THEMILITANT

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SPECIAL ANTI-APARTHEID ISSUE

Greetings from ANC UN representative . . . 3
South African "Freedom Charter" 4

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50 CENTS

Break U.S. ties with apartheid — boycott racist South Africa!

U.S. gov't, media smear freedom struggle

BY FRED FELDMAN

- The White House lashes out at Bishop Desmond Tutu, suggesting that he is obstructing peaceful progress in South Africa.
- The big business media portrays antiapartheid Blacks as bloodthirsty killers, massacring other Blacks in Durban and murdering innocent South African soldiers, cops, and government officials who are Black.
- Ultrarightist Rev. Jerry Falwell, who supports Washington's alliance with the apartheid regime, launches a racist campaign to defend white minority rule and to oppose economic sanctions against South Africa. He calls Tutu a "phony."

These are all part of a stepped up effort by the U.S. ruling class, which makes billions in profits from racist segregation and white minority rule in South Africa, to turn public opinion here against the anti-apartheid struggle.

The goal is to divert attention from the fact that the South African regime is using massive repression and terror against the anti-apartheid movement. Washington wants to head off growing mobilizations here that demand that the U.S. government break all ties with its racist ally.

The propaganda offensive coincides with the spread of anti-apartheid protests in



Free South Africa rallies have been demanding an end to U.S. government backing for apartheid.

South Africa, including strikes, economic boycotts, and demonstrations in the capital city of Pretoria and the surrounding Black townships.

On August 15, South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha delivered a speech defending white minority rule and threatening new repression. Despite much advance speculation, he announced no moves toward ending apartheid. In response, U.S. officials, rather than criticize Botha, aimed their fire at the anti-apartheid movement.

Robert McFarlane, Reagan's national security adviser, claimed August 18 to be "shocked" by Black leaders' "talk about the inevitability of violence."

His statement was part of the attempt to shift the attention of progressive-minded people from the crimes of apartheid to the issue of alleged Black violence. McFarlane was attempting to cover up the apartheid regime's responsibility for *all* the violence in South Africa today.

The big business media backs up this U.S. government policy by systematically creating the impression that most of the violence in South Africa is being committed by Blacks against Blacks. Only occasionally, buried on the inside pages of newspapers, is it conceded that the overwhelming majority of the 635 dead (the apartheid government's understated figure) were victims of South African cops and soldiers.

An article in the August 20 New York Times portrayed South African soldiers, cops, and government officials who are Black as innocents "caught in the middle" of the conflict between the regime and murderous Black youths.

But they are not in the middle. Their job is the same as that of the white cops, soldiers, and government officials — to enforce the apartheid system, to deny the Black masses all rights, and to suppress the struggle against apartheid. In carrying out

Continued on Page 5

Blacks fight for land, rights, liberation

Progressive-minded people around the world are joining the broad international movement that is taking shape to demand an end to the racist apartheid system in South Africa.

The modern-day slave masters who rule that country have become the target of

EDITORIAL

angry protests by tens of thousands of people across the United States.

The recent demonstrations of 30,000 in New York, 5,000 in Washington, D.C., and thousands more in Atlanta and elsewhere give a glimpse of the potential for organizing a broad, massive movement against apartheid and Washington's support for it.

The fight against the open, legal racism institutionalized in the apartheid system is attracting every fair-minded human being, every person who believes in equality, dignity, and democratic rights, and who is repulsed by the poverty and repression inflicted on the 28 million African victims of apartheid.

Significantly, the U.S. labor movement has been centrally involved in the recent round of protests. Trade unionists have also been involved in the daily vigils in front of the South African embassy in Washington and the apartheid consulates in other cities which have been taking place continuously for the past eight months. This reflects the identification of U.S.

Continued on Page 6

Reagan targets hiring quotas

BY PAT GROGAN

The Reagan Administration has drafted an executive order that will, if signed by the President, repeal affirmative action requirements for companies that do business with the government. The White House said that such requirements encourage employers to discriminate against white men and impose costly burdens on employers.

These affirmative action requirements have been in place for 20 years and were one result of the powerful civil rights movement in the 1950's and 1960's that overturned the Jim Crow system of legal segregation in the South and won new rights for all working people.

The regulations presently require federal contractors to develop "specific goals and timetables for the prompt achievement of full and equal employment opportunity." They have forced thousands of federal contractors to hire and promote Blacks, other oppressed nationalities, and women. Twenty to 30,000 companies, including nearly all the big U.S. corporations, are presently subject to Federal government demands that they implement affirmative

Opposition to the proposed order has been sharp and deep.

Labor unions, Black organizations, and women's rights groups have vowed to fight this attempt to sweep aside hard-won steps towards equality.

The executive council of the AFL-CIO, meeting in Pittsburgh August 15, said that

if President Reagan signed the order it would be "a giant step backward against employer discrimination."

A spokesperson for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund called the order "the most anti-civil rights step taken by a President since Woodrow Wilson issued orders requiring the segregation of offices and other facilities in Federal Government buildings."

Ralph G. Neas, executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, called this latest move a "comprehensive assault" against civil rights laws.

Affirmative action programs have been a central target in the government's drive against civil rights. The Justice Department has already moved to strike down affirmative action programs in some 50 cities, counties, and states, and is also challenging affirmative action programs negotiated with major industries through union contracts.

In September of 1965, in response to demands of the civil rights movement, President Lyndon B. Johnson issued Executive Order No. 11246, making it mandatory for companies that do business with the federal government to take affirmative action to open up jobs and promotion opportunities long denied to Blacks and other victims of discrimination.

Johnson's order did not require the use of numerical goals, timetables or quotas. But in 1968, in order to put teeth into the

Continued on Page 5

Special 'Militant' on apartheid

Normally, the *Militant* skips two issues in the summer and was not scheduled to publish this week.

