

Winnie Mandela defies ban: 'South Africa is ours'

BY FRED FELDMAN

"This is our country. In the same way as you have had to bury our children today, so shall the blood of these heroes we buried today be avenged."

The speaker was Winnie Mandela. For the first time in 25 years she addressed a mass gathering in South Africa. Mandela is a veteran leader of the anti-apartheid struggle. She is the wife of Nelson Mandela, a leader of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), who has been in prison since 1962.

Her bold action came two days after Black-led unions formed the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the largest labor federation in South Africa's history. The new union federation made the struggle to abolish apartheid its top priority.

Mandela spoke to a meeting of 2,000 after the December 3 funeral for 12 people killed by the racist cops November 21. Forty thousand attended the funeral, which was held in Mamelodi, a Black township near the capital city of Pretoria. One of the dead was a two-month-old child.

She is forbidden by the white minority government from attending or speaking at such activities. Her appearance at Mamelodi was also in defiance of a government order banishing her to Brandfort in the Orange Free State.

"Pretoria has failed to rule this country," she said. "The solution of this country's problems lies in Black hands."

"I bring you a message of love from those you sent outside to help fight," she declared.

A number of anti-apartheid fighters have gone abroad to participate in the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), which is waging an armed struggle against apartheid.

"I bring you a message of love from your leaders inside prison," she stated.

Raising her fist in the air, she shouted, "Amandla!" (Power.)

The crowd shouted back, "Awetu!" (To the people.)

"Open support for the ANC was the rally's dominant theme," reported the December 4 *Washington Post*. "A huge black, yellow, and green ANC banner was carried



Youths carry coffin of infant killed by apartheid's cops. Winnie Mandela (inset) defied government ban and addressed meeting after funeral.

at the head of the funeral procession, and similar flags were draped over the coffins. As the bodies were carried from a soccer stadium, where the rally was held, the crowd stood with fists raised in the salute of the ANC and sang in praise of its guerrilla wing, called Spear of the Nation."

The *Post* noted "particularly warm applause for Martha Mahlangu, mother of ANC guerrilla Solomon Mahlangu, who was executed in 1979."

Diplomats from 11 countries, including

the United States, attended the funeral.

A one-day strike in the Pretoria area, marking the occasion, was 80 percent effective, and a boycott of white stores has begun.

The apartheid regime was also dealt a blow December 1 when 10,000 unionists rallied to hail the successful completion of the founding gathering of the COSATU. It has an estimated 500,000 members.

The unionists' growing confidence was

Continued on Page 3

1,000 mark anniversary of S. Africa protests

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — More than 1,000 people marched to the South African embassy here on November 27 and heard leaders of the Free South Africa Movement pledge to expand anti-apartheid protests in Washington and nationwide.

The action marked the first anniversary of the launching of the Free South Africa Movement. One year ago, TransAfrica director Randall Robinson, U.S. Civil Rights Commissioner Mary Berry, and D.C. delegate to Congress Walter Fauntroy were arrested by D.C. police for refusing to leave the grounds of the apartheid embassy. The three were protesting a severe crackdown by South African authorities following the November 5 and 6, 1984, general strike, which involved hundreds of thousands of Black workers.

The following day and every weekday since, pickets, numbering from 25 to over 5,000, have appeared one block from the embassy. More than 4,000 people have been arrested in the D.C. protests thus far.

The Free South Africa Movement has spread to dozens of cities as U.S. government and business support to apartheid has become a major issue in U.S. politics. The embassy protests have been marked by broad popular support. Black organizations, trade unions, churches, students, women's rights groups, civil libertarians,

Continued on Page 4

U.S. uses hijacking to threaten Libya

BY FRED FELDMAN

Egyptian combat troops are massed at Libya's border. The Egyptian government has instituted a state of alert in the border region.

The U.S. Sixth Fleet is maneuvering menacingly off Libya's shores. The fleet and other U.S. forces in the area "had been put on alert in case Libya and Egypt became involved in fighting," reported the

November 27 *New York Times*.

Washington stepped up aerial and electronic surveillance of Libya.

The Libyan government warned ambassadors in the capital city of Tripoli that the Egyptian government had completed preparations for an invasion "in full coordination" with U.S. forces concentrated off the Libyan shore.

No officials in Washington or Cairo denied the Libyan charges. On the contrary, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak threatened military intervention, boasting that "if we ever have to go to war, it is because we want to bring peace."

The pretext for these moves against Libya was the November 23 hijacking of an Egyptian airliner bound from Athens, Greece, to Cairo, Egypt.

The hijacking ended in a bloodbath on the Mediterranean island of Malta the next day when Egyptian commandos — backed by a U.S. general and two other U.S. military officers — attacked the plane and its passengers with bombs and guns. The "rescue" resulted in the deaths of 57 people.

The U.S. and Egyptian governments and the big-business media seized on these events to launch a savage propaganda campaign against Libya.

Mubarak charged the Libyan regime of Muammar el-Qaddafi with responsibility for the hijacking, using this claim as the pretext for its war preparations. But no evidence has been presented to link the Libyan government to the hijacking.

Libyan President Qaddafi strongly denied the charge, and the November 27 *Washington Post* admitted that "there is no proof of Libyan involvement."

Some press reports speculated that a group headed by Abu Nidal, which split from the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1973, was involved.

The airline hijacking, like the hijacking of the *Achille Lauro* cruise ship in October, is being used by the U.S. rulers as part of their effort to discredit, isolate, and destroy the PLO.

On November 7, PLO chairman Yassir Arafat reiterated the PLO's opposition to

Continued on Page 11

\$140,000 Socialist Fund — a big victory

The raising of a \$140,000 Socialist Publication Fund — surpassing our \$125,000 goal — by November 18 was a big victory.

This victory was not the result of a few large contributions. Raising the fund was a collective effort in which hundreds of people — including many *Militant* readers — participated.

This was the most successful fund-raising

out. The result was outstanding.

Hundreds of people increased their pledges, and dozens of new pledges were obtained.

Supporters of the fund across the country organized efficient campaigns to collect the pledges in time for the final tally November 18.

Eighty-four *Militant* readers responded directly to a mail appeal, sending donations totaling over \$3,000.

The successful fund drive coincided with a successful 10-week campaign to sell the *Militant* and the Spanish-language biweekly *Perspectiva Mundial*.

These are significant signs of the increased political activity and interest in political ideas among working people. This shift in the class struggle is evidenced by the anti-apartheid protests, the strong support for the upcoming national march to defend abortion rights, several hard-fought strikes against would-be union busters, and other developments.

Another indication was the range of speakers at the Socialist Publication Fund rallies held in more than a score of cities.

Helen Grieco, president of San Francisco NOW, is one example. She told the

rally in San Francisco, "I read the *Militant* every week. It's the only source of news I trust."

The rally in San Jose was addressed by Paula Hernandez and Lydia Lerma. They are co-chairs of the food committee of Teamsters Local 912, which is on strike against frozen food canneries in Watsonville, California.

Successful completion of the fund means that the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, the biweekly international news magazine *Intercontinental Press*, and the Marxist journal *New International* will be able to continue getting the truth out to working people.

Pathfinder Press will be able to move forward with the publication of *Cosmetics, Fashion, and the Exploitation of Women*, by Joseph Hansen and Evelyn Reed.

Two more volumes of *The Communist International In Lenin's Time* will be published next year. The fund will make it possible for Pathfinder to widely publicize and distribute these books.

Successful completion of the fund will make it possible to win more readers to the socialist publications and more fighters to the revolutionary socialist movement.

EDITORIAL

ing effort by the revolutionary socialist movement since the \$250,000 fund raised in the fall of 1982.

To reach this fall's goal, contributions averaging \$138 each were made by 1,074 people. More than half the total was donated by workers belonging to industrial unions. Many donated a week's pay. Relatively low-paid members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, for instance, averaged \$110 each.

At one point, with three weeks to go, the fund was far behind both in pledges and collections. A call for an emergency campaign to complete the fund in time went

Workers in Watsonville like 'Perspectiva Mundial'

BY JUNE SHERIDAN

WATSONVILLE, Calif. — Cannery workers here — the "frozen food capital of the world" — have been on strike at Watsonville Canning and Richard Shaw Co.

cuts of 20 to 35 percent; the introduction of a two-tier wage system; abolishment of the eight-hour day; severe reduction in medical coverage; and givebacks on vacation time, sick leave, and holi-

ville at least once a week since September to learn about the strike and offer solidarity.

We helped build support for the strike in our unions and have participated in solidarity marches and rallies.

Another way we have helped support this strike and other struggles like it here and around the world is by circulating *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant*. These papers tell the truth about the strike.

When we first went to the picket lines with the papers, people wanted to be sure that we supported the strike. Once that was established, the papers were very well-received.

On a recent trip, strikers were especially excited by *Perspectiva Mundial*'s front-page coverage of

the struggle. *Perspectiva Mundial* is the *Militant*'s Spanish-language biweekly sister publication.

Spanish is the main language spoken by many of the strikers. They were glad to be able to read about their struggle in their own language.

Small crowds gathered around to look at the paper — at the picket lines and at the union headquarters and food distribution center. One man asked if we had anything in English, so we showed him the *Militant*.

Perspectiva Mundial and the *Militant* have been offering a special subscription rate of \$1 for three months to strikers. So far, 16 subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* and 2 *Militant* subscriptions have been sold.

This strike has had a big impact

throughout the area. Supporters of the strike here, including many farm workers, have bought papers.

A couple of weeks ago one salesperson sold 17 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* at a busy local grocery store. The next week our team sold 22 *Perspectiva Mundials* in Watsonville in an hour. "Read the latest information on the strike. Find out what is happening in Nicaragua." This is what we said to catch people's attention.

Two leaders of Local 912's Food Committee, Lydia Lerma and Paula Hernandez, addressed a rally to raise funds for the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and other socialist publications. The rally was held in San Jose on November 23. The women received a standing ovation.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

since September 9. Teamsters Local 912 represents the work force, which is majority female, Chicano, and Mexican.

The workers have set up militant picket lines and have quickly gathered community and labor support. They are opposing pay

days.

The canning companies are pleading poverty as a cover for pressing this attack on the workers.

Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance members have been visiting Watson-

Bosses threaten striking Teamsters with arrests

BY JUNE SHERIDAN

WATSONVILLE, Calif. — After almost three months on strike, the fact that the cops and the courts are working hand in hand with the company is clear to striking Teamsters here.

Local 912 of the Teamsters has been on strike since September 9. They were forced out after two large canneries demanded major concessions. The strikers think the company is out to bust the union at Watsonville's large frozen food operations.

On a recent visit to the union hall we learned that the canneries are seeking to have 13 workers arrested for being in violation of court orders. The companies are claiming that 145 acts of violence have been carried out under the union's direction. The bosses want to see the workers slapped with five-day jail sentences and \$1,000 fines for each of the alleged incidents.

The court is also helping the companies bring scabs into the plants. The judge has designated pickup spots in shopping centers where scabs can park their vehicles and meet company buses. And the court has limited to three the number of pickets that can go to the shopping centers and talk to the scabs.

Police harassment of pickets has continued throughout the strike. The cops' favorite tactic is to cite the pickets for being in violation of court orders because they are not standing 10 feet apart at the plant gates.

Negotiations with the canneries have resumed. Everyone we spoke to, however, expected the strike to last at least a few more months. The growing season is almost over, and a common opinion among strikers is that the canneries will try to starve the workers out before the season starts again in April.

With the holidays, food drives organized by central labor councils and union locals in the state are under way. Fifteen hundred turkeys were donated for Thanksgiving, enough for every striking family.

The Teamsters Joint Council in San Francisco has donated \$6,000 to the strikers' food committee, which had already raised \$5,000 from other unions and community groups.

Everyone who has visited Watsonville is impressed with the determination of the strikers to win this difficult battle. The Mexican and Chicano workers leading this fight are standing up for the rights of women, Latinos, and all working people.



Militant/Linda Joyce

Cops and courts have intervened against striking California cannery workers

Grenada union leader continues hunger strike

BY TOM LEONARD

Chester Humphrey, a trade union leader from Grenada, is reported to be critically ill from a hunger strike he began in prison in early September.

The strike was meant to call attention to the "continued unjustified political detention and the increasing assaults on the freedom and independence of the labor movement in Grenada," Humphrey explained when he began his protest.

Before the October 1983 U.S. invasion, Humphrey was vice-president of the Technical and Allied Workers Union (TAWU) and an executive board member of the Trade Union Council.

The labor leader was imprisoned without charges by U.S. authorities shortly after

the invasion. He was released in May 1984 for a short time and then rejailed. The U.S. government accused him of running guns to Grenada from the United States before the 1979 revolution. In March 1979, the dictatorship of Eric Gairy was overthrown. A workers' and farmers' government came to power led by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

Bishop's government was overthrown in a coup led by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard. This opened the way for the U.S. invasion.

Humphrey and his supporters deny the frame-up charges and say the real reason Humphrey is in prison is because he is a popular and effective labor leader.

The frame-up is an effort to prevent him

from organizing resistance in the TAWU to the takeover of the union by right-wing officials working with the U.S.-installed government.

Washington has been trying to extradite Humphrey to the United States to face trial even though Grenada has no extradition treaty with this country. Nonetheless, a Grenadian magistrate has already ruled Humphrey can be extradited. This decision is under review by the Caribbean court of appeals.

Members of the Campaign to Free Chester Humphrey inside Grenada are demanding his release from prison. They are asking that protest letters be sent to Grenada Prime Minister Herbert Blaize, St. Georges, Grenada, and to U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

NICARAGUA

The Sandinista People's Revolution

Speeches by and interviews with leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution.

To order send \$7.95, plus \$.75 postage and handling, to Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

The Militant tells the truth — Subscribe today!



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

At the plant gates, picket lines, and unemployment lines, the *Militant* is there, reporting the news, participating in the struggle. To subscribe today, fill out the attached coupon.

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

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____
Telephone _____
Union/Organization _____

Send to Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

The Militant

Closing news date: December 4, 1985

Editor: MALIK MIAH

Managing editor:

MARGARET JAYKO

Business Manager:

LEE MARTINDALE

Editorial Staff: Rashaad Ali, Susan Apstein, Fred Feldman, Andrea González, Pat Grogan, Arthur Hughes, Tom Leonard, Harry Ring, Norton Sandler.

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

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

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

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

India: 'No more Bhopals!'

3,000 demonstrate against Union Carbide

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

Chanting "Down with the killer," 3,000 people demonstrated outside the Union Carbide plant in Bhopal, India, December 2. The demonstration marked the anniversary of the deadly gas leak that killed more than 2,000 people one year ago.

In addition to those killed, at least 200,000 people were injured when a poisonous gas, methyl isocyanate, leaked from an underground storage tank in the U.S.-owned Union Carbide plant.

Injuries included blindness, inflammation of the lungs, sterility, and kidney and liver damage. The plant is located on the outskirts of Bhopal, a city of 900,000.

The gas leaked when pressure built up in the storage tank, which had not been tapped in two months. The gas "overpassed" a safety filter.

In the aftermath of the disaster, Union Carbide — with racist arrogance — tried to blame the Indian workers at the plant for the leak. To bolster this notion the company asserted that its plant in Institute, West Virginia, is of the same design as the Bhopal plant and had never had a serious accident.

This is false. In 1978 more than 100 Union Carbide workers were sent to the hospital when they were exposed to a chemical leak at the Institute plant. Then, last August, a chemical leak at the West Virginia plant injured 135 people.

In a recent press release, Union Carbide continued to claim that the Bhopal plant was well-designed and safe and had been regularly examined by government inspectors who never found "any significant fault."

This is also false. On Dec. 9, 1984, an Indian newspaper printed a report of a 1982 study that detailed serious safety problems at the plant. Among the major ones listed was an inadequate safety valve on a tank used in the production of the highly toxic gas that caused the deaths. There were no records of any repairs on the valve.

Union officials at the Bhopal plant pointed out at the time of the gas leak that the disaster was the result of the "total apathy and negligence" of the company and the Indian government. The workers, they said, had warned the company many times of the need to improve the safety conditions in the plant. But Union Carbide did nothing.

The residents of Bhopal correctly place the blame for the disaster squarely on

Union Carbide. On the walls of the plant, which has been closed since the gas leak, slogans read: "No more Bhopal, no more Hiroshima. Save the world."

During the demonstration effigies of Union Carbide Chairman Warren Anderson were burned, with a background chant of "Hang Anderson" coming from the protesters. They planned to burn more than 2,000 such effigies — one for each person killed by the gas.

The demonstrators were demanding the government expel Union Carbide from India, a boycott of products made by multinational companies, and additional aid to the victims of the leak.

Over 1,000 heavily armed cops were mobilized to keep demonstrators out of the plant. Prior to the demonstration, the Indian government detained some 150 people.

For residents of Bhopal the nightmare that began one year ago continues today. Between 500 and 1,000 additional people have died from the injuries they sustained from the gas.

Another 20,000 to 40,000 people remain seriously ill.

Miscarriages among those exposed to the gas are four times higher than normal.

Between 35 and 50 percent of the children born this year in the area affected by the gas are underweight. Medical authorities say it is too early to tell if the chil-

dren will suffer from brain damage.

Medical studies on the effects of the gas indicate that those who were injured will never fully recover.

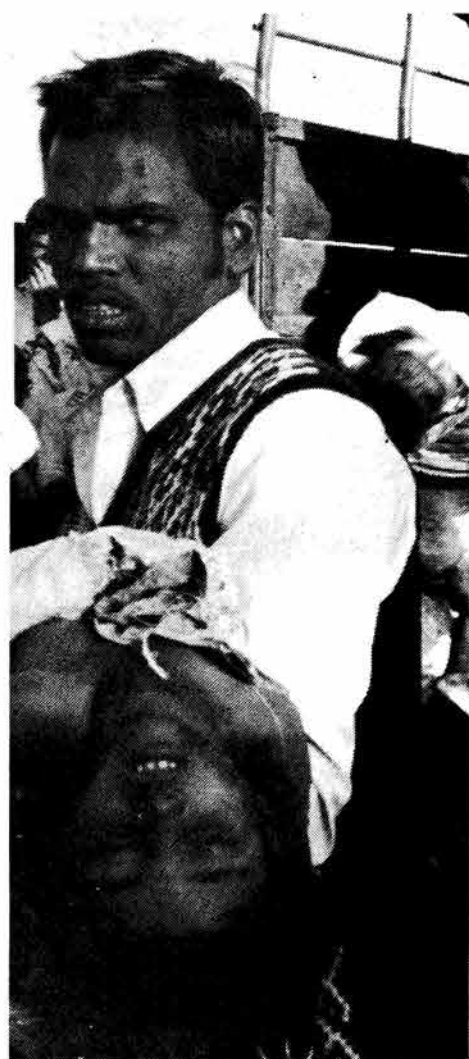
The Indian government has spent \$40 million on the relief effort. But it is not nearly enough. Thousands of people can no longer work. They need assistance to survive. Thousands have to have continuous daily medical care. But the health facilities of Bhopal, although improved and expanded as part of the relief effort, still cannot meet this need.

