision by the strikers to postpone for a week a vote on Norcal's "final offer" — with Teamster officials declaring that the strike was over and that no more union strike benefits would be paid — was key to sealing the victory.

Power of the ranks

At the end of February, Watsonville Canning, plagued by financial difficulties, was taken over by a group of creditors headed by local growers. The new company was named Norcal.

A few days later Norcal's owners and Teamster union officials announced a settlement to end the strike. The company wanted to set the wage scale at \$5.85 an hour and force the workers to put in some 1,400 hours at the new company before qualifying for medical coverage.

The ranks asserted themselves even as Teamster officials and Norcal boss David Gill were conducting ceremonies celebrating their proposed contract settlement.

The next day the local paper, *Register-Pajaronian*, reported that the "long bitter strike against Watsonville Canning and Frozen Food Co. is over — unless, against all indications, Teamster union members refuse to ratify a tentative agreement Friday morning."

But many strikers had been discussing the importance of retaining the seniority and medical benefits of their previous contract, while accepting as a foregone conclusion that the wage rates would be the same as at other local food processors.

More than 175 people overflowed the Local 912 hall for a meeting on March 2. Concern about the rumored agreement with Norcal centered on maintaining the seniority accrued under Watsonville Canning. The strikers also wanted to carefully review any proposals from the company's new owners and they wanted amnesty for strike activists facing charges.

The discussions continued on the picket lines and everywhere the strikers gathered. By the March 5 meeting of the Strikers' Committee, attended by more than 100 workers, rank-and-file militants had galvanized a solid opposition to what was being proposed on medical benefits.

Because the work is seasonal, the unionists would have had to put in three years before qualifying for medical coverage. After putting off all kinds of medical and dental care for their children and themselves for a year and half, the strikers were not in the mood to wait three more years.

At the ratification vote meeting a long debate ensued with Teamster officials who insisted that the strike was over. The officials claimed the company had changed hands, strike benefits were ending, and that a two-thirds majority vote was necessary to



Kurt Ellison/Register-Pajaronian

Celebration march by Watsonville Teamsters down city's main street

have the contract rejected.

The strikers, backed by Local 912 Business Agent Joe Faley, voted by a ratio of 3-to-2 to put off a ratification vote for one week so further negotiations could take place.

Norcal's threats

Norcal said it would accept applications and began urging the strikers to return to work under the provisions of the proposed contract. Bonuses were offered to induce mechanics to break ranks with the production workers.

"Norcal to hire despite vote delay" was the *Register-Pajaronian's* headline. "On the day the strike was supposed to end, it didn't," the paper lamented.

But Gill and company didn't reckon on the determination and unity of the strikers and their supporters. Six women strikers and several of their supporters started a hunger strike at a home across the street from the plant.

The strikers organized to reach out and

discuss with as many workers as possible why they should stay united and fight to increase the pressure on the company. Those growers who had gotten together to buy the company had spinach crops maturing in the fields. The workers knew the spinach would soon have to be processed.

Strike Committee leaders who had initially signed the proposed pact as a "rank-and-file negotiating committee" and had, along with Local 912 and Teamsters Joint Council officials, urged that the contract be ratified, now pitched in and helped to win the medical coverage for all the strikers.

On March 9 strikers and their supporters massed at the plant gates. The court-ordered injunction limiting picketing was no longer in effect. Local 912 Secretary-Treasurer Sergio Lopez issued a statement urging everyone to stay out while efforts were made to negotiate with Norcal.

Cops were on hand to escort strikebreakers into the plant to apply for jobs, but again, none of the strikers broke ranks. Some scabs who had been keeping Watsonville Canning running during the strike

were rehired.

Six women began a pilgrimage on their knees from the site of the hunger strike to St. Patrick's Church four blocks away. Strike supporters, including many young students in the school yards, cheered them on.

When Gill saw he couldn't break the unity of the strikers in the midst of growing support for their struggle, a new contract was worked out that provided medical coverage after three months on the job in exchange for postponing payments into the Teamster pension fund for seven months.

On March 11 the strikers voted 543 to 21 to accept the contract. Some 500 union members and supporters took to the streets behind a "unidad y victoria" (unity and victory) banner. They marched past Norcal cannery before ending up at Assumption Church.

"We stood fast and won," said one jubilant striker. "*El pueblo unido jamás será vencido*" (The people united will never be defeated), the workers chanted in unison.

Key to victory: 'We stayed together'

WATSONVILLE, Calif. — "What was the key to your victory?" That's the question we asked former strikers back at work one month at Norcal Frozen Foods — formerly Watsonville Canning. We visited here early April to talk to the Watsonville workers and their supporters.

"We stayed together," Lydia Lerma said. "And the support we received from San Francisco, Santa Cruz, all over made it possible."

"After three months on strike people were discussing 'how can we win?' We weren't getting enough help. But we saw we weren't alone," she explained.

Lerma, who worked at Watsonville Canning for 25 years, headed up Teamster Local 912's Food Committee. That committee distributed the large amount of food contributed to the strikers by unionists, students, and community organizations. One estimate put the total amount collected at something like 1,000 tons. A sizable warehouse had to be rented to store, sort, and box the food for distribution.

The food supplemented the \$55 a week strike benefits paid by the Teamsters union.

Shaw Frozen Foods strikers — who were out for five months — and Watsonville Canning strikers teamed up to go to union meetings in San Jose, California. Shaw striker Paul Hernandez went to Washington, D.C., to appeal to Teamster President Jackie Presser for help. Newly elected Local 912 Secretary-Treasurer Sergio Lopez attended the Teamsters convention in Las Vegas last May and won a resolution of support.

Strikers' Committee

Two months into the strike some 500 workers formed a Strikers' Committee that would prove to be a crucial ingredient in the eventual victory. Its meetings were the place where the ranks and union supporters could freely discuss the latest developments and plan what to do next.

Lerma said the Strikers' Committee sent out speakers to win more support. And they held discussions with other striking workers who came to Watsonville to express solidarity and tell their own story.

Many times during their fight Watsonville workers were joined by meat-packers from Austin, Minnesota, who were on strike against Geo. A. Hormel & Co. Aus-

tin meat-packer Fernando Gonzalez marched at the head of a 60-mile solidarity march from San Jose to Watsonville last May. Watsonville strikers also attended solidarity events sponsored by the Hormel strikers in Minnesota.

At the March 2 Strikers' Committee meeting, where the workers were carefully discussing Norcal's proposed contract offer, Barbara Collette from the Austin United Support Group, and a delegation of garment workers from Mexico spoke. A collection of \$52 was divided between them.

Lerma said it was "very interesting" to learn about these other struggles. She and several members of the Food Committee went to San Jose last year to show striking hospital workers how to most effectively organize their food program.

Links with farm workers

If the strikers had accepted lower wages than the other area processors had imposed, the owners, under provisions of "me too" agreements, would have reopened all those contracts and slashed

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