But with the most sustained upsurge ever of the Black majority against the apartheid system in South Africa and the dramatic growth of the solidarity movement here, we decided we had to publish a special issue even if staff resources meant limiting it to eight pages instead of our usual 16. The cost of this special issue is only 50 cents instead of our normal 75 cents.

This issue reports on that upsurge, the character of the unfolding democratic revolution, and the importance of building a massive anti-apartheid movement in the United States. We are also reprinting the 1955 "Freedom Charter," which is the program of the national liberation forces in South Africa. (See page 4.)

We see this special issue as putting us in place for kicking off our fall circulation drive. In a combined effort with our Spanish-language sister publication, Perspectiva Mundial, we are projecting selling a total of 40,000 individual copies during the drive, plus 2,000 subscriptions. The drive officially begins September 14 and runs until November 16.

The first eight weeks of this drive for expanded circulation will be especially important in that they will bring us to October 11, the day of national antiapartheid demonstrations.

In a coming issue, we will also be launching a campaign to raise \$125,000 this fall for the Socialist Publication Fund.

But the need for funds already exists and this special issue is an unexpected addition to our budget.

Which means we will very much welcome financial contributions — large or small — as well as support in circulating this special issue. Contributions and requests for packets of the *Militant* —this issue or coming ones — should be addressed to the Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. For subscription rates, see ad page 2.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE-

BY DAVE HURST

PRICE, Ut. — As a result of their continuing drive for profits, coal operators in Carbon and Emery counties have increasingly scheduled production and maintenance work on Saturday. Supporters of the Militant and Perspectiva Mundial in Price have therefore also regularized mine portal sales on Saturdays.

Socialists regularly sell the Militant and Perspectiva Mundial at Utah Power and Light Company's Deer Creek Mine near Huntington and at Kaiser Steel Coal Mine at Sunnyside. Both mines are organized by the United Mine Workers (UMW).

Some miners on their way to and from work stop out of curiosity to see who we are and why we are there. Others will ask if we are a picket line. Still others have come to expect the Militant sales team at their portal so they can buy

Coal miners are interested in a variety of social and political issues. Besides coverage of the ongoing strike by the UMW against A.T. Massey and other fights against union busting miners are interested in coverage of farm protests against foreclosures, the U.S.-backed mercenary war in Nicaragua, and the fight against apartheid in South Africa.

Our sales teams have a number of large signs relating to these issues. We always take one along to focus miners' attention on what is in the Militant each week.

There is also interest among miners here in the socialist analysis of how company greed was responsible for the fire that killed 27 people last December at Utah Power and Light Company's Wilberg mine in Orangeville.

Price socialists have reproduced the Militant articles about the Wilberg fire in a two-sided supplement that sells for \$.25 each. Many times a miner will buy both the current Militant plus a supplement for a dollar

Over 500 copies of the Militant's Wilberg fire supplement have been distributed in Carbon and Emery counties since January. The reprint has been a great way to introduce miners to the ideas contained in the paper.

Regular sales at mine portals have led to an increased circulation of the Militant and Perspectiva Mundial to miners. Sales teams usually sell five or more copies of the Militant at each sale. as well as selling the Wilberg fire supplement and distributing back issues of the paper.

Dave Hurst works at the Deer Creek Mine and is a member of UMW Local 1769.

1,000 at Kansas City rally back working farmers

BY JEFF POWERS

KANSAS CITY, Mo. - Braving heavy showers some 1,000 farmers, unionists, and Black activists participated in a protest called to "defend the family farmer." The rally was held August 17 at the Shechel Paige Stadium in the Black community

The protest was sponsored by a broad array of organizations including unions such as the United Auto Workers (UAW), Service Employees International Union (SEIU), International Association of Machinists (IAM), the Greater Kansas City Labor Council, and farm groups like the American Agriculture Movement (AAM), Missouri Groundswell, and the North American Farm Alliance (NAFA), as well as civil rights organizations such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and Operation PUSH.

Kansas City Mayor Richard Berkley opened the rally by reading a proclamation making the day National Farm Crisis Awareness Day. Similar resolutions were sent from 13 other neighboring cities and

The featured speaker at the rally was SCLC Chairperson Joseph Lowery. He brought the crowd to its feet when he called for "the cancellation of the farm debt, a moratorium on farm foreclosures, and low interest, no interest loans for farmers.'

Lowery tied the government's attacks on farmers to the struggle against the U.S. government's support for apartheid in South Africa. He told the crowd that "our

government supports the South African government but it is not able to aid strapped farmers."

Local civil rights leader Rev. Mac Charles Jones pointed to the hypocrisy of the U.S. government which funds a war against the Nicaraguan government while forcing farmers off the land in this country.

UAW Vice-president Bill Casstevens also spoke. Pledging "ongoing UAW support for the farm movement," he joined other speakers in demanding a moratorium on farm foreclosures. Pointing to the 70,000 agricultural implement workers permanently on layoff, Casstevens said, 'When the family farmers suffer, we suf-

NAFA leader Merle Hansen told the

crowd that "there is something wrong with a system where farmers go broke because they produce too much food in a world where hunger has increased five times since 1953.

Hansen, like other speakers, called for passage of the 1985 Farm Policy Reform Act. This bill, which is supported by many farm activists, proposes setting aside farm land and establishing a new price support plan in an attempt to guarantee higher farm incomes. Few farm activists, however, believe this bill will be adopted when the 1981 Farm Bill expires October 1.

Several speakers hit the recent coverage of the farm movement on ABC's 20/20 television show. ABC, Roger Allison of AAM explained, had interspersed film

footage of farm leaders at protest actions with interviews with rightwingers. "The impression they gave," Allison said, "is that the farm movement is dominated by the right wing. That's a lie!