Union Carbide has done next to nothing to help its victims. To date, the company has given only \$1 million to a relief fund. Recently Union Carbide offered to build a \$350,000 housing complex for 96 families.

Union Carbide's Indian subsidiary signed a settlement December 3 with the 627 workers who have been laid off from the plant since the leak. The \$1.8 million settlement compensates the workers only for wages and benefits lost since July of this year when the plant was officially closed.

The Indian government is currently suing Union Carbide for damages on behalf of some 200,000 residents of Bhopal.

The Indian Central Bureau of Investigation announced that it was filing criminal charges against Warren Anderson and top officials of Union Carbide's Indian subsidiary.



Aftermath of Union Carbide gas leak that killed 2,000 people in Bhopal, India. An additional 200,000 received injuries from deadly accident.

Gov't fink opens sanctuary trial

BY BARBARA GREENWAY

PHOENIX — The trial of 11 sanctuary activists on 45 counts of conspiracy to smuggle, transport, and harbor "illegal aliens" began in Tucson, Arizona, November 19.

The 11 activists, including two priests, a nun, and a minister, are part of the sanctuary movement, a nationwide network of churches that help Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees escape the U.S.-backed repression in their homelands. If convicted, these activists face a total of 225 years in prison.

As the trial opened, the government's star witness, Jesus Cruz, took the stand. Cruz is a "coyote." Coyotes prey on workers who want to cross the border with Mexico — charging them money to get

into the United States. He became a paid informant for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to avoid a long prison term after he was arrested for transporting undocumented workers in Florida. He infiltrated the sanctuary movement, secretly tape-recording church meetings for the government.

U.S. Prosecutor Donald Reno has portrayed these activists as coyotes and the sanctuary movement as an "ominous conspiracy" and "criminal enterprise." Reno was forced to admit, however, that it is the government that hires criminals to do its dirty work. As Reno himself explained, "An informant is a man like Mr. Cruz, someone who has violated the laws of the U.S. government."

The government was forced to withdraw as a witness its second informant, Salomon Delgado Graham, after Delgado had been publicly accused by the Arizona Farm Workers Union of being a pimp who pro-

cured prostitutes for farm workers.

The government is determined to convict these activists. It has tried to prevent them from arguing their case at every turn. The judge claims that any references to the religious motives of the activists or to repression in Central America are "irrelevant, prejudicial and inflammatory." The U.S. government introduced a series of pretrial motions aimed at banning these references from the trial. Presiding Judge Earl Carroll upheld the government's motions, thereby limiting the activists' legal defense.

Defense attorneys have been able to answer the government's charge that the activists were involved in a "conspiracy." They presented as proof of the public character of their activities a 1982 letter by one of the defendants, Rev. John Fife, to the U.S. Attorney General, announcing his church's decision to open its doors to these refugees.

Mandela: 'South Africa is ours'

Continued from front page

indicated when newly elected COSATU President Elijah Barayi told cops near the rally: "I want to tell you that you will not arrest one soul at this meeting today. If you have come to provoke trouble, then you will get what you are asking for."

No arrests were reported.

The unions that formed COSATU are the National Union of Mineworkers, Federation of South African Trade Unions, General Workers of South Africa, Food and Canning Workers' Union, Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union, Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association, National Federation of Workers, which is affiliated to the United Democratic Front (UDF), the main anti-apartheid coalition, and 11 other unions affiliated to the UDF.

The federation is open to workers of all colors. It aims to establish a single union for all the workers in each of South Af-

rica's major industries.

Two unions, the Council of Unions of South Africa and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions, have not joined the federation.

The founding congress supported demands that U.S. and other firms disinvest their capital from South Africa. Barayi said that the U.S. and British governments "seem to favor South Africa in that they don't want disinvestment."

"They tell us they are against disinvestment because the Black people would starve, but Black people have been starving here since the first white settlers arrived in 1652."

Barayi stated, "COSATU is in full support of divestment."

COSATU demanded that President Pieter Botha lift the state of emergency and withdraw troops from Black townships. It also called for nationalization of the mines.

The federation plans to campaign for abolition of pass laws. These laws are used to bar millions of Blacks from the 87 percent of the country reserved for whites except when they are working for a white boss.

"We give Botha six months to abolish these laws, which stop us from working where we want to and doing the work we want to do," said Barayi. "If he doesn't do it, then we will take all the passes of the Black people and burn them."

Describing the white minority government as "criminals and drunkards," Barayi called on Botha to resign and "make way for the real leader of the people, Nelson Mandela."

New attack at Arab-American office

BY GEORGE KAPLAN

"No cases of attacks against Arab-American organizations have resulted in convictions or even, as yet, in indictments," several Arab-American organizations declared at a December 2 news conference in Washington, D.C.

They were protesting the latest such attack. Three days earlier, a fire had gutted the Washington, D.C., offices of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). The fire engulfed three floors and caused \$450,000 in damage.

Assistant Fire Chief Maurice Kilby stated, "There's no way a fire can get that much headway so quickly. . . . It's very suspicious."

ADC Chairman James Abourezk said, "We are disturbed by the slow pace of local law enforcement officials. They did not even process some of the evidence until Sunday, two days later."

Abourezk expressed disappointment that "the FBI, which entered the previous cases, has not yet chosen to enter this one, even though the latest terrorist acts and the ones that preceded it are clearly linked."

On August 16, a bomb exploded at the ADC office in Boston. On October 11, a bomb planted at the committee's office in Santa Ana, California, killed Alex Odeh, regional director of the ADC.

There have been no arrests, although the FBI has publicly stated that the Jewish Defense League, a racist and terrorist organization, was its prime suspect in the murder

of Odeh.

Arab American Institute Director Jim Zogby said he and his family were the target of threats. "Quite often, we will be critical of the Israeli government," he said. "I'm simply an Arab-American who speaks out. I speak on a television program, and I get home to find a string of phone calls. . . . 'You're all dead. We know where to get you.'" His nine-year-old child had received such calls.

Zogby noted that many leaders of Jewish organizations had protested the attacks. "We're fully confident that as the effort to provide protection to Arab-Americans continues, many Jewish leaders will come forward."

The FBI's failure thus far to arrest the assassins and arsonists is emboldening racists. Mordechai Levy of the Jewish Defense Organization (JDO), a terrorist group similar to the JDL, said he took no credit for the fire but "it couldn't have happened to more deserving people."

A JDO leaflet listed the ADC among "Enemies of the Jewish People."

The news conference protesting the racist attacks was attended by the heads of the ADC, the Arab American Institute, the National Association of Arab Americans, and the Palestine Congress of North America. They were joined by Rep. Walter Fauntroy, the District of Columbia delegate to the House of Representatives, and Patricia Derian, a former assistant secretary of state.

Pathfinder Press catalog available

Pathfinder Press carries a broad range of books on revolutionary and socialist history and theory. It publishes a wide selection of titles on the Black, women's, labor, and Latin American, international struggles. To get the full list order the 1985-86 catalog from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. No charge.

Latinos for a free South Africa

Latinos for a Free South Africa is a new organization in the fight against apartheid in the United States.

Organizers include labor officials, religious and community activists, and politicians. They announced the new group at a press conference in New York City on November 12.

The organization's goal is to bring Latinos into the struggle to break all U.S. ties with apartheid. They project distributing bilingual information on South Africa in the city's *barrios*. Organizers also plan to pressure Latin American artists and entertainers not to perform in South Africa. In addition, the coalition plans to lobby visiting Latin American heads of state to impose sanctions against the racist regime.

In announcing the formation of Latinos for a Free South Africa, organizers explained that "the call for democracy in South Africa directly affects Latin American countries because the same multinational corporations that are denying South Africans their rights are also promoting the underdevelopment of Latin America."

Ohio: Blacks, labor protest apartheid

BY GARY BAKER

SANDUSKY, Ohio — Two hundred people participated in a broadly sponsored march and rally against apartheid November 16 in this north-central Ohio city of 30,000.

The protest was organized by Citizens for Freedom in South Africa. It was endorsed by a broad range of groups, including the local affiliates of the AFL-CIO, the Community Action Program Council of the United Auto Workers, and the National Organization for Women.

The marchers at the majority Black action were mostly workers, with a good number of high school and junior high school students involved.

Participants assembled at a church in the Black community and marched to another church in a predominantly white area where the rally was held.

The march was led by a drum majorette corps composed of elementary and junior high school students. Immediately behind them were a number of flags, including the black, green, and gold colors of the African National Congress.

The city commissioners had approved a proclamation declaring November 16 "Freedom for South Africa Day." The mayor of Sandusky, George Mylander, spoke at the rally and read the proclamation.

Other speakers included activists in Citizens for Freedom in South Africa, three South Africans, several local ministers, and representatives of Operation PUSH and the Farm Labor Organizing Committee.

ANC, SWAPO, Nicaraguan youth speak in Iowa City

BY BARRY DIEDERICH

IOWA CITY, Iowa — "We have lost our families... we have lost our comrades," said Monica Nashandi about the struggle of the people of Namibia against South Africa. Nashandi was part of a forum of southern African and Nicaraguan students who spoke to students here October 28.

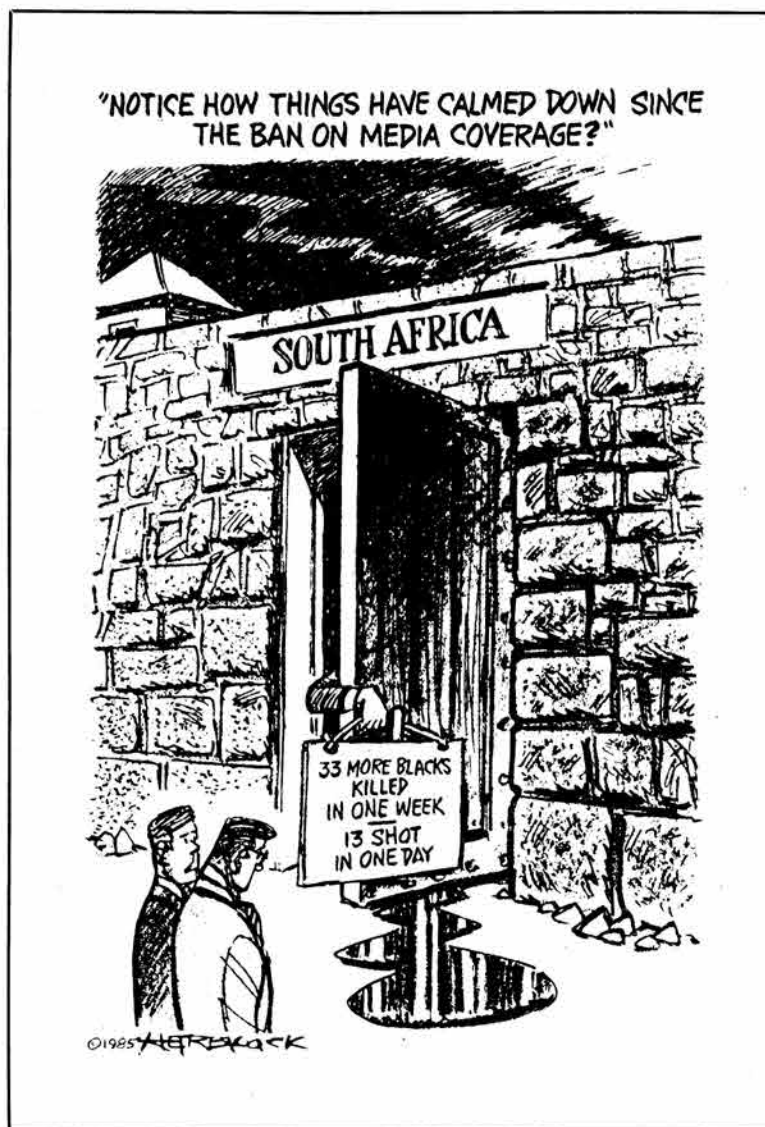
The theme was "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua."

Claire Mohapi represented the Youth Section of the African National Congress. Monica Nashandi spoke for the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). And Roger Uriarte, the head of the

international section of the National Union of Nicaraguan Students, also spoke.

Mohapi told the audience that she was forced to leave South Africa in 1981 because of her membership in the Congress of South African Students, whose present leaders are now being tried for treason, which is punishable by death.

Mohapi summed up the purpose of the tour: "We've come to talk to the people of the U.S. with one voice about the Reagan administration's repressive measures toward our people."



Nicaraguan gets warm welcome

BY DAVID MARSHALL

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — Labor and community organizations here gave a warm welcome to Eduardo Baez, director of Nicaragua's Basic Popular Adult Education program.

David Mott greeted Baez on behalf of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. "We [oppose] the Reagan administration's brutal war against your country," Mott told Baez at the November 9 meet-

ing. "We support you in your effort to build a democratic society on your terms, to meet your needs."

Robert McCauley, international representative of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, agreed. "AFSCME has found," he said, "that the greatest impediment to human rights in Nicaragua is the U.S.-sponsored mercenary war against the Nicaraguan people."

"Education is crucial to Nicaragua's future," Baez explained, "because the people are the revolution's most important resource. The goal is not just reading and writing. It is to develop a critical but collective way of thinking."

"Many Nicaraguans used to think they were poor because they were supposed to be. Somoza's entire system reinforced this. Now people question everything, discuss everything."

"We will continue to fight to defend our revolution," Baez emphasized. "Even though the war has hurt our standard of living, the people, who had nothing before, have seen what the revolution has meant, and can mean, in terms of health care, land reform, and so on. They have seen that the revolution is not just speeches, but holds the possibility of building a better future."

Baez pointed out that the Nicaraguan people are beating the U.S.-organized mercenaries, called *contras*. "But we prepare for the worst," he added.

"If Reagan does invade," Baez vowed, "it will not be like Grenada. Just this year we've handed out 200,000 weapons to the people. They are armed and prepared. This makes the Pentagon think twice about invading Nicaragua."

Baez ended his talk by thanking the audience for its support. "You have taught us Nicaraguans that there are Americans other than Reagan. Your support, knowing that you are behind us, is a big factor in giving us our resolve to continue defending our revolution."

1,000 mark founding of Free South Africa Movement

Continued from front page

and others have united in a broad movement.

In the first anniversary action the protesters marched up Washington's "embassy row" behind a huge banner reading "apartheid kills." Marchers chanted, "Freedom, yes, apartheid no!" "Free Nelson Mandela!" "We mean it, no business, no business in South Africa!" and "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua!"

Security for the protest was provided by trade unionists from the District of Columbia Water and Sewer Utilities and activists from the Southern Africa Support Project.

Banners identified protesters from the United Mine Workers of America, Service Employees International Union, American Federation of Government Employees, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, National Nicaragua Network, Howard University, National Organization for Women, United Church of Christ, and D.C. Federation of Jewish Organizations.

D.C. Mayor Marion Barry opened the rally by reaffirming the city administration's support for the Free South Africa Movement.

"We can be very proud that our movement has increased the awareness and changed the consciousness of the American people. But the struggle is not nearly won. Corporate America must know that we mean it when we say no business in South Africa," said Barry.

Jesse Jackson called apartheid "the moral successor to Nazi Germany." Referring to recent moves by the Reagan administration and Congress to give military aid to the South African-backed UNITA forces in Angola, Jackson warned, "Do not try to overthrow the government of inde-

pendent Angola. Our response will be hands of solidarity stretched across the ocean."

"We must continue to send our message to the Reagan administration: your embrace of evil has not eradicated evil," said United Mine Workers of America President Richard Trumka. "It has served to bolster the forces of oppression. Apartheid is not a system that can be reformed, it must be abolished. Our government has a responsibility to pressure the South African regime through meaningful mandatory economic sanctions."

"Many U.S. and Western European corporations continue to operate in South Africa, supplying the apartheid system with much-needed capital, technology, and services," Trumka continued.

"We must say to these multinational corporations — as workers and as consumers — if you continue to do business in South Africa, you can no longer do business here. We can no longer accept business as usual while Black children are shot in the streets and Black mine workers are forced to work at gunpoint."

The United Mine Workers of America has sponsored tours of Black South African miners and campaigned to pass legislation barring the importation of South African coal.

Trumka told the *Militant* that in his recent tours of coal mining areas and union locals, he was struck by rank-and-file consciousness on the issue of South Africa and of brutal oppression of Black miners there. "Our people see it directly and make the connection that if anyone can be forced to work in slave-labor conditions anywhere it threatens the rights of labor everywhere, including here. Our locals initiate things.

Everywhere I go I hear questions about South Africa and what are we doing about it."

Coretta Scott King invited people to attend an international conference against apartheid to be held January 19-20 in Atlanta.

National Organization for Women President Eleanor Smeal said, "We stand in solidarity with the Free South Africa Movement. We can make no greater mistake than failure to understand that the same people who stand for racism, stand for sexism." Following the rally, Smeal led a group of women's rights activists to the embassy door, where they were arrested.

Randall Robinson, speaking to rising

applause, began, "In the name of Martin [Luther King, Jr.] and Malcolm [X], in the name of Harriet [Tubman] and Sojourner Truth and all of our freedom fighters we send a message to Nelson and Winnie [Mandela], to Walter Sisulu, and to all the freedom fighters of the African National Congress: We are going forward. We will not stop."

"We will continue the embassy protests and we are expanding to 350 American corporations profiting from racist oppression, saying this too must stop."

"We are also sending a message to Reagan and the Congress: to support UNITA is to support South Africa. We will be watching and we will be acting."

Detroit: 400 hit racist ordinance

Continued from back page

has been in the forefront of beating the apartheid system in South Africa, and we'll be in the forefront of beating apartheid in Dearborn," Settles said.

He explained that Local 600 members were already boycotting the plant cafeterias, and offered the local hall as a headquarters for picketers. Settles also emphasized that this campaign would be taken up by all local members. He reported that several white members who live in Dearborn had expressed support for the boycott, and had urged him to remember that more than 13,000 Dearborn residents had voted against the new ordinance.

Howard Simon, executive director of the Michigan American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), explained to the rally that the "Dearborn controversy occurs in the middle of a war on civil rights and on Black

people" including attacks on affirmative action, school desegregation, and other gains of the civil rights movement. These attacks by the government have sent out a "clear message," he said, that "racists can return to business as usual and don't worry about the federal government."

Simon announced that the ACLU and NAACP would file a joint lawsuit challenging the Dearborn ordinance, but stressed that the battle would not be won through the courts, but through the mobilization of the Black community and other opponents of racism.

Rosa Parks, who helped spark the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott in 1955, closed the rally, urging the audience "never to be satisfied with anything less than first-class citizenship."

"It takes us as a people to free ourselves," she said, "not waiting for someone to come along and free us."

Is Black Party charter valid today?

BY RASHAAD ALI

A discussion is taking place in the Black community on how to win Black political empowerment. This discussion has taken place in the pages of Black newspapers from coast to coast; on Black-owned radio stations and on television shows hosted by Blacks; from the pulpits of churches; and at conventions of the major Black rights organizations.

The various mainstream liberal leaders of the Black community — from Jesse Jackson to Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP to Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam — have answered this question in fundamentally the same way: our freedom can be won by patching up and reforming capitalism. Getting more Blacks elected to office as Democrats or Republicans; more Black-owned businesses; more Black professionals — that, they say, is the road to full equality and an end to racism.

NBIPP's perspective

Yet there is an alternative view. One that receives little coverage in the big-business media.

On the first weekend of this month, in Washington, D.C., the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), is hosting a national conference to discuss the question, "Can a national Black independent political party be built in the 1980s?" NBIPP is a vanguard organization that stands on the revolutionary perspective advocated by Malcolm X.

NBIPP's program states that the road to Black freedom is through independent political struggle to radically change the capitalist system, not reform it. Unless this is done, NBIPP says, Black self-determination is impossible.

At its founding five years ago in Philadelphia, NBIPP formulated its perspective to win Black freedom in this way: "The National Black Independent Political Party aims to attain political power to radically transform the present socio-economic order, that is, to achieve self-determination and social and political freedom for the masses of Black people. Therefore, our party will actively oppose racism, imperialism, sexual oppression, and capitalist exploitation. Both major parties (the Democratic and Republican parties) have betrayed us because their interests essentially conflict with ours."

Is charter still valid?

It is useful today to review NBIPP's founding program because of the discussions on perspectives taking place among Black activists.

Is its program still valid? Does it outline a course to win Black self-determination? What is its relevance to other working people?

NBIPP is a continuing reflection of 25 years of discussion and action in the attempt to build a Black political party independent of capitalist politics; a party that seeks to organize and mobilize Blacks to fight for full equality.

From the time when Nation of Islam founder Elijah Muhammed made an initial call to break with the Democrats and Republicans in the early 1960s, there has been a discussion in the Black movement on whether to form an independent Black political party. A vanguard layer has always favored such a step, and several attempts have been made to do so.

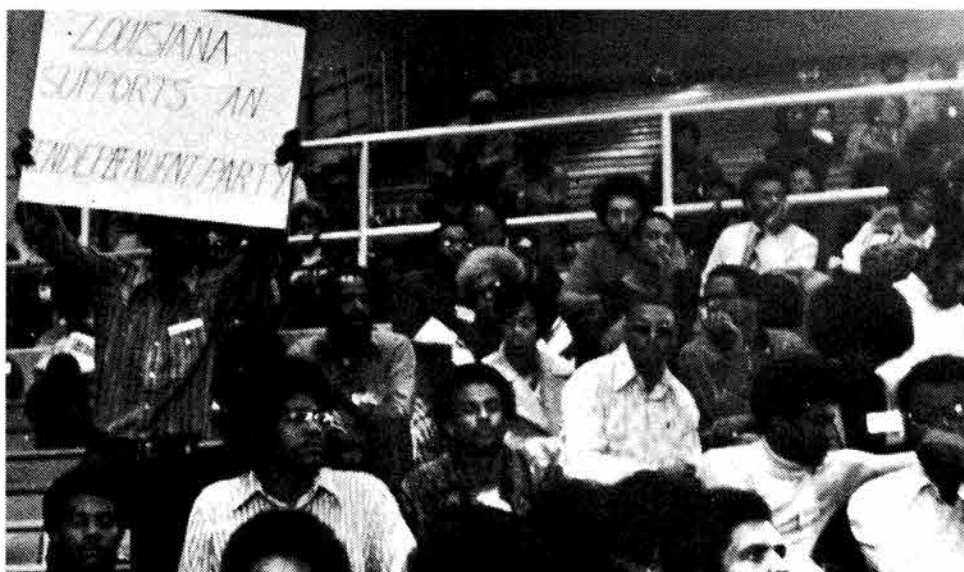
In the 1960s Blacks in Alabama formed the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in order to get some political power. And in Michigan the Freedom Now Party was organized for the same purpose.

Neither, however, presented a programmatic perspective that could be an alternative to that of the capitalist parties.

The Black Panther Party, which advocated independent political action, made many ultraleft errors, only to end up involved in various capitalist electoral schemes.

Even when the capitalist parties, after the victory of the civil rights movement in the 1960s, were forced to allow more Blacks to run for office and get elected, there continued to be support for independent political action in the Black community.

The right to vote, a major gain, had not led to a significant improvement in the lives of most Blacks. The urban rebellions



National Black Political Convention in 1972, attended by 8,000 Blacks. Some participants urged the formation of a Black party. This was rejected. Eight years later NBIPP was formed.

in 1967 and 1968, especially, brought home this truth about life in racist America.

Gary convention

In 1972 a National Black Political Convention attended by 8,000 people was held in Gary, Indiana. A strong minority at the convention favored forming a Black party immediately. Instead, the National Black Political Assembly (NBPA) was established. Democratic politicians at the meeting argued that a Black party should be formed, but in the distant future.

The Assembly did not seek to build a new independent party. Its perspective was to run independent candidates and support liberal Black Democrats. In fact, the main activity of the NBPA became organizing support for Black Democrats, primarily on a local level.

More than 1,000 activists showed up for the 1974 meeting of the Assembly, where this orientation toward liberal capitalist politicians — and lip service to a Black party in the future — was reaffirmed.

In 1976 leaders of the NBPA tried to convince Democratic congressman Ron Dellums to run for president as an independent. He refused. More than 1,000 people turned out for this meeting, which was held in Cincinnati.

The NBPA subsequently declined in influence.

New Orleans convention of NBPA

But out of this bitter political experience and the sharp economic and social deterioration in the lives of Black people, a layer of NBPA activists decided to take a big step in August 1980. A call was issued to form an independent Black party.

This decision was not arrived at lightly. Most participants had gone through backing liberal Democrats — white and Black — and seeking to reform the two-party shell game. That illusionary perspective and the reality of institutionalized racism forced them to consider a change.

The 1980 New Orleans convention of the NBPA marked a break with the dead-end strategy that had kept the Assembly chasing "independent" Democrats for eight years.

A motion by Rev. Ben Chavis declaring the creation of a Black party and proposing a conference be held in no more than 100 days was adopted. "It is independent Black political party time!" the motion said.

There was not unanimous agreement in favor of a Black party. The same struggle that had been waged since the 1972 Gary convention continued in New Orleans. However, the call to hold a convention in Philadelphia to organize a Black party was an important new step.

What was also new was that the New Orleans meeting voted not to support any of the capitalist presidential candidates in the 1980 presidential elections. They attacked all three capitalist candidates — Ronald Reagan, James Carter, and John Anderson. The conference encouraged Blacks to vote "no" on all of them or to vote for one of the small parties with progressive candidates.

Philadelphia founding convention

More than 1,500 activists participated in the Philadelphia convention Nov. 21-23, 1980. It was the most democratic discus-

sion ever held about the need for a Black party. The discussion focused around the proposed programmatic document, which became known as the charter.

What the new party should stand for and what its goals should be was the political axis of the discussion around the charter.

"Our party will not be like the Democratic and Republican parties," the proposed charter began. "Our party is a political organization which unites with the needs of the people and invites the people around a program. It synthesizes the desires of the people and begins to define them politically. It is aimed at altering the balance of power to affect the quality of goods and services to the people. Our party is a formation that contends for power within the socio-economic institutions."

This original charter was adopted as a working document after it became apparent that more discussion was needed to come to a clearer political understanding of its meaning.

The Philadelphia convention reflected the radical political mood of the participants. The Democrats and Republicans got little mercy from most who spoke. Speeches and comments from the floor were anti-imperialist, anticapitalist, and antisexist, as well as antiracist.

Activists tried to explain as clearly as possible the political situation in the United States and the world and how this affected Blacks and other working people in the United States.

The convention took some other important steps, including deciding that 50 percent of all leading bodies of NBIPP must be female. It also established caucuses for women, for students and youth, and for labor.

Everyone came out of the Philadelphia meeting knowing that they were part of something with real potential.

Local and national discussions on the charter were then organized leading up to an August 1981 party congress in Chicago.

Chicago congress

Eight hundred people gathered there. The delegates ratified the proposed charter after hours of discussion in committees and on the congress floor. This document outlined a radical perspective for the masses of Blacks. It pointed to the fight against the capitalist parties and system as the only

road to Black freedom.

Because of this it marked a step forward for all working people. Trade unionists and working farmers need to march along the same strategic road.

The Chicago congress elected a national leadership — equally divided between men and women.

A major challenge confronted the congress. It centered on whether or not the only criterion for holding an elected leadership position would be agreement with the party's charter. Some argued that NBIPP members who also belonged to other political organizations should be excluded from leadership bodies of the party.

After a lengthy open debate, the delegates rejected all forms of exclusion from the party's leadership. NBIPP had successfully met the challenge.

Delegates left Chicago confident that they had achieved greater unity and consolidated an organization with a national framework. The party could now turn outward to reach Blacks resisting the racist, anti-working-class offensive of the government and the employers.

Since Chicago

NBIPP has participated in many activities since its formation: fights against cop brutality; opposition to U.S. aggression in Central America and the Caribbean — including organizing a trip to revolutionary Grenada and participating in antiwar protests; and fights around many other issues.

Some modest gains were initially made, and NBIPP began to recruit. But enormous pressures are brought to bear on a small, vanguard formation when working people are suffering major setbacks under the blows of the ruling class' attacks on the unions, jobs, education, affirmative action, abortion rights, and in every other arena. The mainstream liberal leaders, meanwhile, continue to have broad support. This has led to political desertions from NBIPP and its founding perspective. Only a nucleus remains of the original membership.

NBIPP remains an important nucleus organized around the revolutionary program of the charter. The mere existence of the NBIPP helps keep this perspective of independent political action by the exploited and oppressed part of the discussion among vanguard fighters in the Black, labor, and farm movements. This in the midst of the deepening ruling-class attacks.

A break from the two-party capitalist shell game in the United States, however, will not come primarily from those who become disillusioned with the ability of the capitalist parties to give crumbs to Blacks or other working people. A break by a layer of workers and exploited farmers toward independent political action will be the result of the confidence, political clarity, and combat experience that working people will gain in struggles against the boss on the job, against police terror in the Black community, and against the government's foreign policies, such as its support to the racist regime in South Africa and its war against Nicaragua.

The perspective of NBIPP's charter points in the direction that leads to Blacks and other working people fighting to take political power out of the hands of the exploiters and their parties.

That's why the charter marks a historic conquest for Blacks and other working people and remains valid.

Reading on the Black struggle

Independent Black Political Action: 1954-78

The struggle to break with the Democratic and Republican parties

Edited by Mac Warren, this Education for Socialists publication includes articles on the Freedom Now Party, Lowndes County Freedom Organization, Black Panther Party, National Black Assembly, and more. 8½ x 11 format, 72 pages, \$3.50.

The National Black Independent Political Party

An Important Step Forward for Blacks and Other American Workers

Education for Socialists publication by Nan Bailey, Malik Miah, and Mac Warren. 32 pages, \$1.25.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.

Honduran elections show firm control by U.S.

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

Washington wanted to use the November 24 presidential elections in Honduras as an example of U.S.-fostered democracy. In reality, however, the elections highlighted the depth of U.S. political domination of that Central American nation.

Rafael Leonardo Callejas, from the National Party, received more than 40 percent of the vote. But José Azcona, one of four Liberal Party candidates, is expected to be declared the newly elected president despite the fact that he totaled only 25 percent of the vote.

Why?

These elections were run under an arrangement reached between the president and Congress last May. This compromise was designed to diffuse the political crisis that rocked the country when President Roberto Suazo Córdova, a member of the Liberal Party, tried to handpick his successor.

The compromise allows each faction of a party to run their own candidate. The winner is the leading candidate from the party with the highest vote total. Thus, the Liberal Party, whose candidates received 50 percent of the votes, is supposed to get the presidency.

The compromise violates the Honduran constitution, which calls for the president to be elected by direct vote.

Azcona is a longtime leader of the Liberal Party. He had been Suazo's campaign manager in 1982, but broke with him over Suazo's moves to dominate the party.

Callejas, 42, was one of three candidates of the National Party. He was a ranking member of the Association for the Progress of Honduras, a right-wing organization of wealthy businessmen.

Suazo was Honduras' first civilian head of state in a decade. These elections are the first time in 55 years that a civilian government survived to be replaced by another civilian government. Previous governments have fallen to military coups.

Nonetheless, the armed forces continue to exercise the real power in Honduras. They supported these elections due in no small part to a U.S. government threat to make Washington's massive military aid in Honduras contingent on having a civilian government.

Washington is interested in maintaining a democratic facade in Honduras behind which it can increase its use of that country as a launching pad for aggression against the people of Nicaragua and El Salvador.

All aspects of the elections were controlled by the U.S. government. The U.S. embassy admits spending \$900,000 to supply the ballots, ballot boxes, ink, and the 300 observers. The U.S. embassy even sent out the instructions for the voting procedure to be used at polling places.

The U.S. military buildup in Honduras is part of Washington's preparations for a direct U.S. invasion of Central America.

- Since October 1981, more than 70,000 U.S. troops have taken part in continuous military maneuvers in Honduras. These maneuvers have included practice invasions.

- Under cover of the maneuvers, the Pentagon has built 14 military bases in Honduras and constructed or improved eight airstrips and two radar sites.

- The U.S. armed forces have stockpiled tanks and armored personnel carriers there.

- The air field in Palmerola has been turned into the headquarters for a 1,200-person semipermanent U.S. military presence, including an army field hospital.

- Direct U.S. military aid has gone from \$4 million in 1980 to \$88.2 million in 1986.

- At the same time Washington has been arming, organizing, and financing the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries, who operate out of Honduras with active support from the Honduran army and the CIA.

The presence of these terrorists is not popular in Honduras. They have been involved in criminal acts against Hondurans. Neither of the two leading capitalist presidential contenders opposed the presence of the counterrevolutionaries.

"No Honduran politicians dare to attack the FDN [Nicaraguan Democratic Front, the main U.S.-backed mercenary group] presence strongly," one Honduran told the *Christian Science Monitor*, "because in this country the U.S. embassy is so powerful that no one wants to be suspect in its eyes."



U.S. soldiers in Puerto Castilla, Honduras. Keeping up democratic facade in Honduras helps U.S. military buildup go on unabated. As an armed camp, country is base for aggression against people of El Salvador and Nicaragua.

ful that no one wants to be suspect in its eyes."

The embassy's power comes not only from the massive U.S. military presence in Honduras, but also from Wall Street's economic domination of the country.

With the exception of Haiti, Honduras, with 4 million people, is the poorest country in the Americas. Unemployment is officially 29 percent; underemployment, 50 percent. The interest on Honduras' \$2.3

billion foreign debt takes 44 percent of its export earnings. The standard of living of Honduran workers and farmers, never high, has been steadily falling. At least 50 percent of the population is illiterate.

The Honduran economy is dominated by two U.S. companies — United Brands (formerly United Fruit) and Standard Fruit. The two companies control 80 percent of the country's railroads and much of its maritime shipping.

Peace activists tell of capture by 'contras'

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MIAMI — Nancy Eckel and Sister Kathleen Maire described their capture by U.S.-backed Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary terrorists last August to a public meeting here on November 16.

The meeting was titled "Captured by contra" and was held at the University of Miami. Nearly 100 people attended. The two women were part of a group organized by Witness for Peace, a religious organization which says it "seeks to change U.S. foreign policy to one of peace towards Nicaragua."

Eckel and Maire were also scheduled to speak to students at two local Catholic high schools, but those meetings were canceled by school officials after they received bomb threats. Local Spanish-language radio programs had denounced the meetings as "pro-Sandinista" and "communist."

This was the first time in two years that such right-wing threats have forced an anti-war meeting here to be canceled.

The success of the University of Miami meeting, which received extensive advance publicity in the local papers, sent the important message that such antiwar meetings will continue.

The Witness for Peace group traveled along the Río San Juan, which divides Nicaragua from Costa Rica to the south. "We chose this route to investigate incidents of attacks against Nicaragua by contras [counterrevolutionaries] operating from Costa Rica," said Maire. "The U.S. and Costa Rican governments both denied that there were any contras operating from Costa Rica."

"Despite these U.S. claims, contra leader Edén Pastora appeared on Costa Rican television to denounce us as 'politicians in pastoral clothing,'" she continued. "He said he would be obligated to shoot us."

Maire and Eckel showed a 20-minute video of their trip and capture. The day after they left the town of San Carlos, they were fired upon from the Costa Rican side of the river. Their attackers ordered them to leave the boat and march overland to a small farm house well inside Costa Rica.

"The armed men who captured us identified themselves as a unit of ARDE," said Eckel. ARDE stands for Revolutionary Democratic Alliance. It is the U.S.-supported contra grouping led by Pastora.

"They were very open in speaking to

us," she continued. "They explained that they had orders to stop all traffic on the river, and would hold us prisoner until they received further orders from superiors in ARDE. One, named Israel, explained that the Costa Rican Civil Guard left them alone."

"We were held overnight. The next day a contra officer named Daniel arrived. After radio consultation with his superiors, he let us return to San Carlos. Back in San Carlos, we found out that he was a well-known renegade from Nicaragua who had stolen 120,000 córdobas and then joined the ARDE contras."

On the return trip, the Witness for Peace boats were stopped twice by Costa Rican Border Guards. "They had recently been trained by U.S. advisors," Maire told us. "Their uniforms still had the shoulder patches of the U.S. Border Patrol."

"The U.S. embassy and State Department refused to meet with anyone from our group — the only time they have not met with a Witness for Peace group," said Eckel.

Eckel and Maire finished by describing the gains made by working people since Nicaragua's 1979 revolution.

"The Nicaraguans have chosen their government," Maire concluded. "They told us: 'For 40 years the United States owned us — but never again.' The Nicaraguans will fight to defend their country. We must work to change U.S. foreign policy and let Nicaragua live in peace."



Edén Pastora, head of ARDE contra group, which seized U.S. peace activists last August.

'IP' on struggle for land in South Africa

For centuries, land has been at the center of the struggle between South Africa's white rulers and its oppressed Black majority.

Africans are today legally barred from owning and farming land in 86.3 percent of the country, and can only do so in the impoverished and overcrowded fragments known as the Bantustans. The struggle by Blacks to reconquer the land is a key component of South Africa's unfolding national, democratic revolution.

The current, December 16, *Intercontinental Press* features the first of two background articles by Ernest Harsch on the land question in South Africa.

This first article describes how the land was originally seized from the indigenous inhabitants during the colonial land wars. It surveys the structure of South African agriculture, as well as the class relations in the countryside.

Despite the apartheid regime's ongoing efforts to keep Blacks off the land, millions of them continue to till the soil, both within the Bantustans and outside of them.

The second article will focus on the resistance of Blacks to the regime's racist agrarian policies and their fight to regain their land rights. The African National Congress, South Africa's vanguard liberation organization, has played a key role in this struggle.