The crowd cheered Don Hughes of the American Agriculture Movement, Inc., when he announced his organization's plans "to demand equal time" from ABC to respond to the slanders.

Other speakers at the rally included Darrell Ringer, a Gove, Kansas farm activist who beat back a government attempt to victimize him and two other farm activists on frame-up charges. Ava Bates, a Black family farmer, whose farm has been foreclosed, spoke on the impact of the crisis on

Bay Area SWP, YSA offices vandalized

SAN FRANCISCO — Right-wing Vietnamese vandalized the offices of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance in the Bay Area August

The doors of the offices in San Jose, Oakland, and San Francisco were each plastered with a large replica of the flag of the defunct U.S.-backed government of South Vietnam. Inscribed on the flag was the message: "Freedom fighters never die we shall overcome."

Earlier in the week, the heavy glass door

entrance to the San Francisco Socialist Bookstore and the offices of the SWP and YSA was smashed in. The police here say that they see no political motivation for this attack. They are treating it as an attempted burglary although no money or any of the office equipment was taken

These attacks follow a recent threemonth campaign by right-wing Vietnamese thugs to break up meetings sponsored by the SWP and YSA on the history of the Vietnam War and the current situation in that country. In April, May and June of this year mobs of upwards of 200 right-wing goons gathered outside the Socialist Bookstore in San Jose threatening anyone who dared enter. Bomb threats were made and windows were broken. On at least two occasions the mob attempted to charge the entrance of the building. The thugs vowed to continue their actions until the socialists were driven out of San Jose.

Throughout the entire time, San Jose city authorities and the police refused to disperse the violent mob. No arrests were made although on one occasion the mob became so violent that the cops had to evacuate those inside the bookstore. After evacuating the bookstore the cops allowed one of the thugs to enter the building to "search for Vietnamese communists."

In response to the earlier attacks a broad

coalition of trade unionists, student activists against apartheid, opponents of the U.S. war drive in Central America, religious figures, women's and Black rights fighters was formed. This coalition mobilized broad opposition to the attacks, successfully isolating the right-wing thugs, forcing them to retreat, and forcing the city authorities to denounce their violent ac-

Condemning the latest attacks, Terry Applegate, SWP candidate for San Jose Unified School Board, explained, "These thugs have attacked us because our campaign stands with the real freedom fighters, from El Salvador to South Africa, who are fighting to free themselves from colonialism and are struggling for the right to decide their own destiny.

"This attempt to intimidate us by vandalizing our offices must be met with the broadest possible response by all people who support democratic rights," she con-

In a statement to the press, Applegate demanded that the San Jose city authorities and police guarantee the right of the socialists to run their campaign free of intimidation and attack. She also demanded that the authorities guarantee the safety of campaign supporters and the campaign of-

Teamster car haulers end strike

BY HARRIS FREEMAN

DETROIT — A nationwide strike of car haulers has been ended by a tentative agreement reached between top officials of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the National Automobile Transporters Association on August 14.

More than 20,000 Teamsters who move new cars from factory to dealerships began hauling cars again on August 19 after 3 weeks on the picketline.

The tentative contract settlement was supported by 91 of 92 Teamster local officials who met in Washington, D.C. August 17. Rank and file Teamsters will vote on the contract by mail, receiving ballots after August 22.

Picketlines first went up on July 26, after union members overwhelmingly rejected a concession contract.

The proposed contract partially removes the bosses' main concessionary demands. The hauling companies' demand to further reduce pay rates for drivers has been elim-

The hauling companies' demand for a two-tier wage scale was also partially defeated. Those hired as drivers will start at the full rate of pay. All other new hires, however, will enter the workforce at a lower pay rate.

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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

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ANC leader: 'The victory is certain'



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Neo Mnumzana, chief representative of the African National Congress of South Africa to the United Nations, gives greetings to recent Socialist Workers Party convention.

Neo Mnumzana is the chief representative of the African National Congress of South Africa to the United Nations. He brought greetings to the recent Socialist Workers Party convention and educational conference, which took place August 10-15 in Oberlin, Ohio. The convention decided to make participation in and building the movement against apartheid a central priority of the party. Major excerpts from Mnumzana's speech are reprinted below. In his talk to the 900 revolutionary fighters from the United States and around the world, Mnumzana referred to the speech that South African President Pieter Botha was to deliver that evening, where he was supposed to outline a series of reforms of the racist, apartheid system (see story page 1).

On behalf of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, and the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa, it is my special pleasure to convey to all of you, leaders and members of the YSA [Young Socialist Alliance] and SWP, the warmest fraternal greetings.

I don't have to remind you that in adopting the cause of the South African people, you are also in the process reaffirming your concern and your solidarity with the struggle of the people of Nicaragua led by the FSLN [Sandinista National Liberation Front] to consolidate and defend their revolutionary gains; the struggle in El Salvador to overthrow the U.S.-sponsored fascist junta; and your solidarity with other struggles around the world.

Today in South Africa, the dialectical confrontation between apartheid repression and popular resistance is leveling off at a climatic plateau. It's undergoing a transformation which is marked by the passage of the initiative from apartheid to the people.

The chief lesson to be observed here is that apartheid's ability to maintain itself by application and use of the most extensive repressive machinery has hit its upper limit. Beyond the state of emergency there's nowhere else for apartheid to go.

The other thing to observe is that even after resorting to this extreme measure of repression, apartheid — rather than succeeding in forcing the popular forces in South Africa to retreat — has actually provoked an even higher escalation of the struggle. So that we can safely say today that it is a matter of time before apartheid goes.

Make apartheid unworkable

At the beginning of this year the president of the African National Congress, Comrade Oliver Tambo, issued an appeal to the people of South Africa to make apartheid unworkable and to make the country ungovernable. And that very rapidly became the slogan and battlecry of the entire people of South Africa.

One of the achievements of our struggle following that appeal is that out of 253 urban Bantu councils, which are supposed to be the administrative extensions of apartheid into the Black community, only five are still in operation. And in all the areas where the apartheid regime has imposed the state of emergency, namely the

36 magisterial districts, the people don't allow apartheid police to come in. They've set up alternative structures of administration, and they refuse to pay rent.

If you will allow for the uniqueness of the South African situation, you are talking here about liberated zones in urban areas, which is probably a necessary feature of the national liberation struggle as it advances within the framework of an advanced capitalist country.

It is these developments, taken in their entirety, which have recently entertained the international community to a new type of dance. That dance is called: recalling western ambassadors from South Africa.

It is also the same development which has forced the hurried convening of meetings in Vienna [Austria] between representatives of apartheid, the United Kingdom [Britain], and the leader of imperialism, the United States. The meeting was secret, but there was no way for the agenda of that meeting to be secret. Its agenda was to work out devices to try and contain the damage to apartheid that is being done by the national liberation struggle in our country and to try and bring the crisis of apartheid under control.

And the measures they would have recommended are just as predictable. They will not introduce a new element. Following the meeting in Vienna, South Africa threatened to come out with a public announcement of the reforms it intends to set in motion by way of trying to calm the situation. We know what those reforms are going to be — maybe not the specific terms, but certainly in general terms. Apartheid, having realized that it has run its course in terms of its ability to resort to repression, is for the moment resorting to the strategy of using both the stick and the carrot.

The carrot and the stick

I would think the carrot is going to take the following form. They will offer to unban the African National Congress if the African National Congress will renounce violence. I think you know what our response to that is going to be.

They are going to offer to increase the land surface of the Bantustans [13.7 percent of the territory set aside as reserves for the African majority] but again I think you know what our response to that is going to be. They will also offer to allow Africans to live on a permanent basis in Black town-

ships in the so-called white areas of South Africa, and again you know what our response is going to be.

You can take these three offers, and whatever other offers they will give, and add them up. You don't have to be a mathematician. I'm sure you will agree with me that these offers taken together do not add up to the right of the South African people to self-determination and to the establishment of Black majority rule in a free, united, non-racial, democratic South Africa.

There's a sense in which we anticipated this development. You may be aware of the fact that the African National Congress recently held its national consultative conference in Lusaka, Zambia, in June, and I want to recapitulate some of the decisions we took at that conference.

No negotiations with apartheid

The first thing was that we were not ready to negotiate with apartheid. We had no illusions that apartheid was ready to voluntarily dismantle itself, which is the only thing we would like to talk about, how to dismantle apartheid. So we are not going to talk to apartheid.

Two, apartheid has resorted increasingly to the use of its military, heightening its traditional use of violence. It is only natural for us to take the decision to further escalate the armed struggle.

We're going to do everything, we're going to combine all our efforts into promoting the unification of the different unions in South Africa, by way of forging that major instrument of our South African revolution and honing it to a fine edge, the working-class movement.

Also we took a decision to open up the membership of the ANC both inside and outside the country to all races. A parallel decision was taken to open up even the leadership to members of all races engaged in struggle against apartheid.

We expanded our National Executive Committee from 22 to 30, and in the new National Executive there's one white person. There are also two people who are called Coloured and two people of Asiatic origins. And in addition to that, for the first time, we also included some of those young people who led the student uprising of 1976 and continue to play a pivotal role in that struggle.

This is to say although we can already see the light at the end of the tunnel, we don't have the slightest illusion that we've already arrived. We know that there is going to be a lot more bloodshed before we finally make our exit from the tunnel. The bottom line of our message is that we are taking it right up to the end.

United front against apartheid

And the American people, like peoples around the world, seem to have read this mood. They seem also to have aligned themselves with this mood. We read yes-Continued on Page 4

Minn. UFCW local strikes Hormel Corp., rejects concessions

The 1,700 members of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers union went out on strike August 17 against the Hormel meatpacking plant in Austin, Minnesota.

The strike began after the local overwhelmingly rejected Hormel's final contract offer, which included concessions the union has been battling for months.

Last October, workers in Hormel plants had their wages unilaterally slashed by 23 percent. The 1,700 unionists at the Hormel pork processing plant in Austin have refused to accept the cuts and have been waging a determined fight for a full restoration of the old rates and against other concessions.

In June, the local overwhelmingly rejected a proposal calling on the union's executive board to negotiate a compromise similar to that accepted by workers in other Hormel plants, that would only partially restore the lost wages. Local P-9 members made clear that they were prepared to strike if necessary.

3

Young Socialists map anti-apartheid fight

BY HARRY RING

OBERLIN, Ohio — The national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance met here August 16 to map plans for all-out involvement in support of the South African freedom struggle.

The committee voted to make the fight against apartheid and building the October 11 national day of protest a central priority.

This includes supporting and helping to initiate anti-apartheid activities — especially seeking to involve coworkers, farm protest activists, and students who will be returning to school in September.

The committee stressed that the battle against U.S. governmental complicity with South African apartheid will prove a powerful factor in escalating popular opposition to the U.S. intervention in Central America.

It was also agreed that the dramatic rise of the anti-apartheid movement offers important opportunities to win new members to the socialist youth organization.

The principal report to the meeting was given by YSA leader Ellen Haywood. She said that a whole range of concrete activities are involved in rallying increased numbers of young workers, farmers, Black youth and students against apartheid.

The YSA, she said, will continue to participate in the kinds of protest actions which have taken place in previous weeks.