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

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

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

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

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

Africa Asia Europe Oceania the Americas

Vol. 25 No. 24 December 15, 1985 USA\$1.25 UK 03.80

El Salvador
Héctor Recinos
Returns to Address
Union Conference

South Africa
Apartheid's
Great
Land Theft

Philippines
An Economic Crisis
'Made in U.S.A.'

Greece
General Strike Protests
Regime's Austerity Moves

Fight for land, nation, citizenship in South Africa

Excerpts from 'New International'

The feature article in the latest issue of the magazine *New International* is a report by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, on "The Coming Revolution in South Africa."

That report was discussed and adopted by the National Committee of the SWP at its August meeting.

The report discusses the national, democratic revolution that is unfolding in South Africa and the role of the working class and the peasantry in that revolution. It also takes up the leadership role of the African National Congress (ANC) and the impact the South African revolution is having, not only in Africa, but on workers and farmers throughout the world, including in the United States.

The *Militant* is running brief excerpts from the article to encourage readers to pick up this issue. Information on how to obtain *New International* is contained in the ad below.

This excerpt is taken from the section of the report titled "The Revolution in South Africa: A National, Democratic Revolution."

The Freedom Charter, which was first drawn up in 1955 and is championed by the African National Congress (ANC), proclaims that "our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty, and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality." It demands an end to all racial restrictions on the right to own land.

When we think about how to advance the worker-peasant alliance in South Africa, we have to start from the fact that the great majority of Africans in South Africa cannot farm. This is not because they cannot make it economically, or they go deep into debt, or they are discriminated against by the banks, transport companies, and wholesalers. They have no right to own land. They can toil on white-owned plantations. Some can "illegally" grab a plot of land and "illegally" farm it for a while. But by law they have no landholding rights of free farmers.

This has not always been the case in South Africa. In fact, as recently as the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, a substantial landholding African peasantry existed in some regions of

South Africa, producing cash crops for the market. The wholesale expropriation of these African peasants was launched in 1913 with the Natives' Land Act — more accurately known as the "law of dispossession" by South African Blacks.

Today, Africans can own and farm a plot of land only on the 13.7 percent of South Africa's poorest soil that has been set aside by the apartheid regime as so-called independent Bantustans and in a few and declining number of rural areas known in South Africa as "Black spots." And there, overcrowding and soil exhaustion make it impossible for all but a handful to eke out anything more than a bare subsistence.

We get a false picture of South Africa unless we understand the economic and social consequences of this forcible denial of Africans' right to own and till the land. If we think of South Africa just in terms of its industry and mines, of what we know about the cities and the white farmers in the countryside, we get a false picture. We see only the South Africa of the white state, of the white minority. We don't see the South African nation-state that has not yet been born.

We can't see it, because the nation hasn't been developed. The wealth isn't being drawn from the land by the people, by the Black majority. Africans are virtually barred from producing cash crops for the market. Despite the weight of modern industrial capitalism in South Africa, elementary commodity circulation and the development of an internal market still exist only on a primitive level for the Black majority.

No matter how much money they save, no matter how hard they and their families are willing to work, no matter who would give them a loan — *Africans can't farm.*

Opening the land is inseparable from resolving the national question. Neither can be accomplished without the destruction of the apartheid state structure, which blocks the road to development of the South African nation-state.

This is what Black freedom fighters are pointing to when they say that the apartheid state has to be *overthrown*. The white supremacist rulers have, can, and will continue to be driven to make reforms. But the South African apartheid state can never be reformed out of existence. It will have to



Women Under Apartheid/Tony McGrath

Sugar cane workers in South Africa. Black farmers are denied ownership of most fertile lands in South Africa. Most of few who remain are reduced to bare subsistence farming. Apartheid gives Blacks "right" to toil on white-owned plantations.

be brought crashing down, not modified.

There is a third component to be added to the fight for the right to land, and the right to establish a nation and a nation-state: the fight for full political, civil rights for every human being. It is a fight for equal protection under the law; for equal claim to the rights and privileges of citizenship; for one person, one vote in a unitary South Africa. It is a fight for the rights historically established by the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

As the Freedom Charter puts it:

"Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws.

"All the people shall be entitled to take

part in the administration of the country.

"The rights of the people shall be the same regardless of race, color, or sex.

"All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government."

These rights have been and are being fought for and conquered by the peoples of the earth. They are among the rights that laboring people around the world have come to consider inalienable. They are the rights that Blacks are now fighting to wrest from the rulers for the people of South Africa as a whole.

Land, a nation, a democratic republic. They are totally intertwined.

Huge protest rally in Chile against Pinochet dictatorship

BY SELVA NEBBIA

Some 500,000 Chileans participated in a demonstration in the capital city of Santiago protesting against the military dictatorship of Gen. Augusto Pinochet.

The demonstration took place November 21 under the slogan "Chile demands democracy." It is estimated to have been the biggest demonstration against the regime during 12 years of military dictatorship.

It was only the second demonstration authorized by the government since Pinochet took power in a bloody coup in 1973.

The size of the action is an indication of the tremendous opposition to Pinochet's government. It was supported by a wide range of opposition forces, including the banned Communist Party of Chile.

The only speaker at the protest action was former minister Gabriel Valdés, cur-

rent president of the Christian Democratic Party. In his speech, Valdés demanded freedom for the unionists who are still in jail for calling the day of protest actions in September. They are: Rodolfo Seguel, José Ruiz di Giorgio, Nael Bustos, Arturo Martínez, Eduardo Valencia, and Mario Aranceda.

November 5 and 6 had been designated by the National Workers' Coordinating Committee as two days of protest. Unions, and organizations of women, students, professionals, and artists participated in that action. Many shopkeepers closed up in the downtown area of the capital. There were also protest actions in the city of Valparaíso.

The government's repressive forces killed five people. Thirty-five received bullet wounds, and more than 500 were arrested. — *From Perspectiva Mundial*

Invaluable for anti-apartheid activists!

The fall 1985 New International

The dynamics of revolution in South Africa is featured in the current issue of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory. Fighters against apartheid, in the United States and other countries, will find valuable material here in equipping themselves politically to carry on the struggle. Articles and speeches by: Jack Barnes, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party; Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress of South Africa; Cuba's President Fidel Castro; and Ernest Harsch, managing editor of *Interncontinental Press*. Reprints South Africa's "Freedom Charter."

Send \$5 plus 75 cents handling and postage to New International, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.



Delaware NAACP office firebombed

The Dover, Delaware, headquarters of the NAACP was destroyed by fire November 20.

The state fire marshal's office said the origin of the fire was suspicious.

Benjamin Hooks, the NAACP's national executive director, declared that the firebomb was a "tragic throwback to the overt acts of racism which were so prevalent during the 1950s and '60s in Delaware and throughout the nation."

The NAACP has asked the U.S. Justice Department to investigate the fire.

The blaze occurred hours before a hearing on a voting-rights suit filed by the Dover NAACP. A federal judge refused the request of the City of Dover to throw out the suit.

The NAACP charges that the city's at-large method of electing city council members and requiring voters to register separately for city elections discriminates against Blacks.

What autonomy means to people of Nicaragua

BY CINDY JAQUITH

BLUEFIELDS, Nicaragua — What does the proposal to establish regional government autonomy for Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast mean to the people of Bluefields?

"It's to unify all the races, to unify the Atlantic with the Pacific. It will make us stronger," a group of junior high school students who had been studying the proposal in their classroom told the *Militant*. They were mestizos, Nicaraguans whose first language is Spanish.

Raul McCrea, a Rama Indian working as a nurse, said, "We Ramas lack education. I hope with autonomy we can better prepare our young people. We just have a primary school now on our island." McCrea serves on the autonomy commission for Southern Zelaya Province, where Bluefields is located. Although he lives in Bluefields, most Ramas live on nearby Rama Cay island.

"I don't like the revolution," said a young Black woman who speaks Creole, as English is called here. What doesn't she like about it? "I'm against the Patriotic Military Service. And we used to have more things to buy in the stores before the revolution," she said. The Patriotic Military Service is Nicaragua's draft.

What about autonomy? "I'm for that. I think it will make things better."

The woman was part of a group of Creole teenagers putting the final touches on a float for a festival that afternoon to celebrate autonomy and the anniversary of Bluefields' founding 82 years ago.

A Creole man decorating a giant papier-mâché fish had a different opinion: "Things are better here now than they were under Somoza. But we need many things. With autonomy, we'll have control of where the money goes in the city and how we develop it."

"It's a door we can pass through," said Glenn González, a young Garifona from the fishing village of Orinoco to the north of Bluefields. Garifonas are descendants of African slaves and Caribe Indians.

"Under autonomy, each colored people will be able to demand their rights," González said. "During Somoza's time, we Garifonas were kept backward in every way. Now we can study in our own language. We can develop our own culture."

González is active in the revolutionary Black youth group called Yomo, which was set up in Bluefields after the overthrow of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza in 1979.

"Autonomy is for peace. We don't want these people from Costa Rica coming up here and attacking us," said a high school student who explained he belonged to no political organization. He was referring to

the mercenaries who infiltrate Southern Zelaya from bases in Costa Rica. They are armed and financed by the U.S. government.

What the autonomy proposal is

The autonomy proposal is to establish a regional government in Southern Zelaya Province and another one in Northern Zelaya Province that will implement the policies of Nicaragua's national revolutionary government, adapting these policies to the specific historical needs of working people on the Atlantic. The regional governments will exercise decision-making power over matters such as the economic development of the Coast and how to advance social and cultural programs there.

Each racial group on the Atlantic Coast — mestizos, Creoles, Garifonas, and Miskito, Rama, and Sumo Indians — will have representation in the regional government structure. One of their key tasks will be to develop programs to promote the languages and cultures of all six racial groups and stimulate their greater participation in local and national political affairs.

The goal is to strengthen the unity of the Nicaraguan nation as a whole, enhancing its multilingual, multicultural, and multiracial character.

Such a program was impossible as long as Nicaragua was ruled by capitalists and landlords, who promoted racial divisions and kept the Atlantic Coast isolated from the Pacific in order to further their exploitation of working people in both regions.

The ability to satisfy the democratic demands today of the Atlantic Coast is a product of the 1979 revolution that took political power away from the capitalist-landlord class and put it in the hands of working people. This gave Blacks and Indians in particular the opportunity to press for recognition of the rights long denied them and to participate in national politics for the first time.

'We didn't feel like Nicaraguans'

Lloyd Forbes, an older Creole worker who serves on the regional autonomy commission, told the *Militant* what life was like for Creoles before.

"In the past we didn't feel like Nicaraguans," he explained. "The Spanish-speaking people here were the ones who had always kept the power structure under their control. The Negro people and the Indian people were told by the [Moravian] church

'Contra' terrorism directed at Coast autonomy

BLUEFIELDS, Nicaragua — "The military situation here is rather favorable for us," Guerrilla Commander Humberto Campbell told the *Militant* in an interview October 4. Campbell is the coordinator of the regional committee of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in Southern Zelaya Province.

Southern Zelaya has been a target of the mercenaries armed and organized by Washington ever since they began their war to try to overthrow the Nicaraguan government in 1981. Campbell reported that progress is being made here in halting the U.S.-sponsored aggression of the counterrevolutionaries, or *contras*, as they are called in Spanish.

He explained that each of the contra groups involved in the war against Nicaragua operates in Southern Zelaya, which encompasses part of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast region. They include several different wings of the groups MISURA and MISURASATA, which are mainly made up of Miskito Indians; the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), which is commanded by officers of the National Guard of Anastasio Somoza, who was overthrown in 1979; and the Revolutionary Democratic Alliance (ARDE), led by Edén Pastora, a former Sandinista who turned traitor and teamed up with the CIA.

Campbell explained that in recent months the revolutionary government has initiated talks with the armed Miskito groups that have led to a situation in which

almost all MISURA and MISURASATA units have ceased armed attacks on civilians or Sandinista troops.

One wing of MISURA that is associated with the FDN, numbering about 60 people, including a few Creoles, has continued assaults against the population in the Pearl Lagoon area north of Bluefields.

The mercenaries of ARDE and the FDN, Campbell explained, have maintained their terrorism. A particular target of ARDE has been passengers on the riverboat that runs between Bluefields and the city of Rama in central Nicaragua. It is the main means of travel between the Atlantic Coast and the rest of Nicaragua. The FDN, he said, operates further north in the Río Grande area, kidnapping peasants and assaulting villages.

Directed by Washington, the attacks of the FDN and ARDE are aimed at disrupting the autonomy project under way here and the de facto cease-fire that has been established between the Sandinista army and most MISURA and MISURASATA wings, not only in Southern Zelaya, but also in the northern part of the Atlantic Coast.

The U.S. government fears the attractive power of the autonomy proposal for Miskitos who have been in the contra units. Many of these Miskitos were convinced to take up arms against the revolution under the guise that the mercenaries were fighting for Indian rights.

But it is the FSLN and the Nicaraguan

revolution that is now developing a program to enhance the languages, cultures, and traditions of Miskitos and other Coastal peoples, not Washington. The only rights the CIA has brought Miskitos are the right to burn down much-needed clinics and schools and to be in the front line of battle as cannon fodder.

The more favorable military situation for the revolution in Bluefields today does not mean the war is not continuing to take its toll.

Three members of the executive committee of the Guadalupe Moreno Union, the federation that organizes the workers of Bluefields and is affiliated nationally to the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), spoke with the *Militant* about the war's effects.

The dominant industry in Bluefields is fishing and fish processing. José Ortiz, the union official in charge of labor affairs, explained that when the CIA mined the port of Bluefields in 1984 several fishing boats were wrecked. That cost a number of workers their jobs.

The U.S. government's trade embargo has made it very difficult to get the raw materials used in boatbuilding here, said Ortiz. As a result, the factory that used to build boats is only able today to do repairs.

Guillermo Rodríguez, head of propaganda and education for the union, told the *Militant* that "the sector most affected by the war is the peasants." Most of the contra attacks have taken place in the countryside around Bluefields or in Pearl Lagoon. Many peasants have been driven off their land and have moved into the city. Food production has suffered.

The need to mobilize fishing industry workers for the army also affects production, Rodríguez added. There is a shortage of skilled workers as a result, he explained.

"The contras wouldn't have the capacity to carry out the destruction they have without U.S. aid," said José Chan, general secretary of the union. "We are confronting a direct U.S. war. This is not a civil war, as some countries have wanted to make it appear."

Powerful evidence that it is not a civil war was the reaction of Bluefields residents to an attempted assault on their city last May 16.

Some 200 contras affiliated to MISURASATA attempted to invade the city with the goal of destroying the new hospital built by the revolutionary government and preventing a festival scheduled for a few days later that would celebrate Atlantic Coast culture and the project to establish regional government autonomy here.

The attackers never got further than the perimeter of the city. They were met by many armed militia members, including from the Black neighborhoods here, as well as citizens who were not in the militias. Troops from the Sandinista People's Army and Ministry of the Interior also participated in the defense. Twenty-six of the contras were killed on the spot and the rest routed.

The festival took place as planned, with the participation of thousands. — C.J.



Building a fishing boat in Bluefields. Although counterrevolutionaries have been dealt defeats, CIA mining of Bluefields' harbor and U.S. trade embargo have set back boatbuilding and fishing industry here.



El Nuevo Diario/Xavier Castro
Garifona child. One of six racial groups of Atlantic Coast, Garifonas are of mixed African and Caribe Indian descent. Most live in Pearl Lagoon area.

gua's Atlantic Coast

that we were not supposed to interfere in any political things. We were supposed to keep apart from that."

As a result, he said, Creoles wanted "freedom from what they called Nicaraguan domination."

Actually, Forbes pointed out, Nicaragua itself was dominated by several imperialist powers. "We were exploited by the British, by the Spanish, and by the United States." In Bluefields, from the beginning of the 20th century to the 1979 revolution, U.S. companies were dominant, owning the seafood processing plants and lumber mills.

Forbes is strongly in favor of autonomy. "I personally believe that autonomy as it is developing now is going to generate sufficient understanding between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Likewise, it's going to give us the possibility of carrying out our own development the way we believe it should be done."

The growing identification with autonomy is not limited to Blacks and Indians, however. Mestizos, who are the majority on the Atlantic Coast as a whole, also have a stake in the project.

Like others here, mestizos in Bluefields tend to call themselves *costeños*, people from the Atlantic Coast. While they did not experience the specific kinds of racism that were reserved for Blacks and Indians, they too suffered from the isolation and under-

development imposed on the Coast by Somoza and his U.S. backers. They too feel the revolution can be more effectively advanced if *costeños* themselves are leading the process.

Two different political experiences

Autonomy has thus become the means of bridging the gap between two very different political experiences in Nicaragua's past.

The political isolation of the Atlantic Coast under Somoza meant that when the revolutionary movement to overthrow the dictator became massive on the Pacific, it had little organized reflection on the Atlantic.

There was no armed struggle against Somoza's National Guard here, unlike on the Pacific, where thousands of workers and peasants confronted the Guard arms in hand. Nor did clandestine neighborhood committees spring up here to organize safe houses, medical supplies, and intelligence-gathering for the Sandinista guerrillas, as happened on a massive scale on the Pacific.

The sustained mobilization of youth, workers, peasants, women, students, and others on the Pacific that finally brought the tyrant down never took place on the Atlantic, although there were some protests

Continued on next page



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Residents of Bluefields in front of billboard that links defense of Nicaragua to implementation of autonomy project.

The 'costeños': Mestizo, Creole, Miskito, Rama, Sumo, Garífona

BY HÉCTOR CARRIÓN

BLUEFIELDS, Nicaragua — In our visit to this port city on the Atlantic, the *Militant* learned about the different racial groups that make up Bluefields.

Most people here identify themselves by their mother language and culture, not by the color of their skin or other physical features. Spanish is the official national language of Nicaragua. Most people can speak Spanish; but many prefer not to.

Garífonas — who are descendants of African slaves and Caribe Indians — and Rama Indians spoke of their experience during the U.S.-backed Somoza regime, which did not allow them to speak their native languages. Only a handful of Garífonas and Ramas can speak their native languages today. Most speak English as a result.

Creoles, also descendants of African slaves, and Miskito Indians were denied the right to use their own languages as well.

Miskitos today prefer to speak the Miskito language, although many know English and Spanish, too. Most Creoles prefer English, which they speak with a rich variety of Caribbean — and sometimes U.S. — accents. Some Creoles, however, are more comfortable speaking Spanish.

Mestizos, who are descendants of Indians and Spaniards, are those Nicaraguans whose first language is Spanish. Some can speak English also.

Intermarriage among the different racial groups is very common. As a result, some Miskito Indians are very dark, with African features. In the United States, they would be considered Blacks. Then there are Creoles with very light skin and straight hair, who look like mestizos.

All the racial groups share a strong identity with the Coast, its languages, and cultures. They often call themselves *costeños*, or people from the Atlantic Coast.

How did all these racial groups wind up on the Coast?

Nicaragua, like the island Hispaniola which is shared by Haiti and the Dominican Republic — where I was born — was colonized by two European countries. Hispaniola was colonized by Spain and France, Nicaragua by Spain and Britain.