She noted the plans of anti-apartheid student committees and the U.S. Student Association to combine the anti-apartheid fight with opposition to Washington's war in Central America.

Student organizations met in Chicago in July and planned a joint speaking tour this fall by a South African student, and one from El Salvador. This will be followed by a similar tour of a South African and Nicaraguan student. Such meetings will underline the strong interrelationship between , the two fights.

These tours, Haywood proposed, should have full YSA support.

Many YSA members are active in the movements against U.S. aggression in Central America and in solidarity with the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador. An important priority there, she said, will be helping to promote an understanding that energetic support to the anti-apartheid movement is an invaluable way to expand the fight against Washington's moves to crush the Nicaraguan revolution and Salvadoran liberation fight.

As an organization now composed mainly of young industrial workers, she continued, the YSA has a special responsibility in rallying union support for the fight against apartheid. Efforts to involve local unions, she observed, are now facilitated by the fact that major unions and top union officials have taken a stand against apartheid.

And, she added, a particularly positive response is assured among young coworkers, white as well as Black.

Further, she said, YSA members should make special efforts to enlist more support from such women's rights organizations as the National Organization for Women and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

In addition to its involvement in the antiapartheid fight, the YSA played a significant role in building last April's major demonstration against U.S. intervention in Central America and Washington's complicity with the Pretoria regime. One encouraging result was new members for the organization. YSA-building activities will feature fall speaking tours which will take national leaders to all areas where the organization is active. They will discuss the anti-apartheid and anti-intervention struggles.

Additionally, the newspaper, the *Young Socialist* will now appear on a regular monthly basis. The September issue will focus on the rising democratic revolution in South Africa.

Also, a pamphlet is being readied offering a popular account of the Nicaraguan revolution. Later, a similar pamphlet is projected on South Africa.

As a further means of building the YSA, the national committee agreed, there will be continued political collaboration with the Socialist Workers Party on both the national and local level. Joint efforts in promoting the Militant Forums and socialist bookstores will be stressed. And it was agreed that the YSA will energetically support the projected fall circulation drive of the Militant and its Spanish-language sister publication, Perspectiva Mundial.

To buttress its expansion plans, the committee decided to increase the size of its national staff and National Executive Committee and it also elected new officers.

Ellen Haywood was elected national secretary; Jackie Floyd and Laura Garza, national chairpeople; and Mark Curtis, national organization secretary.

The meeting dispatched a message to President Reagan and UN Ambassador Vernon Walters scoring Washington's support to the reactionary South African apartheid regime. The message pledged continuing YSA support to "the Black majority's struggle for a free and democratic South Africa."

'Freedom Charter' of South African struggle

We are reprinting below the "Freedom Charter." It was unanimously adopted at a "Congress of the People" held in Kliptown, near Johannesburg, on June 25-26, 1955.

The Congress was convened by the African National Congress (ANC), together with the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured Peoples' Organization, and the Congress of Democrats (an organization of whites supporting the liberation movement).

The congress was attended by 2,888 delegates from throughout South Africa.

The Charter was adopted by the four sponsoring organizations as their policy and became a manifesto of their struggle for freedom.

A year later, 156 leaders of these organizations were arrested and charged with treason. They were acquitted after a trial lasting more than four years:

In the wake of the massacre of scores of Black protesters in Sharpeville, the African National Congress was banned in 1960. Its principal leader at the time, Nelson Mandela, was imprisoned in 1962 and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964.

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to

 that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

 that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

• that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and op-

• that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we the people of South Africa, black and white together - equals, countrymen and brothers - adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes set out here have been won.

The people shall govern!

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

All 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, colour or sex;

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

All national groups shall have equal rights!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and na-

tional pride; The preaching and practice of national,

race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime; The people shall share in the country's

All apartheid laws and practices shall be

The people shall share in the country's

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and profes-



Struggle in South Africa has continued for generations. Above, 1952 meeting to launch "Defiance Campaign" against apartheid called by African National Congress. "Freedom Charter," adopted in 1955, remains manifesto of movement for a Free

The land shall be shared among those who work it!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

All shall be equal before the law!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any government official;

The courts shall be representative of all

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

All shall enjoy equal human rights!

The law shall guarantee to all their rights to speak, to organise, to meet together, to punish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province and from South Africa abroad;

Pass Laws, permits, and all other laws restricting these freedoms, shall be abolished.

There shall be work and security!

All who work shall be free to form unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers, and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

The doors of learning and of culture shall be opened!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach The privacy of the house from police . the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan:

Teachers shall have all the rights of other

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

There shall be houses, security and

All people shall have the rights to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort, and security;

Unused housing space shall be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, créches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettoes shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed;

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of nations:

There shall be peace and friendship!

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation - not

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates -Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland - shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The rights of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close cooperation;

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

"These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty!"

Greetings from ANC leader Mnumzana

Continued from Page 3

terday in the newspapers about the incredible rallies called on short notice in New York, in Washington, D.C., and in Atlanta. And we read that the rally in New York had the participation of over 30,000 people. The important thing is that it had the support of 50 or more trade unions and other organizations.

This is important because, and I'm sure you'll agree with me, the most stable basis on which you can lay any struggle is the working class, so long as that struggle is progressive.

This means that the solidarity movement in the United States is on the eve of coming into business proper. Another significant development is that alongside the unions there were also religious forces engaged in these rallies. This was in addition to students and to community based organizations. And the lesson, I think, that we want to point out here is that finally we have the ingredients for a united front against apartheid and we want to seize that opportunity and translate that possibility into a reality. The disappearance of sectarianism has the potential to unleash such tremendous energies for struggle, for revolution, for sol-

U.S. gov't enemy of U.S. people

The United States is interested in apartheid in South Africa, it's interested in reversing the revolutionary gains of the

people of Nicaragua, it's interested in propping up fascist regimes all over the world. Wherever the United States has got its fingers, it sees those areas as bases, not only against the local populations, but as bases which form that chain of encirclement around the American people. When the United States military-indus-

trial complex talks about the interests of the American people, they're not talking about your interests. They are talking about those interests which are a negation of your interests because your interests are inseparable from the interests of all people engaged in legitimate struggle for freedom, for peace, for progress. So here you have a handy battlefield on which you can meet and confront the forces of imperialism. Remember that U.S. foreign policy is nothing but a logical extension of its domestic policies. If the United States supports repressive regimes this is only because the United States is repressive towards its own population. So when we fight the United States in the so-called outposts on the periphery of imperialism, we are also fighting the United States on behalf of your freedom.

And every advance we make — be it in Asia, Africa, Latin America, even here in the United States - that advance is indivisible. It belongs to all of us in the same way that every reverse also belongs to all

The people of South Africa will live up to your expectations. They will execute their responsibility to freedom with the distinction those responsibilities deserve.

We have all the confidence in your commitment to the support of our struggle and in your ability to build up the struggle into a force which will play a decisive role in turning U.S. policy around, not only with respect to apartheid, but to all repressive regimes around the world.

The struggle continues. The victory is certain.

SOUTH AFRICA

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'Chances of victory against apartheid greater than ever'

Communiqué of ANC calls for unity

Some 250 delegates from all over the world participated in the Second National Consultative Conference of the African National Congress (ANC) in Zambia. The ANC is the organization leading the fight to destroy the apartheid system in South

The highlights and decisions of the June 16-23 conference were summarized in a communique presented by ANC President Oliver Tambo, June 25.

The communique included the message to the conference from ANC leaders imprisoned at Pollsmoor and Robben Island Prisons in South Africa. It was signed by Nelson Mandela who has been in prison since 1962. In the message, Mandela expressed the ANC leaders' confidence that out of the Conference the ANC will emerge far stronger than ever before.' "Unity," the message continued, "is the rock on which the African National Congress was founded; it is the principle which has guided us down the years as we feel our way forward."

Among the decisions summarized in the communique was the election of the central leadership of the ANC, the National Executive Committee, by the conference. This body was expanded from 22 to 30 members. The new leadership includes a white, two Indians, and two Coloureds (those of mixed ancestry).

The conference, organized on the theme "From the Venue of the Conference to Victory," agreed on the measures needed to be taken to overthrow the apartheid regime.

These measures are summarized in the communique in the form of "guidelines for future progress." Reprinted below is the section of the communique on these guidelines.

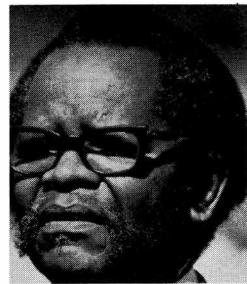
Our Conference agreed unanimously that the Botha Regime is still determined to defend the apartheid system of white minority rule by force of arms. Accordingly, it agreed that there was no reason for us to change our broad strategy, which pursues the aim of seizure of power by the people through a combination of mass political action and armed struggle

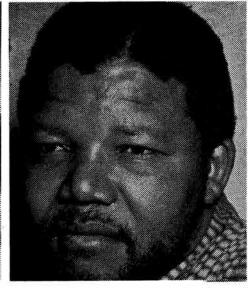
It however agreed that the possibility of victory was greater now than at any other time in our history. This requires that we should step up our all-round political and military offensive sharply and without delay. The masses of our people have been and are engaged in a struggle of historic importance directed at making apartheid unworkable and the country ungovernable. They are creating the conditions for the escalation of our attack leading towards the situation where it will be possible for us to overthrow the apartheid regime.

The delegates agreed that it was vital that we take all necessary measures further to strengthen the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation, military wing of the ANC] inside of our country exactly to meet the demands of our people and our situation for a heightened and co-ordinated political and military offensive.

The Conference also resolved that we cannot even consider the issue of a negotiated settlement of the South African question while our leaders are in prison. It agreed that we should continue with the campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of these leaders.

In the situation which obtains within the country in which the crisis of the apartheid system has become endemic, Conference agreed that the Freedom Charter [program of the ANC] provides the basis for the satisfaction of the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of our people. In this regard, the participants agreed that it was important that we should win as many whites as possible to our side. We should





ANC President Oliver Tambo (left) and Nelson Mandela, ANC leader imprisoned

also adhere to our opposition to and our struggle against the Bantustans [rural reserves for African majority] as well as the apartheid tricameral parliament [result of 1984 act that created separate powerless houses for Coloureds and Indians along with a third house for ruling whites] and related institutions. We must continue to pose the alternative of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The Conference endorsed the view advanced by our imprisoned leaders about the importance of unity. In a Call to our people inside the country, the delegates said: "Those of us who are true liberators should not fight among ourselves. Let us not allow the enemy's dirty tricks department to succeed in getting us to fight one another."

Conference noted and paid tribute to the contribution that the United Democratic Front [an anti-apartheid coalition of some 600 organizations] has made towards the strengthening of the unity of the democrat-

ic forces of our country and condemned the arrest and prosecution of its leaders and ac-

The participants also agreed that this unity must find expression in the mass activity of all our people against the apartheid regime. Consequently, it is important that all our people should be organised and mobilised, in the towns and the countryside, including those in the Bantustans. The black workers are of special importance in this regard and are, as we have said before, the backbone and leading force in our struggle for national liberation.