British traders occupied the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua, where Miskitos, Sumos, and Ramas were the indigenous people. The British, like their Spanish counterparts who took over the Pacific Coast, had only had one objective: to exploit the indigenous people and to extract all the natural resources of the Atlantic Coast.

The British brought the Moravian church to the Coast, using it as a tool to

manipulate the indigenous people.

Since the British needed more human labor to exploit the Coast, they introduced African slaves beginning in the 16th century.

Later, Garífonas migrated from Honduras and settled around Pearl Lagoon, to the north of Bluefields.

By the 19th century U.S. businessmen began replacing the British. They exploited the lumber, gold, seafood, and banana industries. Even the Moravian church personnel, who had been Germans, were replaced by their U.S. Moravian counterparts.

Mestizos are the largest of the six racial groups living on the Atlantic Coast. Mes-

tizo peasants began their inflow as the big landlords forced them off their land in the Pacific. The mestizos make up about half the population of the city of Bluefields, as do Creoles. Combined with the smaller numbers of Miskitos and Ramas, the total population is about 30,000.

Today, because of the triumph of the Nicaraguan revolution in 1979, the Atlantic Coast is going through some big, progressive changes. No one is punished for speaking their own language any more. The cultures of Blacks and Indians are promoted, not ridiculed.

Through the autonomy process *costeños* are putting forward their ideas for how to develop the rich cultures of all the racial groups, how to extend the right to bilingual

education for their children, and how to exploit the region's natural resources. This is creating confidence among *costeños*, inspiring them to get more involved in the decision-making process of the revolution.

The U.S. government is opposed to seeing the Nicaraguan people wipe out the legacy of race discrimination and build a just society. It has imposed a dirty war on the Nicaraguan people and is trying to convince the U.S. people that Nicaragua is a threat to them.

But, as the Nicaraguans say, "The only threat we pose is the threat of our example." What the U.S. government is afraid of is the inspiring example Nicaragua is giving to all the oppressed people of the world.

For Garífonas, a chance now to gain back what was lost

BLUEFIELDS, Nicaragua — Of the six different racial groups on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, perhaps least is generally known about the Garífona people. But the Garífonas have a proud history of resistance to racist oppression and are playing an important role today both in the nationwide discussion on establishing autonomy on the Atlantic Coast and in defense of Nicaragua against U.S.-organized aggression.

During an interview with several members of the Southern Zelaya Autonomy Commission, the *Militant* had an opportunity to learn more about the Garífona community from Frank López, a Garífona representative on the commission from the fishing village of Orinoco. López is a teacher.

The Garífonas are Blacks, descendants of African slaves and Caribe Indians, but with different origins and traditions than the larger Black community of Creoles here. According to López, there are about 1,500 Garífonas living in Orinoco, which is located to the north of here in Pearl Lagoon. All told, there are perhaps 2,500 Garífonas in Nicaragua, most of them living in Southern Zelaya.

The Garífonas traditionally spoke a different language than Creoles or Spanish-speaking Nicaraguans. But, said López, the Garífona tongue was suppressed by Nicaraguan governments prior to the revolution in 1979. "We would go to the courthouse, let's say, and as Garífona people we couldn't speak our language because it wasn't allowed," he explained.

The Garífona language today, he continued, "is practically lost, because the regimes of the past weren't interested in the different ethnic groups on the Atlantic Coast." As a result, most Garífonas speak English.

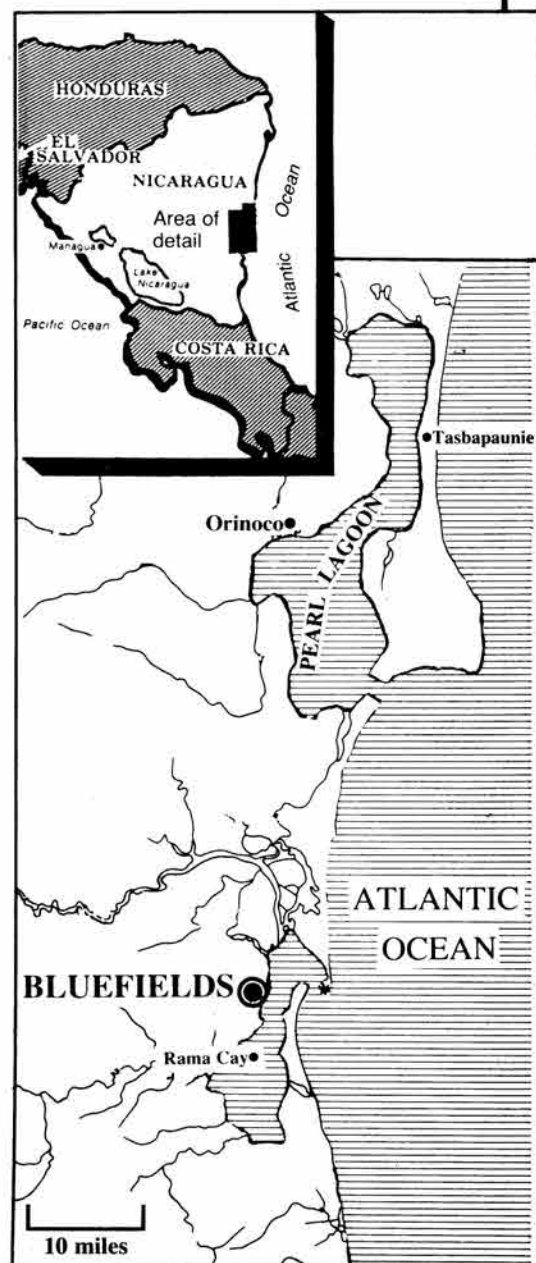
Part of the proposal for establishing autonomy on the Coast is to protect and develop the languages, cultures, and traditions of the various racial groups. "We feel like with autonomy we'll gain back a lot of things," said López, "our special languages, our traditions, and other things that were mostly washed away, such as a rite we use to cure our sick."

He added that "we are a people that lives mostly off fishing, and right now we need more attention to that." The U.S. government's trade embargo has severely restricted Garífonas' access to boats. López hopes that with autonomy, new foreign trade relations will open up for Nicaragua that can benefit fishermen in Pearl Lagoon.

The lagoon communities have not only suffered from Washington's economic attacks, but from military attacks as well. López told us that the targets of the counterrevolutionaries (*contras*) armed by Washington have been child-care centers, schools, clinics, and other gains of the revolution.

"Take a place like Tasbapaunie, one of the biggest communities in the Pearl Lagoon area, a Miskito Indian settlement. That place had gotten a lot of benefits from the government. They got a supply center. The clinic was improved. They gave them

Continued on next page



Growing identification with autonomy plan

Continued from previous page

here against Somoza's repression on the Pacific Coast.

The people of Bluefields also did not directly experience the wrath of the National Guard, which in its desperate last attempts to salvage the Somoza regime systematically assassinated youth on the streets, raped women, and bombed whole cities on the Pacific Coast. The Guard rarely used force to repress working people on the Atlantic Coast because the level of the class struggle was much lower.

Because of this gap in political experience and organization on the Atlantic, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) sent Spanish-speaking forces from the Pacific Coast here after the 1979 triumph of the revolution to begin rebuilding Bluefields. Not surprisingly, these Sandinistas made errors out of ignorance of the area, its languages, cultures, and traditions.

Attempts to organize the population through the same kinds of revolutionary committees that already existed on the Pacific Coast did not bear fruit initially. There had been no previous experience with neighborhood defense committees, for example, and it was not automatically understood what their purpose was.

William Howard López, general secretary of the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDSs) in Southern Zelaya Province, told the *Militant* that today substantial progress has been made in involving the population in CDS activities. Emphasis has been placed on drawing neighborhoods into activity around the autonomy discussion and cultural events in support of it.

Howard said that while a greater percentage of mestizos in Bluefields participate in the CDS than Creoles, there has been an important increase in the involvement of Creoles in the last two years, including

their incorporation into the CDS leadership. This was evident at an October 6 autonomy festival here, where the CDS organized neighborhoods to participate and thousands of Creoles and mestizos came out.

It is also in the framework of autonomy that progress is being made in incorporating Bluefields youth into military defense. Currently, there is a noticeably smaller percentage of Creoles than mestizos in the army here. The Patriotic Military Service is conducted in Bluefields on a volunteer basis. On the Pacific Coast it is compulsory, and there have been some prosecutions of draft evaders.

The Sandinistas have made adjustments in the way the draft is applied here in light of lessons learned in the course of the autonomy discussions.

Previously, Bluefields youth were sent to other war zones, on the Pacific Coast, to do their training and service. This exacerbated the apprehensions of their families. Now, a military base has been built in the city. Efforts are being made to maximize the number of youths who can serve their tour of duty near their families and in the cultural surroundings most familiar to them, directly defending their own homes.

"Military defense, defense of the revolution, is a concept that's a little abstract here," explained Guerrilla Commander Lumberto Campbell, coordinator of the regional committee of the FSLN for Southern Zelaya Province. He pointed to the different experience historically, the lack of direct combat with the National Guard.

"But defense of autonomy, that's a question that can be grasped," he continued. "That means defending your historic rights, rights that are becoming a reality for the first time with the 1979 victory. And defense of autonomy is defense of the revolution."

Nicaraguan labor leader speaks before Bay Area unionists

BY RAÚL GONZÁLEZ

SAN FRANCISCO — Edgardo García, a Nicaraguan union leader, spoke before several meetings of trade unionists and political activists during his November 1-4 tour in the Bay Area.

The tour was organized by activists from the Labor Network on Central America, the Rainbow Coalition, and the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice.

García, general secretary of the Rural Workers Association, is president of the Nicaraguan Trade Union Coordinating Committee (CSN). The CSN groups together eight labor federations in Nicaragua. It represents about 90 percent of all Nicaraguan workers. García was also elected last November to the Nicaraguan National Assembly.

As part of his tour, García participated November 2 in a panel discussion on labor and Central America at the Conference for Peace, Jobs and Justice. Joining him on the panel were Mario Obledo, past president of the League of United Latin American Citizens; Dolores Huerta, vice-president of the United Farm Workers; David Dyson, union label director of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; and Keith Johnson, president of the International Woodworkers of America.

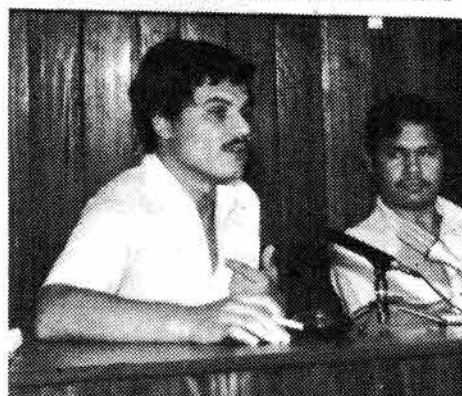
Following the panel García spoke to dozens of the 350 unionists and political activists who attended the conference.

García also attended a reception at the Instituto Laboral de la Raza in San Francisco's Latino community. Among the 50 people at the reception were community leaders and residents as well as antiwar activists.

The meeting was opened by Roberto Vargas, Secretary for Cultural and Labor Affairs at the Nicaraguan embassy in Washington, D.C.

Vargas and García both talked about Nicaragua's state of emergency as a necessary measure in their country's defense against the war waged by U.S.-organized

Interpreten
CENTRO DE PRENSA INTERNACIONAL



Militant/Bill Gretter
Edgardo García, left, general secretary of the Rural Workers Association.

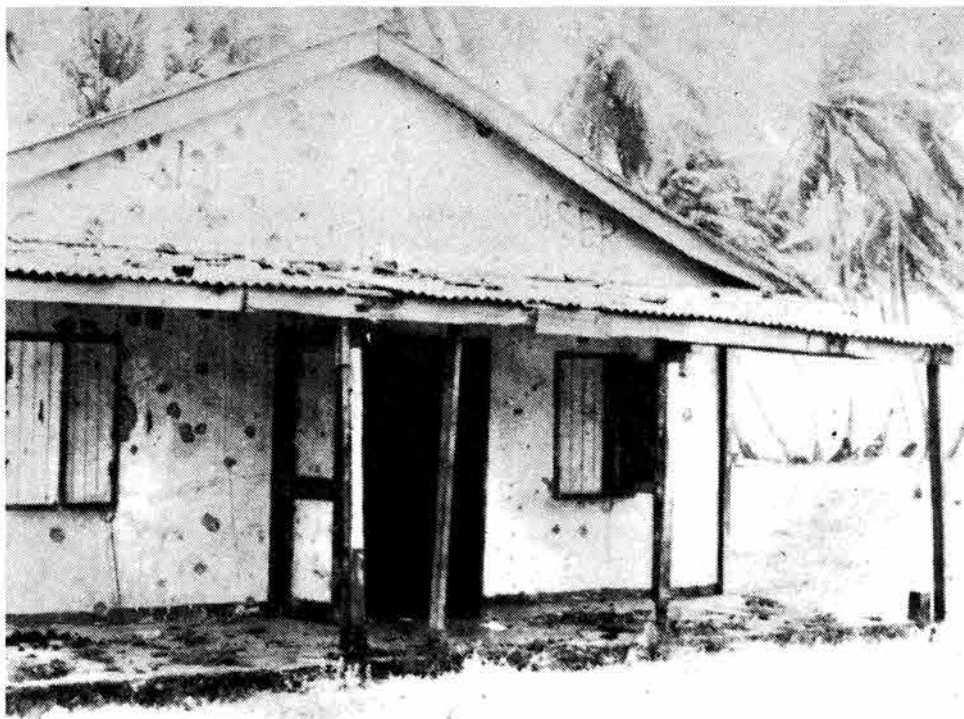
counterrevolutionaries. "In Nicaragua we don't have any control over how the war is waged against us, but we do have control over our own defense," García said.

García reported that a tour of members of the National Lawyers Guild and others would be leaving for Nicaragua soon. The purpose of the tour, he said, will be to prepare a legal report on the rights of Nicaraguan workers under war-imposed conditions.

It will be important to see how "all of the rights . . . which Nicaraguan workers have won continue to function and develop," he said.

García suggested initiatives that could be taken so that U.S. workers could learn the truth about the situation of workers in Nicaragua, including encouraging unionists, in particular, to visit Nicaragua.

The following day some 20 unionists participated in a breakfast meeting with García. The meeting was chaired by Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council.



Sunrise

Contra terror is directed against gains of revolution. Tasbapaunie health center serving Miskitos of Pearl Lagoon was shot up and ruined in attack.

How Garífonas will gain

Continued from previous page

a permanent doctor. It was the first place to get electric lights in the area. It was the first place officially organized into cooperatives. They gave them a lot of fishing boats and outboard motors."

The contras, he explained, destroyed much of this. "Even the boats were stolen, by boys from the town who went with the contras."

López was referring to the Miskito groups MISURA and MISURASATA, which joined Washington's contra war and took up arms against the revolutionary government. López said those Miskitos who did so thinking they were fighting for Indian rights were "misled. Let's say they had good ideas, that they were a manifestation of what the people wanted, which we now call autonomy. But their leaders were attached to the imperialists, allied to the Somozaists, and the went into war."

The contras stay away from Orinoco, López noted. "In my community we have self-defense. It's one of the only communities in the lagoon area that doesn't get

attacked by the contras, because our people are integrated into the militia."

For this region, the town also has a high turnout for the draft. López estimated that "about 60 percent or maybe a little more accept the Patriotic Military Service. We just had a little gathering for the boys we were sending into the service."

Today, López thinks, "the majority of the people in upper Pearl Lagoon don't have anyone in the counterrevolution. There are none in Orinoco. Other communities like Tasbapaunie, of course, have a few, but as far as I can see, the majority of people are inclined to autonomy and against trying to get it by fighting the government."

"The majority in Pearl Lagoon accept the revolution. They see the changes it's brought. The government's building a wharf that's going to cost 1 million córdobas. They've organized fishing cooperatives. They've recently finished building two boats — one for Marshall Point and one for Orinoco. They're going to build some barges. So people look at this government with respect." — C.J.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish?

Puerto Rico and Section 936

The government of Puerto Rico announced November 20 that the Reagan administration had decided to back the continuation of Section 936 in Puerto Rico.

Section 936 of the U.S. Internal Revenue Code is a law that facilitates and legalizes the plunder of the island by U.S. corporations.

The law allows the multinationals to operate in that U.S. colony without paying taxes on their profits. This helps generate profits of up to 52 percent of their active capital investments. On top of this, many of these corporations take advantage of the lax environmental regulations in Puerto Rico, poisoning the island and endangering the lives of working people there.

The new issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* features an article by Selva Nebbia which explains where Section 936 fits into the colonial oppression of Puerto Rico by the U.S. government and corporations.

Do you know somebody who should be reading *PM*?

Perspectiva Mundial is the Spanish-language socialist magazine that every two weeks brings you the truth about the struggles of working people and the oppressed



in the U.S. and around the world.
¡Suscribete ahora!

Subscriptions: \$16 for one year; \$8 for six months; Introductory offer, \$3.00 for three months.

☐ Begin my sub with current issue.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Clip and mail to PM, 408 West St., New York, NY 10014.

The fight for socialism in Britain today

Continued from back page

have got to approach socialism through all forms of experience of exploitation.

"Unless we open ourselves to those experiences in the way that the trade union affiliation opens up the party to working experience in factories and pits, we're not going to develop good policies."

Blacks in Labor Party

Diane Abbott is a leader of the Labor Party Women's Action Committee and the Black Section. The Black Section is campaigning for official recognition inside the Labor Party. It demands the right to organize autonomously within the party, to elect its own leadership, and to have proportional representation on the Labor Party's leading bodies. Founded two years ago, the Black Section has won considerable support for its recognition from the National Union of Mineworkers, the National Union of Railwaymen, the National Union of Public Employees, and the Transport and General Workers Union.

Abbott explained that Blacks and women are necessary allies of the working-class movement. "It seems to me the key question," she said, "and one which the labor movement in this country has lost sight of since the 1945 administration [of Labor Prime Minister Clement Attlee], is that we must be organizing for power, not just office. For years and years the Labor Party in this country has seemed to be simply about taking office: a bunch of white, male members of Parliament — barristers [lawyers], retired trade union officials, that kind of person — taking office, endeavoring to manage British capitalism more humanely than it has been in the past."

"What we must be organizing for is to take power as a labor movement, to empower the working class. And when you address your mind to the issue of empowering the working class certain things become clear. It becomes crystal clear that you're not going to empower them via a parliamentary Labor Party which is all white, all male, and middle class. And it becomes clear that certain issues have to come higher up on the agenda than they have done in the past."

"The classic preoccupation of the British Labor Party is the aristocracy of labor, the white male working class. Issues like low pay have until recently never been taken as seriously as they should have. But for working-class women, low pay is a crucial issue. We are nearly half the work force, but we are 80 percent of the low paid. Anyone who takes women's issues seriously will take the issue of low pay seriously."

Abbott also argued that an alliance between the labor movement and Black community is necessary for winning Black rights. She explained that "there is no way that you can disentangle issues of race from issues of class."

"I do think that a class framework is crucial, and I think that as much as anything because I am Black."

"You'll not empower the mass of Black people, you'll not help them, unless you empower the working class. To put it another way: anti-working-class politics are politics against the interests of Black people as a whole. It's one of the things

which Black people bring to labor movement politics, because we are forced, we have no option but to keep going back to a class context."

Narendra Makenji, of the Black Section National Committee, spoke on behalf of two long-time activists in the Labor Party who have been threatened with expulsion from the party for their support to the Black Section.

Amir Khan is the central leader of a new chapter of the Black Section, formed a month ago in Sparkbrook. Sparkbrook was the site of recent police riots against the Black community. Kevin Scally is an activist in the Labor Party Committee on Ireland and has supported the Sparkbrook Black Section's fight to be recognized. A petition drive has been launched in their defense against the right-wing Sparkbrook Labor Party executive committee, which threatens their expulsion.

Struggle is international

The conference gave Ben Turok of the African National Congress a standing ovation when he appealed for support from British workers in the struggle against apartheid. "Even though what I am going to say is about a struggle many miles away," he said, "it is clear that there are certain common themes that face people in struggle across the world, and it is my task today to suggest that the ANC and the people of Great Britain are indeed very natural allies in the struggle for socialism, in the alliance for socialism throughout the world."

John Ross of *Socialist Action* characterized the struggle against the government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher as an international struggle. "It should be stated calmly and coldly that if the struggle for socialism in Britain were a struggle between the British ruling class and the British working class then the ruling class would undoubtedly win."

"Certainly the people of Central America, South Africa, and all those fighting imperialism throughout the world need solidarity in Britain. But even more, those

fighting for socialism in Britain need the victory of the struggle of the people of Central America and South Africa. For without their victory we can never achieve socialism."

"Secondly, it must be constantly remembered that the British state has an 'internal colony' — the north of Ireland. Without the struggle to free Ireland, without an alliance between the working class in Britain and Ireland, based on the fight for complete independence of Ireland, the British working class can itself never be free."

Ross also echoed the support voiced on the speakers' platform for the struggles of the miners, the Black community, and women. "Any alliance for socialism," he explained, "can only be forged in struggle."

"The miners forged the most powerful and active social alliance seen since World War II. They achieved that because of the resolute leadership shown in the strike — and decisions like those to support women's self-organization and the Black Section — by [NUM President Arthur] Scargill and the National Union of Mineworkers leadership. It is only by creating the type of leadership which knows, in Tony Benn's words, which side you are on, that the social alliances necessary for the labor movement can be created. And 'which side you are on' applies not only to the national but to international class struggles."

Impact of miners' strike

The panel discussion on lessons of the miners' strike included Jack Collins, secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers in Kent; Betty Heathfield, of Women Against Pit Closures; Marc Wadsworth, vice-chair of the Black Section; Bob Clay, a Labor Party member of Parliament; and Dodie Weppeler of *Socialist Action*.

Wadsworth traced the development of Black Sections throughout Britain. In two years, 35 chapters of the Black Section have been formed. He noted the support won by the Black Section at the recent Labor Party national convention, especially from the NUM. He pointed out that

the Black Section has already inspired discussions inside the trade union movement on the importance of supporting Blacks in factory struggles, organizing trade union contingents in antiracist actions, and supporting demonstrations against apartheid in South Africa.

Other speakers described how the miners' strike had acted as a catalyst to draw into action women, trade unionists, and layers of the Labor Party. Everyone who spoke linked the coal miners' strike and their struggles to other struggles around the world.

Jack Collins of the NUM ended his speech by saying, "The world doesn't begin and end in Britain. The working class doesn't begin and end in Britain. And yes, comrades, we might have been pushed back in Britain, but in Latin America, in Africa, in the Philippines and all over the world, the working class is winning and we are part of that victory."

Mac Warren, a leader of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, was part of panel discussions in workshops on Blacks in the labor movement and building the anti-apartheid movement. He described how the civil rights movement in the United States overthrew the Jim Crow system of institutionalized racism in the South and described the political challenge facing Blacks in the United States today. Warren explained that Blacks are playing a leading role in the anti-apartheid movement, which is bringing into action large numbers of trade unionists and winning the support of hundreds of trade unions around the country.

During the week following the conference, Warren spoke to supporters of *Socialist Action* in London, Birmingham, Sheffield, and Manchester. There is heightened interest in Britain about the U.S. Black struggle, the ideas of Malcolm X and other Black leaders, and the National Black Independent Political Party since the recent wave of Black rebellions and actions against police brutality here.

U.S. uses hijacking to threaten Libya

Continued from front page

such actions. He stressed the PLO's "condemnation and denunciation of all acts of terrorism . . . against innocent and defenseless people anywhere."

Arafat continued: "The Palestinian people's right to resist the occupation in their territories has been confirmed in the numerous UN resolutions and in the provisions stipulated in the Geneva Conventions."

"Recent events confirm the PLO's conviction that terrorist operations abroad harm the Palestinian people's cause and mutilate their legitimate struggle for freedom."

Massacre, not rescue

U.S. and Egyptian officials claimed that the attack on the plane prevented the hijackers from executing all the hostages.

The hijackers shot five hostages, three of

whom died, shortly after taking over the plane. But there were no shootings in the 10 hours before the commandos attacked. Shortly before the attack began, some wounded hostages were released. And Greek newspaper correspondents in Malta reported that the hijackers had decided to release the 17 Greek passengers. Twelve of them died in the "rescue."

According to the U.S. State Department, "At the time of rescue, the terrorists detonated explosives which killed or wounded passengers."

Commandos killed many

But Dr. Angelo Psaila of St. Luke's Hospital in Malta revealed that most of the passengers died from smoke inhalation. A Maltese official told the *New York Times* that this was caused "not by grenades thrown by the terrorists aboard the plane, but by explosions set off by the commandos to gain access to the jetliner."

Joel Levy, deputy chief of the U.S. mission in Malta, noted that many of the injuries suffered by surviving passengers were inconsistent with those that would be caused by grenades.

Egyptian President Mubarak claimed that the commandos fired only seven bullets inside the plane.

Anthony Lyons, a passenger, told a different story. "There was a lot of firing from the Egyptian troops, and many people were being shot indiscriminately."

Mohammed Wakil, an Egyptian who works in Libya, was shot by the commandos as he left the plane.

Maltese authorities said that at least four passengers died of bullet wounds during the U.S.-Egyptian attack and that many who died of other causes had also been shot.

Washington and the Mubarak government claimed initially that Egypt acted entirely on its own, refusing offers of U.S. help. But on November 30, Maltese officials revealed that at least two U.S. military officers arrived with the commandos to "coordinate or command" the operation.

On December 1, Washington conceded that Brig. Gen. Robert Wiegand, who operates out of the U.S. embassy in Cairo, and two aides accompanied the commandos to Malta.

U.S. Delta Force commandos had also been scheduled to join the raid, but were prevented from landing because the Maltese government hesitated to give approval.

Radio traffic to and from the hijacked plane was monitored by a U.S. aircraft which circled the airport in Valletta, Malta. The U.S. provided equipment for the assault force. And aircraft from the Sixth Fleet were ready to intercept the airliner if it left Malta.

On December 2, the U.S. government claimed that the Maltese government had prevented the three U.S. military officers

Continued on next page

The politics behind the split in British Workers Revolutionary Party

The British big-business press has been filled with lurid sex-scandal stories about the causes of a shattering split in the British WRP, a sect organized as a political cult around the figure of Gerry Healy.

What is the real, political story behind the degeneration of the WRP?

The following readings give a comprehensive description of the origins and evolution of Healyism over more than 20 years. They not only are indispensable to understanding the seemingly bizarre events in Britain; they also present rich lessons about the nature of

political sectarianism.

• **"The split in the British Workers Revolutionary Party,"** by Doug Jenness. This article is featured in the Dec. 2, 1985, issue of *Intercontinental Press*. \$1.25.

• **Marxism vs. Ultra-leftism: The Record of Healy's Break with Trotskyism.** An Education for Socialists Publication. 254 pp., \$4.95.

• **Healy's Big Lie: The Slander Campaign Against Joseph Hansen, George Novack, and the Fourth International.** An Education for Socialists Publication. 87 pp., \$4.

• **How Healy and Pablo Blocked Reunification.** Vol. III of *The Struggle to Reunify the Fourth International (1954-63)*. An Education for Socialists Publication. 101 pp., \$3.45.

• **Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution: The Trotskyist View.** By Joseph Hansen. Contains answer to Healy's "theory" that Cuba remains capitalist. 393 pp., \$8.95.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Issue of *Intercontinental Press* alone, \$1.25. For bulletins, add 75 cents to each order for postage and handling.



Gerry Healy

Choke on this one — According to Union Carbide officials, many of the 2,000 who died and

would go to the hospital," says Union Carbide Chairman Warren Anderson.

it's also handling the account of Canada's top coffin nail maker, Imperial Tobacco. Both sides say the agency is doing a fine job.

man, no kidding, of Environmental Diagnostics, which peddles test kits for contaminants in food, water, and soil. How come? Because, he confides, of "the ability to make money." Plus, "Down inside, I'm still a Boy Scout."

sounds heard inside the womb of a pregnant mother. \$69.50.

The march of science — Developers of golf-course-related housing units are keeping an eye on a new ball that can't be hit as far as a standard one. If it catches on, it would mean room for more units around the course.

There's always a catch — For our Xmas shopping list we were definitely interested in Neiman-Marcus' offer of a cute-as-a-button woolly lamb with a concealed frame making it a seat. \$1,800. But then we read the fine print — no gift wrap.



Harry Ring

With a few weeks in Bhopal? — The *Wall Street Journal*, which reported the above obscenity, adds: "Mr. Anderson is in good spirits despite everything. He says he is looking forward to some long trips with his wife when he retires late next year."

Pretty slick — This year 53 percent flunked the state of Washington bar exam. What stumped most applicants was the section on ethics. Maybe that part of the test was designed to weed out those would-be lawyers who can be diverted by irrelevant questions.

Gosh — Under the liberalized House version of the Reagan tax plan, a single individual could earn as high as \$95 a week without paying any income tax.

Retying the cord — As a pacifier for crying babies, Ham-macher Schlemmer, the New York gadget folk, offer a stuffed lamb which assertedly reproduces

the tens of thousands who suffered injuries in the disaster at the company's Bhopal plant were simply hypochondriacs. "I think that if we had a release of Arpege, 135

Strictly bipartisan — McKim Advertising of Canada is currently busy with two major accounts. It's doing the government's campaign to educate against smoking, and

Scout's honor — Remember James Watt? As secretary of the interior he set out to give away and/or pave over the remains of the countryside. Now he's chair-

U.S. organizes Malta slaughter; threatens Libya

Continued from Page 11

from participating in the commando operation.

The plane carrying the Egyptian commandos and the U.S. officers was escorted to and from Malta by U.S. jets based on the aircraft carrier *Coral Sea*.

Whatever the details, a growing body of evidence points to the bloody commando attack as having been a U.S.-organized operation.

Protesting the slaughter, Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias stated, "The possibilities for a different outcome, different from a bloodbath, had not been exhausted."

"We do not think Libya was responsible," Papoulias said.

Papoulias blamed the government of Malta for going along with the military operation. Maltese Prime Minister Carmelo Mifsud Bonnici's administration responded by taking its distance from the raid.

Paul Mifsud, a spokesperson for Bonnici, said the government was "deeply sorrowed and greatly disappointed at the way the hijacking came to an end. This should serve as an eye-opener for the future in similar situations."

The Reagan administration and the Mubarak government hailed the Malta bloodbath as an effective blow against terrorism. But in Egypt, Mubarak's actions came under fire.

No support for invasion

The November 27 *Washington Post* reported that Mubarak has "failed thus far to create the kind of public support that would encourage a large-scale retaliation" against Libya.

Instead, the *Post* reported, anger was rising at the Egyptian government's role in the carnage. Wahad Rafat, a leading member of the opposition Wafd Party, denounced the attack. He called for the resignation of Egypt's defense minister.

Post correspondent Christopher Dickey speculated that Mubarak might find himself "too weak politically at home" and abroad.

Washington's slander campaign against the Qaddafi regime stems from its opposition to the 1969 revolution in Libya that

overthrew the reactionary monarchy. For the past 15 years Qaddafi has given backing to many anti-imperialist struggles in the Middle East and North Africa.

The Qaddafi government also forced Britain and the U.S. government to give up their military bases in Libya. It nationalized the oil industry, which was dominated by big imperialist monopolies.

The Qaddafi regime consolidated a broad base of popular support by using funds from the country's oil income for financing such measures as a \$500 monthly minimum wage. Health care, education through the university level, and housing are free.

Qaddafi has opposed U.S. and Israeli domination in the Middle East and North Africa, and Libyan troops have on several occasions backed forces opposed to the Hissène Habré government in Chad, which borders on Libya. This regime is a staunch supporter of French imperialism.

Qaddafi also supported the popular resistance to the U.S.-Israeli occupation of Lebanon. He backed popular movements which brought down imperialist-dominated dictatorships in the African countries of Sudan, Burkina Faso, and Ghana.

Such actions placed Qaddafi's regime high on Washington's hit list. A 1984 CIA report explained, "No course of action short of stimulating Khadafy's fall will bring any significant and enduring change in Libyan policies."

A key part of the U.S. government's operation against Libya has been a smear campaign portraying Qaddafi as a madman and terrorist. The attempt to pin the recent hijacking on Libya, as well as the 1981 tales about alleged Libyan hit squads targeting President Reagan, are examples of the lies used to shape Qaddafi's image in the United States.

Washington has also made military moves against Libya. In August 1981 U.S. aircraft shot down two Libyan planes over the Gulf of Sidra.

CIA plan and hijacking

The same 1984 CIA report proposed stepping up efforts to topple Qaddafi. After the plan got the go-ahead from Reagan and was endorsed by two congressional committees, it was leaked to the *Washington Post*.

According to the *Post*, administration officials "would like to see Qaddafi toppled and believe that a support operation costing several million dollars through a third country is the type of antiterrorist operation that can safely and legally be undertaken."

The *Post* summary says the plan suggests using "some foreign adventure or terrorist exploit" to provide Mubarak of Egypt or some other government with "a justification for responding to Qaddafi militarily."

Paramilitary support to Egypt was suggested for such an operation.

—CALENDAR—

ILLINOIS

Chicago

The Spy Scare: a New Witch-hunt. Speakers: Rachel Rosen Degolia, director of Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights; Dennis Richter, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

The Persecution of Leonard Peltier. Speaker: Stephanie Autumn Peltier, member of the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee and activist in the American Indian Movement. Sun., Dec. 8, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Minnesota Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

This is Not South Africa — Stop Racist Violence in Southwest Philadelphia! Speakers: Claire Moriarty, member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union Local 8-234; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

Cancel Latin America's Debt! Speakers: Linda Rand, Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 14, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

TEXAS

Dallas

Free South Africa! A report-back on the na-

tional student conference on South Africa and Namibia. Speakers: Isolda Ortega Bustamante, student activist who attended conference; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. 132 N Beckley. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (214) 943-5195.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Philippines: the Struggle Against the Marcos Dictatorship. Speakers: Charito Planas, a leading opponent of the Marcos dictatorship, jailed for 14 months without charges, former director of the Philippines Chamber of Commerce; Fred Stanton, member of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 362 and Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Dec. 8, 7:30 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

War and Revolution in Africa. A socialist educational weekend.

Class 1. "The Fight to Overturn Apartheid," Sat., Dec. 14, 1 to 3 p.m.

Class 2. "The Coming South African Revolution," 5 to 7 p.m.

Class 3. "Upsurge in Africa," Sun., Dec. 15, 12 noon. Speaker: Ernest Harsch, managing editor of *Intercontinental Press*. Translation to Spanish. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$1.50 per class; \$4 for weekend. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Labor News

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

—IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

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

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

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

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 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, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 352 Central Ave. 2nd floor. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 434-3247. **New York:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668. **Socialist 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, 15105 St. Clair Ave. Zip: 44110. Tel: (216) 451-6150. **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, 132 N. Beckley Ave., Zip: 75203. Tel: (214) 943-5195. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

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

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

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

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 611A Tennessee. Zip: 25302. 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.

'Sun City': fighting music for foes of apartheid

BY JOHN WARREN

"Sun City." By Artists United Against Apartheid. Produced by Little Steven and Arthur Baker for Manhattan Records.

Opponents of apartheid now have a musical organizing tool. "Sun City" is a great record, politically as well as musically.

Little Steven, formerly a guitarist with Bruce Spring-

IN REVIEW

steen's band, conceived the idea for the album after two trips to South Africa to check out apartheid.

He got a wonderful response to the record project, with more than 50 rock, reggae, rap, soul, and jazz artists contributing their talents.

Most immediately, "Sun City" is a polemic against U.S. artists who help apartheid by performing in Sun City.

A South African, Las Vegas-style resort complex, Sun City is located in the "independent" Bantustan called Bophuthatswana. Like all the Bantustans to which Blacks are forcibly relocated, Sun City is a sham "homeland."

The land is mostly unusable, and a very tiny handful of Blacks own a large part of it because of their collaboration with apartheid.

The big majority suffer poverty, and the able-bodied men are forced to migrate for low-paying jobs in mines and factories.

World-famous entertainers like Frank Sinatra and Linda Ronstadt perform for handsome salaries at Sun City's luxury hotels and casinos. Audiences are integrat-

ed — wealthy whites and the Blacks who get rich selling themselves to apartheid. All this is supposed to create the illusion of "reform."

The lyrics of "Sun City" help make clear what the place really represents.

David Ruffin and Eddie Kendricks, former members of the Temptations, sing, "Relocation to phony homelands . . . 23 million can't vote because they're Black."

When Bruce Springsteen yells, "They're stabbing our brothers and sisters in the back," he's speaking not just about entertainers, but about all who give credence to Pretoria's phony reforms.

"Sun City" slams "constructive engagement."

Our government tells us we're doing all we can,

Constructive engagement is Ronald Reagan's plan,

Meanwhile people are dying and giving up hope,

This quiet diplomacy ain't nothing but a joke.

And Bobby Womack growls with rage, "Somebody tell me why we're always on the wrong side."

The call-and-response chorus — "I ain't gonna play Sun City!" — is a rallying cry and fighting song for the whole anti-apartheid movement. And it's all nailed down by a terrific, hard-rocking, crisp, funky, polyrhythmic beat — good politics you can dance to.

Other songs on the album bear this out. "Revolutionary Situation," for example, is an oral collage about the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. Keith LeBlanc and the New Dissection mixed it over a biting rap beat.

The collage features chants of Black demonstrators; the sounds of police assaults; speeches by leaders of the United Democratic Front and African National Congress, including old recordings of Nelson Mandela; speeches by Reagan and South African President Pieter Botha; and news broadcasts.