Conference also assessed the international situation. It agreed that we should further expand our system of international relations and reach out even to regions, countries and governments with which we might not have had contact before. It urged the international community to "declare the apartheid white minority regime illegiti-

U.S. govt., media smear anti-apartheid struggle

Continued from front page

this function, they earned the hatred of the

The racist propaganda campaign reached a high point with the massive distortion of the events that took place in Durban and the surrounding townships during the week of August 5. In the media here, this was portrayed as a massive pogrom by Africans against Indians.

The Indian community in South Africa; however, is part of the oppressed Black majority. Like Africans and Coloureds (those of mixed ancestry), they have no say in the government. Blacks cannot elect a government of their choice.

The divisions in the Black population reflect the fact that a free South African nation — uniting different tribal, regional, and language groups — still must be forged. This will only be possible with the end of white minority rule.

The apartheid regime, as part of its divide-and-rule policy, seeks to maintain

these divisions in the Black population by granting some modest concessions to a section of that population - Indians and Coloureds. The big business media plays up these divisions as well. The aim is to falsely show the world that Blacks can't run their own country because they fight amongst themselves.

What really happened in Durban?

Out of the 68 people who died in the violence in the Durban area, 66 were Black. What occurred was not a pogrom against Indians, but a pogrom against the antiapartheid movement. The bloodbath was carried out by regular government troops and cops and by paramilitary forces linked to the "homeland" administration of KwaZulu, which includes some of the Black townships around Durban.

The Reagan administration took advantage of the confusion spread by the media about the Durban events to come out more explicitly in opposition to the whole antiapartheid movement, including openly attacking Bishop Desmond Tutu.

Until recently, the U.S. government pretended to sympathize with Tutu. Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker even tried to justify the administration's policy of supporting the South African regime by claiming that anything else "would be a betrayal of such men of peace as Bishop Desmond Tutu.

The U.S. government also sought to drive a wedge into the broad array of forces that have united to oppose apartheid by portraying the issue in South Africa as not for or against apartheid, but for or against violence by the oppressed. (The government's violence meets no objection from Washington.)

Tutu is an advocate of nonviolent civil disobedience as the way to end apartheid.

Washington dropped the mask of support for Tutu August 19, when the White House publicly criticized him for refusing to participate in a delegation of religious figures that met with Botha.

Tutu pointed out that Botha has insisted that he repudiate civil disobedience against apartheid as the price of a meeting.

Tutu has become increasingly critical of Washington's refusal to break with apartheid. In the wake of Botha's August 15 defense of apartheid, the August 17 New York Times reported that Tutu charged that "Mr. Botha would be supported by President Reagan, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany 'because they have made it quite clear that Blacks in their view are expendable.

Tutu said that Botha's determination to preserve the foundations of apartheid meant that the chances for peaceful change were "virtually nil." McFarlane has demanded that Black leaders negotiate with the apartheid regime on the basis of Botha's vague promises to reform — but not eliminate — the system. Tutu and other opponents of apartheid demand that the system be completely dismantled.

Tutu also denounced lies in Botha's speech about the outlawed African National Congress (ANC). Botha's description of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela as a man bent on "violence and destruction" was "almost unforgivable," Tutu said.

According to the Times, Tutu pointed out that "the African National Congress had sought to use peaceful means to change the unjust structures of apartheid before it was banned."

Reagan targets federal affirmative action

Continued from front page

executive order, the Labor Department adopted regulations that do require many contractors to implement goals and timetables. The executive order was also amended in 1968 to include women.

At the very heart of affirmative action is the idea of preferential hiring of victims of past discrimination in order to make up for decades of gross discrimination by the employers. And the use of quotas and timetables is essential to begin to do this.

The new draft order would completely wipe out any government support or demands for affirmative action and would specifically outlaw the use of quotas and timetables as a remedy for past discrimina-

The draft order says, "Nothing in this executive order shall be interpreted to require or to provide a legal basis for a Government contractor or subcontractor to utilize any numerical goal, quota or ratio, or otherwise to discriminate against, or grant any preference to, any individual or group on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin with respect to any aspect of employment...."

tary of Labor to "immediately revoke all acts that ignore history . . . regulations and guidelines that were adopted to enforce the 1965 Executive Order No. 11246 if they require or provide a legal basis for government contractors to use numerical goals, quotas, or "prefer-

The draft order would also prohibit the use of statistical evidence that is used to watchdog employers' by measuring the hiring and promotion of Blacks, other oppressed nationalities, and women in rough proportion to their numbers in a given labor market.

The depth of opposition to the Reagan order has already led some government officials to back off. And there is disagreement in ruling class circles.

The New York Times, for example, in an August 19 editorial entitled, "Leave Affirmative Action Alone," warned the Reagan Administration against going too far. "This reversal would not only roll back the clock on civil rights, but break it," the

Pointing out that "[M]ost employers have now accepted the affirmative action rules ..." the Times calls the proposed

The new draft order calls on the Secre- order "the latest in a series of retrogressive

This divided opinion was echoed by some of the employers' organizations. While the Chamber of Commerce of the United States hailed the proposed order, other bosses' organizations disagreed. James F. Conway, for example, of the National Association of Manufacturers, a trade association representing 13,600 companies, said his group has learned to live with affirmative action, including goals and timetables.

Even some White House officials said that it is not a foregone conclusion that Reagan will sign the Executive Order. They stated that the Reagan Administration is itself divided on the question and that Labor Department officials, including Secretary of Labor Bill Brock, are hesitant about moving ahead with it.

These divisions reflect the deep opposition among working people to attempts to reverse the rights won through decades of struggle by labor, Blacks, and women above all the massive battles of the civil rights movement. These rights can't be taken away without a big fight. But each challenge must be met and fought.

Blacks fight for land, rights, liberation

Continued from front page

working people with the struggle of their Black brothers and sisters for basic democratic rights and a decent standard of living.