"Let Me See Your ID" features Gil Scott-Heron, the famed Black poet and singer. He provides some free verse on the relationship between U.S. support for apartheid and racism at home.

The song is a rap piece featuring premier rap musicians delivering fiery blasts against racism and apartheid, anchored by a solid rap beat.

Another excellent piece is a jazz number, "The Struggle Continues," featuring jazz greats Miles Davis, Ron Carter, Stanley Jordan, and Herbie Hancock.

Depending on where you live, you may not have heard "Sun City" on your local radio stations or seen the video on MTV.

Some stations claim the music is "too strange" for their audiences. What they really mean is that it's too Black and too militantly anti-apartheid for them. Where it gets out, people love it.

And of course it's been compared — favorably and unfavorably — to "We Are the World," the record made to aid Africa's famine victims.

Comparing the two, one critic said, "You can dance to 'Sun City's' funky beat, while 'We Are the World' is not a song that makes you want to get up and boogie."

Little Steven argues that the fight against apartheid is as important as efforts to combat famine.

"We sang to feed 'em," he says. "Now it's time to fight for freedom."

All artists' royalties from "Sun City" go to the Africa Fund to support families of political prisoners, cultural and educational programs for exiles, and educational programs for anti-apartheid organizations.

But it's not only a worthy cause. It's an excellent album.

Gov't offers no relief to W.Va. flood victims

BY KATHY MICKELLS

The worst flood in over 100 years struck West Virginia on November 5. Even before the flood, working people in this state were hard hit economically, with the highest rate of unemployment in the nation. The flood left millions of dollars of destroyed and damaged homes and businesses in its wake.

Thirty-five people were killed, and 10 are still missing. Thousands saw a lifetime of hard work and

that they will live long enough to pay off the loans.

Power lines, bridges, sewage plants, highways, roads, and schools were damaged or destroyed. Many small communities were totally cut off from the outside world, and it was necessary to use helicopters to supply food, water, and medical supplies. It will be months or years, if ever, before the infrastructure is repaired. The federal government has announced that only \$50 million is available for the state to repair highways, roads, schools, and water preparation plants while the loss and repair work is estimated at over \$100 million.

With unemployment already high, more than 2,000 miners have been laid off since the flood. The coal companies are unable to ship coal along the Monongahela River. So instead of finding alternate transportation, they decided to cut costs by laying off miners.

Twenty-nine of the 33 counties affected by the flood have been declared disaster areas. With this designation comes federal support and assistance. Many people hoped that with this help they would be able to start again. But it didn't take long for it to become clear that government assistance to working people would be miserly — if they got anything at all.

The federal government has only come up with 2,000 mobile trailer homes even though 5,000 are needed. And it looks as if it will take weeks or months before they arrive and can be installed.

Low-interest loans are to be provided by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). But the requirements for these loans strike many from the list of possible recipients. To secure a loan, a recipient has to relocate out of the flood plain, buy flood insurance, and have a good credit rating.

Many of the people living in these areas are retired or unemployed coal miners. They aren't going to find themselves eligible for loans. As Tom Hamner, an FEMA of-

ficer, put it, "If someone lost their home and their job and can't handle even a low-interest loan, the most they're going to get is \$5,000 and a temporary place to live. That isn't very much when you've lost everything."

To add salt to the wound, to receive either a low-interest loan (8 percent) or a grant, you have to document your loss. That's a difficult task when everything you own has been washed away.

Watching this misery and hearing what the Democratic and Republican Party politicians are saying and offering to working people is making a lot of people angry. These capitalist politicians are haggling over who will be granted what construction contracts, or whose fault it is that the assistance is so minimal. Meanwhile little is being done.

It's easy to see that if a federal public works project employing the unemployed at union wages was put into place, the work of rebuilding homes, schools, highways, roads, and bridges could be accomplished. This would also deal a blow to unemployment.

Banks should be forced to declare an indefinite moratorium on payment of all debts owed by the farmers and to guarantee them low-interest loans.

This should hold true for the individuals who lost their homes and belongings whether or not they're employed or have flood insurance, and no matter where they decide to rebuild.

A federal disaster plan should be instituted that puts the needs of workers and farmers first. There's plenty of money in Washington's war budget for such a plan.

It's adding insult to injury to say to someone that your entire life is worth \$5,000.

Kathy Mickells is a member of United Mine Workers of America Local 2300. She was laid off at U.S. Steel's Cumberland mine in Pennsylvania following the flood.

AS I SEE IT

memories carried away with the water. Houses were ripped from their foundations and swept downstream. Homes were damaged so badly they have been condemned. Still others were covered with mud — deposited when the waters receded.

Individuals returned to their homes to find all of their personal belongings either destroyed, mutilated, or gone. More than 8,000 people need temporary housing.

Farmers also suffered extensive losses as the topsoil was washed away, and the swirling waters deposited rocks, boulders, and sand in its stead. More than 20,000 cows and pigs and millions of chickens and turkeys drowned. It is estimated that agriculture and forest lands were damaged to the tune of \$132 million.

The small businesses that existed in these river communities suffered losses up to \$118 million. More than half will be unable to reopen.

Most local merchants were without flood insurance since its cost was prohibitive. Many find themselves unable to secure loans since they require a 30-year repayment plan. Many are just too old to guarantee the banks

Philippines: killers of opposition leader go free

Continued from back page

killed Aquino rang out before he could have reached the ground, where he was supposedly shot.

A reporter for a Japanese news agency said he saw a soldier shoot Aquino on the steps and then saw other soldiers drag a man from a nearby vehicle and shoot him.

(He and other foreign witnesses declined to return to the Philippines to testify after being advised there was no assurance they would not be subject to prosecution.)

One witness who did finally testify was a Filipino passenger on the plane, Rebecca Quijano, who then moved to this country. She said she initially feared to come forward because she had been threatened. Also, she added, her father had died in military custody in 1981.

Quijano testified that from a window of the plane, she saw a soldier follow Aquino down the steps and put a gun to the back of his head. Simultaneously she heard a gunshot.

Constable Rogelio Moreno, who had

followed Aquino down the stairs, was found to have powder burns on his hands.

An airline engineer also told the commission of inquiry he had seen a soldier shoot Aquino, but he later decided to retract his testimony.

But all of the coercion of witnesses, and the mockery of justice at the trial proceedings, could not prevent the Filipino people from knowing who really murdered Aquino.

In a 10-day period following the slaying, protesters, numbering in the hundreds of thousands, demonstrated repeatedly in Manila and elsewhere on the islands.

More than a million people participated in Aquino's funeral procession, then said to be the biggest demonstration in Philippine history.

The funeral procession was led by a contingent of 3,000 students, chanting "Marcos — killer, dictator, dog!"

On the first anniversary of the assassination, Manila was brought to a virtual standstill, as huge throngs left work to as-

semble for a commemoration rally. Estimates of their numbers ranged from 500,000 to 2,000,000.

It was such scenes that moved Washington to urge Marcos to relax his murderous grip a bit. Understandably, U.S. capitalist politicians, bankers, and businessmen are concerned that an anti-Marcos revolution would spell the end of longtime U.S. imperialist domination of the country.

The broad opposition to the regime has also emboldened capitalist opposition politicians in the Philippines. They hope to oust Marcos in time to prevent a revolutionary explosion.

The decision of Corazon Aquino, the slain oppositionist's widow, to make an electoral challenge to Marcos for the presidency represents such a move.

But the real opposition to the dictatorship — the workers and peasants of the Philippines and big layers of the urban middle class — are rebelling against evils that are not likely to be eliminated by moderation of the repression and some curbing

of the rampant capitalist corruption that is bleeding the country dry.

Landless peasants and superexploited farm laborers face growing hunger. And in the cities, where there is persistent mass unemployment, the number of those sinking into the poverty level grows steadily.

Meanwhile, observers agree, the guerrilla force, the New People's Army, is gaining significant strength. And the National Democratic Front, a broad-based coalition which supports the guerrillas, now claims a membership of a million and support of 10 million.

In the cities, militant unionism is on the rise and repression has failed to curb a growing number of strikes.

While the big-business media focus on the pending elections, this is the opposition that Marcos is girding himself to deal with. That's why, so far, he's turning a deaf ear to U.S. government pleas to cool it and insists on hanging tough. But he's sitting on a very big powder keg.

Build abortion rights marches

Supporters of women's equality should mark their calendars for March 9 and March 16.

These are the dates of the "National March for Women's Lives: East Coast/West Coast" — mass demonstrations in defense of safe, legal abortion and contraception initiated by the National Organization for Women (NOW).

The East Coast mobilization is set for Sunday, March 9, in Washington, D.C. The West Coast action will take place in Los Angeles on Sunday, March 16.

NOW is seeking cosponsorship for the actions from labor unions; Black rights, student, and anti-apartheid groups; other women's rights organizations; and all those who support the cause of women's equality.

NOW has sent out a letter to a broad array of organizations, inviting them "to cosponsor an historic event — the first massive march for keeping abortion and birth control safe and legal since the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* [Supreme Court] decision, which legalized abortion in the United States.

"We are determined," the letter states, "to make these marches massive and magnificent to visually display that we are the actual majority. . . ."

The purpose of the demonstration, according to NOW President Eleanor Smeal, "is to serve notice that the lives of millions of women — both in America and around the world — are threatened by efforts to outlaw abortion and birth control" and to make clear that the overwhelming majority of people back a woman's right to reproductive freedom.

The march will also sound the alarm, Smeal said, on possible ballot referenda in a number of states that would deny funds for poor women seeking abortions.

Plans for the demonstrations are well under way. Several hundred buses have been reserved for the East Coast march already. Freedom trains are being organized. Dozens of campus groups have been formed to build the march.

The immediate, positive response to the call is an indication of the potential to mobilize massive support for abortion rights.

And it is urgently needed.

On Jan. 22, 1973, women won their most important victory in decades when the U.S. Supreme Court issued the decision that legalized abortion. It recognized the right of *women* to decide whether or not to bear children and ruled that women had the constitutional right to terminate pregnancies through abortion.

Before this, abortion was a crime. Many women were forced to bear children against their will. Hundreds of

women died, and thousands were maimed each year through illegal back-alley or self-induced abortions. Racist oppression meant that Black and Latino women suffered the most from these restrictions on women's democratic rights.

The restrictions on a woman's right to abortion prevented women from controlling their own bodies and exercising effective control over every other aspect of their lives.

Twelve years after that victory, abortion remains legal. But the ability to exercise that right has been severely restricted.

By 1981, Congress had cut off Medicaid funding for abortions. Only 13 states and the District of Columbia still provide state funding for abortion. This makes it more difficult — and sometimes impossible — for millions of working-class women, especially Blacks and Latinas, to obtain abortions.

State, federal, and local laws also place special obstacles in the way of young women obtaining abortions and contraception.

In the last couple of years, a massive antiwoman propaganda campaign, centered on the theme that abortion is murder, has been waged by the government and the Catholic church hierarchy.

The White House, Congress, state legislatures, and the courts have all joined in the bipartisan assault against a woman's right to abortion. Catholic bishops and fundamentalist preachers lead the charge. This has emboldened right-wing opponents of abortion rights, who have bombed and burned dozens of abortion clinics and who harass and intimidate women seeking abortions.

The assault on women's rights is part of an all-out offensive by the employers and the government against the rights, living standards, and fighting capacity of all working people.

The rulers' stock-in-trade is to try to deepen divisions among working people in order to undermine their ability to resist this offensive.

That's why the union movement has a special stake in and responsibility to defend women's rights.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women, which represents more than 7.5 million women in unions, has long been a champion of abortion rights. Many unions already have official positions supporting a woman's right to abortion.

Unionists, family farmers, Black rights activists, anti-apartheid and antiwar fighters, and all supporters of women's equality and democratic rights should begin to organize to participate in this march.

Gov't targets pregnancy leave

The Justice Department has joined employers in an attack on pregnancy leave benefits for working women.

In a friend-of-the-court brief filed with the Supreme Court on November 27, the Justice Department claims that state laws in California and Montana that require employers to give disability leave to pregnant workers are discriminatory. These laws violate the intent of a pregnancy disability law passed by Congress in 1978, according to the brief. Two other states, Connecticut and Massachusetts, have similar laws.

How could laws that give pregnant workers the right to their jobs be discriminatory?

Because such laws, the Reagan administration argues, "discriminate" against non-pregnant workers.

The Justice Department brief was filed in support of the Miller-Wohl Co. and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. They are jointly appealing a lower court decision that supported a woman who was fired.

The victim, Tamara Buley, was a salesclerk at Miller-Wohl's Great Falls, Montana, store. She was fired for missing work due to pregnancy-induced morning sickness. The company claims that firing her was in line with its general policy of denying leave for sickness, disability, or pregnancy to workers with less than one year's seniority.

The Montana court ruled that this violated the state law, whose purpose "is to protect equal job opportunities for woman as compared to others by removing a female disability job risk not faced by men and non-pregnant females."

The Justice Department argues that the Montana law forces a company to discriminate against employees not covered by the law and should be struck down.

The Reagan administration, using the same phony argument that laws that protect pregnant women discriminate against other workers, is also seeking to overturn the ruling of a federal appeals court in California that upheld the complaint of a woman whose pregnancy disability rights were violated.

Lillian Garland, a Black receptionist, was forced to wait 10 months to get her job back from the California Federal Savings and Loan Association after she returned from pregnancy leave.

Federal Savings and Loan, the California Chamber of Commerce, and the Merchants and Manufacturers Association ganged up to oppose Garland in the courts.

They succeeded in winning a ruling against her in a U.S. district court, but it was later overruled by a federal court of appeals.

The Justice Department also explicitly argues against the proposal raised by supporters of the rights of women and workers that employers should extend the benefits legally mandated for pregnant women to *all workers*.

Why?

Such an approach, their brief argues, would impose "a general program of unpaid disability leave for all employees, where there is no indication that the state intended to impose such a burden upon its employers." In other words, the bosses' profits come before the rights of workers — even the right to unpaid sick leave.

The decision of the U.S. Justice Department to jump into this attack on women's rights comes at a time when all workers are being hit with cutbacks in wages, working conditions, and health benefits. These attacks hit women especially hard.

Presently, one out of three women from families with incomes of \$15,000 or less have no medical health insurance coverage. Thousands of women are unable to afford doctors for the duration of their pregnancy, and many more wind up in debt and unable to pay hospital delivery costs that run as high as \$3,200 for normal births and \$5,000 for cesarean delivery.

Now the U.S. Justice Department, in alliance with cut-throat bosses, is lining up to deprive these women of their jobs and incomes as well.

In response to the attack on Garland, Los Angeles National Organization for Women President Marnie Delaney pointed out that society as a whole, not individual women, should be responsible for bearing the cost of childbirth.

The Justice Department would like to convince working people that advances for women's rights, rather than a boon to all working people, are discriminatory and an attempt by women to win "privileges."

The bosses and their government lackeys, however, know full well that maternity leave laws do not discriminate against men — they protect women. But the ruling class is not about to accept social responsibility for children because it would cut into profits.

Women's rights fighters and trade unionists should champion the rights of women workers and protest the attacks on pregnancy disability rights.

Communist Int'l: defend rights of women in industry

Below is an excerpt from the Program of Action of the Red International of Trade Unions (Profintern). The Profintern was founded in 1921 by revolutionary workers inspired by the successful Russian revolution four years earlier. It was affiliated to the Communist International, whose central leader was V.I. Lenin.

At its founding meeting, the Profintern discussed a program for revolutionaries in the trade unions. Part of that discussion centered on the problems women workers faced after World War I.

In the struggle against the growing crisis, certain union organizations follow the path of least resistance by driving women out of the places they hold in industry. During

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

the war, hundreds of thousands, millions of women were drawn into industrial activity. The number of women involved in production grew considerably in almost all the capitalist countries. At the end of the war, when industrial production slowed down, when the unions should have shouldered the task of women's interests in the same manner as they should defend men's interests, there were unions in certain countries that took it upon themselves to throw women out of work. In England alone, hundreds of thousands of women workers were thrown out of work in this way.

This division of the exploited according to sex is obviously a leftover of the conservatism that still persists among the masses of the workers. It was not that long ago that many union organizations refused to admit women, probably considering that they were unworthy of membership. Women's struggles for the right to join unions were very painful, and in certain countries provoked the formation of separate women's organizations whose aim was to gain recognition from the men in the same industry.

The revolutionary unions, for whom all workers are part of the same family of the exploited, must firmly and unreservedly oppose this extremely reactionary viewpoint on women workers. Even on this question, elementary as it may seem, there are serious divergences between revolutionary and reformist unions.

It is not sufficient to oppose the policy of laying off women first; it is necessary to look at women's work in the same light as men's work. In many unions there still exists a double policy for wages, one for men and one for women. Men with the same qualifications as women earn higher wages, not because they produce a greater number of products, not because they are more qualified, not because they have a higher productivity rate, but simply because they are men. And women earn lower wages simply because they are women, that is to say, the most backward of the exploited.

A division of the proletariat according to sex should not exist, as far as the revolutionary unions are concerned.

As for wage policy, workers should be categorized according to their degree of qualification. The slogan "Equal wages for equal work" should be proclaimed and put into practice.

In some places, the struggle to reduce production costs, particularly in times of crisis, takes the form of reducing the wages of the most backward categories of workers, especially of women. In certain cases, especially when women are badly organized, they are the first to fall victim to the developing crisis. Unions must take all these facts into consideration in their daily work, not only when the crisis begins, but constantly.

In a special resolution, the Red International of Trade Unions emphasized that winning over the broad masses of working women is critically important for the social revolution. Social revolution cannot be achieved until women workers in great numbers have become active comrades in struggle. For without the millions of women now working in industry, it is very difficult to win power and to maintain it.

The following points from the [Profintern's founding] congress' resolution should be used as the basis for union work with women workers:

"The working woman is our fellow in exploitation, and our aim is to make her an active fighter for the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The only unions worthy of being members of the Red International of Trade Unions are those which have freed themselves from the old prejudices concerning female labor; as well as all other questions, and have taken up the fight to safeguard and defend it, with the sole aim of increasing the army of social revolution with new and tireless fighters recruited from the exploited and oppressed women workers."

Corporate-gov't hostility to unions is worldwide

BY TOM LEONARD

The debate over the U.S. government's policies in Central America that broke out on the floor of the October AFL-CIO convention stemmed in part from more than a decade of attacks against unions by the government and corporations.

Even before the merger of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) 30 years ago, the top union officialdom had

UNION TALK

slavishly followed the reactionary foreign policy of U.S. imperialism. For most of the time since then, they have been able to wheedle enough concessions from the employers to hold on to their well-paid posts. And there have been fringe benefits like having dinner at the White House, rubbing elbows with billionaires, calling congressmen by their first names, and even getting appointed to high government posts.

Now, in addition to losing many of these "privileges" to the antilabor offensive, top union officials face increasing pressure from members who want a stronger union fightback against concessions and who see the need for more international trade union solidarity.

These are some of the reasons why the debate on Central America — which has been developing in the unions for several years — took place at the convention and will continue. They also help explain the shift in the official AFL-CIO policy away from servile support to one that is more critical of U.S. government war policies against the workers' and farmers' struggles in Central America.

Another important reason for the debate was the international character of the bosses' antiunion offensive. This was highlighted in remarks by trade union representatives from other parts of the world.

More than 60 union officials from some 40 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and the Caribbean attended the convention. Most of them were representatives of unions affiliated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), which has 83 million members around the world.

ICFTU leaders have collaborated closely with the proimperialist policies of U.S. union officials since they all split from the World Federation of Trade Unions in 1949, charging it with being communist-dominated. The WFTU today claims a membership of 206 million in 81 countries.

P.P. Narayanan, ICFTU president and head of the Malaysian Trade Union Congress, spoke at the AFL-CIO convention about the worldwide economic crisis. He pointed out that "unemployment is rising high, and real income is continually declining. Although the seriousness of the problems varies from country to country, those from developing countries face more difficult situations."

He also echoed some U.S. labor officials when he pointed out that "governments are showing more and more totalitarian tendencies in dealing with labor policies."

The same sentiment was expressed by British Steelworkers' President William Sirs, who represented the 10-million-member Trades Union Congress of Britain.

Sirs played a scurrilous role in the National Union of Mineworkers year-long strike against the Thatcher government's union-busting campaign. He withheld all-out solidarity by British steelworkers with the striking miners. But he told convention delegates: "We, like you, are keenly aware that we operate in a deeply hostile climate. In both Britain and the United States antagonistic governments confront us. At home the hostility of the government, at least of its leader, amounts to an irrational hatred of unions."

John Vanderveken from Belgium, general secretary of the ICFTU, denounced the racist policies of the South African government. In a message to South African Black unionists he said: "You are not alone. We will continue to support you until you eventually triumph over tyranny." He also criticized the U.S. government for failing to ratify the UN's International Labor Organization's conventions defending job safety, health, and workers' right to organize unions.

Nangbog Barnabo, general secretary of the Togo National Confederation of Labor, said, "The world economic crisis makes the tasks of the African trade unions extremely difficult — business failures and economic slow-

downs mean that unemployment is growing at an alarming rate."

The International Monetary Fund, Barnabo added, "has imposed harsh austerity measures on our economies, which make life even more difficult for our workers."

Criticisms of capitalist governments' support for the employers' antilabor offensive were not restricted to speakers from other countries. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and many other U.S. union officials blasted the antilabor policies of the Reagan government.

Richard Trumka spoke to the convention on behalf of the United Mine Workers of America, which is not affiliated to the AFL-CIO. He observed: "If we turn to our government for assistance in our time of need, to enable us to do more equal battle on behalf of working people, we are politely informed, in so many words, that organized labor is an outmoded, obstructionist, irrelevant force."

"The foreign policy of the United States government is to make the world safe for corporate profiteering," Trumka noted. "That means backing any dictator of any stripe who will maintain a 'good business climate' by keeping down wages and working conditions, by preventing workers from organizing."

The criticisms of U.S. and other capitalist governments and their antilabor foreign policies voiced at the convention reflected the increasing level of class conflict on a world scale. The sharpness of their comments was striking since all those who spoke were pro-imperialist in their outlook and showed no indication of breaking with capitalist politics in their own countries.

They are the opposite of the young union fighters against apartheid in South Africa and against U.S. aggression in Nicaragua and El Salvador, who are in the vanguard of the struggle for workers' rights within the worldwide trade union movement. The example of their struggles against imperialist domination, capitalist greed, and political repression is helping to inspire union fightbacks elsewhere and revitalize international trade union solidarity.

Tom Leonard covered the recent AFL-CIO national constitutional convention for the Militant.

LETTERS

Ortega on Donahue show

Millions of people in the United States were able to see Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega and Rosario Murillo on the Phil Donahue television talk show October 22. Murillo is the secretary general of the Sandinista Cultural Workers Association and is married to Daniel Ortega.

The Nicaraguan leaders spent the hour answering the slanders against the Nicaraguan revolution that Donahue spewed out.

Calling himself a supporter of the overthrow of Somoza, Donahue hammered away on his view that the Sandinistas have lost public support in Nicaragua and — more importantly — the United States. They "snatched defeat from the jaws of victory" by imposing a Draconian state of emergency, militarizing the country, and seeking aid from Cuba and the Soviet Union, he complained.

Donahue began the program by labeling Nicaragua's state of emergency "the worst kind of oppression. . . . It looks like the work of a fascist government."

Why not rescind martial law so you can recapture public opinion? And wouldn't it be useful to the revolution, he suggested, if you allowed foreign press to review your military exercises? (Perhaps Donahue will make the same suggestion to U.S. war secretary Caspar Weinberger.)

The liberal television host ignored President Ortega's explanation that Nicaragua is under attack by the greatest military power on earth, that the revolution's leadership would be defaulting if it failed to take preventive measures defending the country from possible acts of sabotage and terrorism.

Rosario Murillo described eloquently some of the devastation the Nicaraguan people suffer from Washington's war.

"You appear to be more attracted to Russia," Donahue scolded. Ortega explained, "I'd like to have good relations with the

States, would like a meeting with Reagan. Why can't we have the privilege of good relations with both?"

Ortega told him that the Reagan administration's first move against Nicaragua had been to cut off aid for food. Donahue responded, "The first thing you did after the revolution was run to Cuba!" Ortega smiled and said that if the U.S. government wants to send 500 doctors — as Cuba has — Nicaragua would be pleased to accept.

Susan Anmuth
New York, New York

Inn workers fight back

Seventy members of Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union Local 217 are engaged in a contract struggle with the Lord Jeffery Inn and its owner, Amherst College. Their contract expired midnight, October 24.

Amherst College and the inn are attempting to impose the all too familiar two-tier wage system, and trying to take away benefits from all employees — especially part-timers.

They also want to take away standard employee rights, including scheduling by seniority, classification protections, and protection from management doing union work.

Under the new contract proposed by the Amherst Inn Co., which operates the Lord Jeffery Inn, senior untipped employees would continue to earn between \$10,400 and \$13,200, but new hires would make "substantially less," according to union organizer Ron Traber.

Amherst College owns approximately 75 percent of the stock in the inn with the rest owned by Amherst College alumni and others.

These union-busting actions have only increased the employees' determination to fight for their basic rights as workers. They have stated that they will hold out until they win the fight against

Amherst College.

Community support has been growing, and even groups such as the Amherst Club and the Rotary Club have refused to patronize the inn. Pickets have included people from the surrounding community and colleges, as well as union members.

As of November 7 the workers were laid off and the tavern and restaurant closed indefinitely.

Jordan Rockowitz
Amherst, Massachusetts

Economic coverage

The *Militant's* coverage of the economic crisis has been excellent, but piecemeal. People who want a sense of how it all adds up are going to be borrowing from middle-class thinkers like Joseph Granville, a highly respected market analyst and author of *The Warning*. It predicts another 1929. It is a collection of over 300 economic, social, and political parallels between conditions now and those of 1929.

Although Granville presents his case in a popular, empirical format, his method is more theoretical.

I find him convincing, but take my own economic reasoning with a grain of salt.

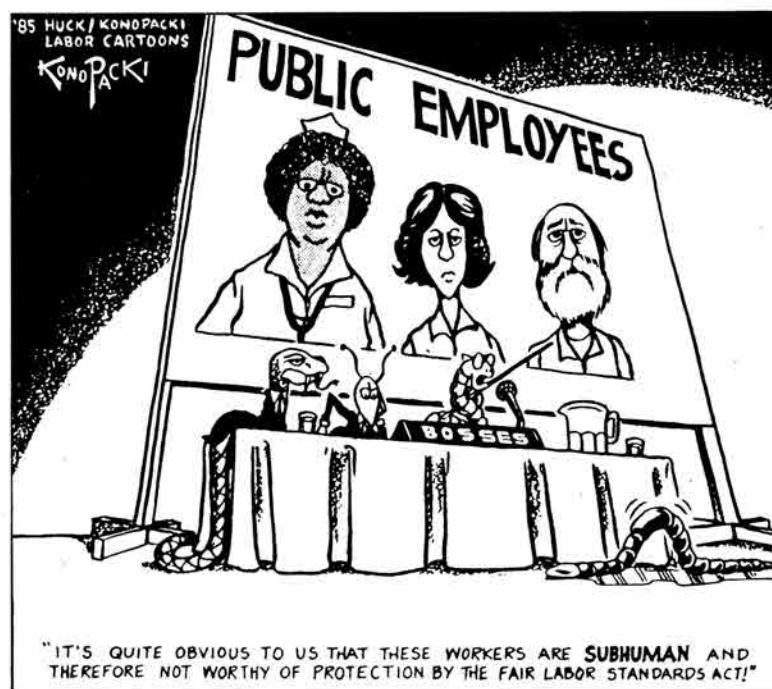
Bob Mears
Lawrence, Kansas

Keeping up struggle

I am not only in prison. I am in the prison within the prison — administrative segregation.

Recently the National Prison Project filed suit on our behalf challenging the irrational behavior-modification practices here, as well as the hazardous fire conditions and the complete denial of treatment to mentally ill inmates, not to mention their improper placement in this unit.

There has been an out-of-court settlement at this time. But too late for the mentally ill inmates. Three of them have committed suicide since the suit was launched. Their



injury from the complained about conditions is irreparable.

One other prisoner also died as a direct result of a defective fire-safety mechanism. This is not to mention the uncountable serious attempts at suicide and the mental and emotional mayhem that we have been subjected to.

So, laboring under these conditions it has meant a lot to receive the *Militant*. There are not many sources of inspiration to draw from after 15 years in prison. After so long one tends to feel there is not much cause to believe that there will ever be any real change in the socioeconomic structures that played a definite part in the process that landed me in prison at the age of 17. But keeping tabs on the struggle out there through the *Militant* has certainly helped in keeping up my morale and confidence that there will be a change. *History cannot be stopped by the forces of imperialism.*

In every sense of the term, the *Militant* has enabled me to keep the faith. And in this regard, to keep on keeping on in the struggle.

You have made a definite dif-

ference in many of our lives, for sure. Of that you can rest assured.

A prisoner
Florence, Arizona

Correction

In the November 29 issue of the *Militant* an inset photograph was incorrectly identified on page 13. The photograph was of Felipe Velez, a farm worker employed in New Jersey. An interview with Velez appeared on the same page.

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. Where possible the fund also tries to fill prisoners' requests for other literature. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Philippine court frees Marcos hit men

Murderers of opposition leader Aquino exonerated

BY HARRY RING

The decision by the regime of Ferdinand Marcos to exonerate the assassins of opposition leader Benigno Aquino is certain to deepen the already massive popular opposition to the Philippine dictatorship.

And the prompt reinstatement of Gen. Fabian Ver, the principal hit man, as chief of staff of the armed forces will intensify public anger.

Brushing aside the evidence, a Marcos-appointed court issued a ruling December 2 acquitting 25 members of the military and one civilian of the murder.

In a shameless display of subservience to the regime, the judges parroted the patently fake Marcos claim that the killing which he ordered was the work of a hired "communist" tool who, according to the court, slipped through a cordon of more than a thousand soldiers to gun down Aquino as he emerged from a passenger plane at Manila International Airport in 1983.

The court's verdict branded those who disagreed as "rabble-rousers" and "insidious forces."

Rebecca Quijano, who testified at the trial that she had seen the actual killer pull the trigger, branded the verdict "a big lie."

Now resident in California, she appeared at a New York press conference sponsored by opponents of Marcos.

The verdict was so raw that the Reagan administration, which has been urging Marcos to clean up his act, issued a disclaimer.

Recalling that prior to the trial, a Philippine investigating commission had found the assassination to be the work of the military, a State Department spokesperson said it was difficult to "reconcile" the panel's findings with the outcome of the trial.

That's for sure.

A capitalist politician who had opposed Marcos, Aquino was marked for death the day he announced he was returning to the Philippines after three years of exile in this country.

A former mayor, provincial governor, and senator, Aquino had been considered a

strong potential rival to Marcos in an election slated for 1973.

But in 1972 Marcos had him arrested on charges of subversion, murder, and illegal possession of weapons. In 1977 he was sentenced to death, but in 1980 his sentence was commuted and he was permitted to come here for heart surgery. After the operation he decided to stay.

In June 1983 Aquino publicly announced his intention to return home and continue his opposition to Marcos.

The regime demanded he postpone or cancel his return. It asserted it had uncovered a "communist" plot to kill Aquino and said it could not guarantee his safety.

Japan Air Lines, on which Aquino had booked his flight home, was told it would lose its Philippine landing rights.

Aquino succeeded in getting passage on a Taiwanese China Air Line flight, which set down at the Manila airport, Aug. 21, 1983.

The Marcos forces were ready and waiting.

Troops surrounded the runway. When the plane landed, soldiers hustled him out of the plane and started down a boarding ramp. Other passengers, including reporters, were kept inside. But some were able to see from their windows what happened on the ramp.

Seconds after Aquino emerged from the



Thousands demonstrated in 1984 to mark first anniversary of Aquino assassination. Court acquittal of his killers will spark more anti-Marcos actions.

plane, a shot rang out and he was finished.

Immediately after, a second person, later identified as Rolando Galman, was shot by troops.

The government then brazenly declared Galman had shot Aquino, embellishing the story with the baseless charge he was a "communist agent."

Subsequent evidence and eyewitness testimony exploded Marcos' transparent concoction.

Evidence compiled by the preliminary commission included audio and video recordings by reporters aboard the plane.

On one video recording the shot that

Continued on Page 13

The fight for socialism in Britain

BY ILONA GERSH

LONDON — *Socialist Action*, the newspaper representing the Fourth International in Britain, hosted a conference here November 16-17 called "An Alliance for Socialism — A weekend of debate and discussion." Around 600 people attended. The Fourth International is an international organization of revolutionary socialists.

The conference was organized to promote discussion on strategy and tactics among leaders of the Labor Party left wing,

militant trade unionists such as the coal miners, and leaders of the Black struggle and the women's liberation movement. The Labor Party is based on the trade unions. A number of prominent figures, including union leaders and members of Parliament, participated.

The program had workshops on the labor movement, including discussions on what kind of labor government is needed in Britain; trade unions and the law; defending Labor Party democracy; defending the National Union of Mineworkers; and youth in the labor movement.

Workshops were also held on the Black and women's liberation struggles. These were on Black people and the labor movement, defending the Black communities, building alliances for women, and a panel discussion by leaders of Women Against Pit Closures, which played a key role in the miners' strike.

Discussions on the anti-apartheid struggle, the crisis in Central America and the Caribbean, and the Irish independence fight made internationalism a central axis of the conference.

There was also a workshop on defending gay rights.

The keynote panel on November 17 was called "An Alliance for Socialism." The speakers' platform included Tony Benn, a left-wing member of Parliament for the Labor Party; Diane Abbott, a member of the Labor Party Black Section and the party's Women's Action Committee; Narendra Makenji, of the Black Section National Committee; John Ross, editor of *Socialist Action*; and representatives of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador. A striking worker from Silent Night, Britain's largest furniture manufacturer, was also on the panel.

'We must re-create socialist tradition'

Tony Benn explained the situation facing British workers: "There is an attack on living standards, on the unions, on women, on the Irish, on the Black community, on democracy, on civil liberties — and a technique of division is being practiced which

is to some extent effective. The apparatus of the state is being used quite ruthlessly, and of course the media are being used on a daily basis in order to maintain that division....

"Britain is the last colony left in the British empire, and all the techniques of repression that were tried elsewhere are now being used against our own people."

Benn explained that elected Labor Party governments have served as "intensive care units for capitalism."

"When capitalism got in a real mess and the people who ran it could no longer control it," he said, "they invited a Labor government to take over, which used its capacity to win the loyalty of the working class to make the sacrifices to put the system right. That government then lost us the election and handed the system back, fully recovered, to the people who ran it in the first place. That intensive care unit role for Labor governments is an absolute distortion of the original function of the Labor Party."

Benn then explained that the Labor Party must build alliances with the sections of the working class involved in struggle if it is to break from its present course of class-collaborationism.

"Actually," he pointed out, "the miners' strike mobilized the very alliance that we're talking about at this conference today. The political consciousness, the central role of women in the strike as an independent reinforcing element, the link with the Black community, with the Irish struggles, and so on, came out of it....

"We've got to open up new affiliations and we've got to re-create the socialist tradition within the labor movement. That is what I think our task is about. When you look at that and ask how do you actually do it, the answer is that we must root it in experience....

"We have got to campaign for basic demands and build our broad alliance on the demand for jobs, the demand for homes, the demand for schools, the demand for health care, the demand for dignity when you're old, for equality and an end to discrimination, and the demand for peace. We

Continued on Page 11

400 protest racist law closing Dearborn parks to Blacks

BY ED JOSEPHSON

DETROIT — "We've got our own little South Africa right here in southeastern Michigan," Joe Madison, NAACP national voter-education director, told a capacity crowd at the Little Rock Baptist Church November 25.

More than 400 Detroit residents came out in the chill on a rainy night to protest the City of Dearborn's new ordinance that closes city parks to nonresidents. This move is clearly aimed at the Black population of greater Detroit.

The ordinance, which had been defeated in the Dearborn City Council, was placed on the ballot through a petition drive as a referendum, and was passed by a 4,000-vote margin November 5.

Dearborn, a Detroit suburb whose 90,000 residents reportedly include fewer than 100 Blacks, has also been the scene of an openly racist anti-Arab campaign by its new mayor-elect Michael Guido. Dearborn is home to thousands of Arab-Americans who, along with Arabs in the greater Detroit area, make up one of the largest Arab communities outside the Middle East.

The Detroit rally marked the launching of a consumer boycott, or "selective buying campaign" directed at Dearborn retail stores and shopping malls. It is sponsored by the NAACP and the Detroit Council of Baptist Pastors, representing more than 400 churches in the Detroit area. Detroit

customers account for an estimated 38 percent of Dearborn's retail trade.

The boycott will include organized picketing of Dearborn stores and a series of demonstrations. Hundreds of people at the rally came forward to register for picket duty.

The proposed boycott has already drawn a predictably racist response from the Dearborn authorities. One Dearborn spokesman labeled the boycott "ludicrous," adding that "people shop where they feel they can walk to their car without getting mugged."

The church where the rally was held has also received bomb threats and phone calls threatening Madison's life.

Detroit City Councillor Clyde Cleveland urged the crowd at the rally not to go and spend their money in a city that won't let them eat a sandwich in the park. Cleveland has submitted a resolution, endorsed by all eight city council members, that condemns the Dearborn ordinance as resembling "the pass laws existing in racist South Africa" and pledges council support for "any actions taken, within the law, which may be necessary to rescind this racist, discriminatory and reactionary policy."

James Settles, Jr., addressed the rally on behalf of Local 600 of the United Auto Workers which organizes Ford's giant River Rouge complex in Dearborn. "Labor

Continued on Page 4