The recent wave of strikes, demonstrations, rallies, boycotts, and other protest actions in South Africa—the largest and most sustained mobilizations by the Black majority in decades—have inspired miners, steelworkers, auto workers, rail workers, farmers, students, antiracist fighters, religious figures, movie stars, elected officials; and others to take to the streets to demand "Break all U.S. ties with apartheid!"

Why has South Africa, more than any other state in the world, become such a target of protests; a pariah, the outlaw nation of the world?

The answer can be summed up in one word: apartheid.

What is apartheid?

. Apartheid is a political system that is based on the legal, institutionalized segregation and oppression of the vast, laboring majority — Blacks — by South Africa's white minority, which numbers less than 5 million. The Black population includes 24 million Africans, 3 million Coloureds (of mixed ancestry), and almost 1 million Indians.

South Africa is officially a white supremacist state it openly proclaims itself a government of the white race. It doesn't even pretend to represent all the inhabitants of the territory.

Apartheid was established through the violent expropriation of the Africans' land by White European settlers. Despite the Africans' struggle to hang on to their land, the country was forcibly divided into "Native Areas," which today comprise 13.7 percent of the land area, and the rest of the country, which is reserved for whites.

The African majority is segregated into tiny, impoverished rural reservations, called Bantustans. Other Africans live in squalid Black townships around the big cities, or in wretched settlements on white-owned farms.

Without their land to cultivate, the Africans were left with only their ability to work — their labor power — which they are forced to sell to the white capitalists, who make fabulous profits from Black labor.

In order for this minority to defend its rule over the majority, it utilizes the cops, the courts, the legislatures — its entire state apparatus — to keep the Black majority down.

Blacks have no right to elect a government that represents them. Their ability to travel and work is very restricted. Post offices, railway stations, trains, bridges, buses, slchools, and other facilities are segregated. And the law permits inferior facilities for Blacks. High rates of hunger, disease, illiteracy, and unemployment stalk Black communities.

This contrasts sharply with the affluence of white areas.

The status of Blacks as foreigners in the country of their birth is perhaps best epitomized by the hated pass law system. Every African over the age of 16 is required to carry an internal passport at all times.

Hundreds of Africans are arrested each day for violations of the complex pass laws.

Through the structure of apartheid, Black workers are kept impoverished and their pariah status maintained. Black workers cannot choose where they work or where they live. Their only "right" is to labor for the enrichment of their employers.

There is a contradiction, however — a time bomb — built into the apartheid system that is haunting the white capitalist rulers today.

The base of South African capitalism is Black labor. Eight million Black workers produce the wealth that has made South Africa the industrialized, imperialist power that it is today.

Because of the white employers' need for a concentrated labor force that is plentiful, and increasingly skilled, to run the mines and factories, Blacks have become more and more urbanized. This is despite apartheid's best efforts to keep Africans a migrant, Bantustan-based labor

Their large concentration in urban areas has broken down many of the tribal, language, and regional differences among Africans that are key to the white rulers' strategy of divide-and-rule.

The Coloureds and Indians have been drawn into a much closer alliance with Africans as well.

Hundreds of thousands of Black workers now belong to independent unions that have been organized in virtually every key industry. They have repeatedly gone on strike for higher wages and union recognition, and they have protested police repression and apartheid laws.

As a result of their struggle, many employers have been forced to recognize some of these unions, and the government has been compelled to acknowledge the right of Black workers to legally organize.

Thus, it was the development of South African capitalism itself, with its racist apartheid structure, that created the conditions for Black workers to move to the center of the Black freedom struggle.

What are Blacks fighting for in South Africa?



It is a fight for national liberation being waged by the vast majority against a small, isolated minority.

It's a revolutionary struggle because the apartheid state and the apartheid social system are so intertwined that only a change on the scale of a revolution — the overthrow of the current state power — can put an end to this violent, brutal system.

And it is a democratic struggle.

First and foremost, it is a fight for *land*, a struggle by the majority to get back the land that was stolen from them through force and violence over a period of decades. The program put forward by the African National Congress and other groups fighting against apartheid — known as the Freedom Charter — demands:

"The land shall be shared among those who work it!

"Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger." (The entire charter is reprinted on page 4.)

The struggle against apartheid is also a fight for free labor. The Freedom Charter demands, "All who work shall be free to form unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers." It is a fight so that "men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work."

The South African revolution is a fight for democracy and equality; for one person, one vote; for equal rights for all, regardless of race, color, or sex; for minority rule to be replaced by rule of the majority. It's a fight to abolish pass laws and all other restrictions on the right to travel. It's a fight for everyone to be able to live where they choose, for equal education and medical care, and for human dignity.

South Africa doesn't exist as a nation today. There is the armed state power of the ruling white minority, and there is the impoverished, oppressed Black majority. Blacks are fighting to open the door to uniting and developing their country, their *entire* country.

But the forging of a South African nation from the various tribal, regional, and language groups can never happen while apartheid reigns.

The African National Congress has emerged out of this decades-long struggle as the leading force fighting for the national democratic revolution. It has earned its place as the legitimate representative of the aspirations of the oppressed Black majority and all those — of whatever race — who want to see an end to apartheid. More and more workers, youth, and women — Africans, Coloureds, Indians, and whites — are being attracted to the ANC.

The revolutionary democratic program of the ANC deserves the support of every working person, every democrat, everyone who believes in social justice.

By playing a central role in leading the freedom struggle, the ANC has truly won the right to speak for South Africa — the South Africa of the laboring Black majority — before the United Nations, before the working people of this country, and before the entire world.

Nelson Mandela, a central leader of the ANC, has been jailed by the apartheid regime for 23 years because of his uncompromising fight for land, equality, and national liberation. He has become an international symbol of the revolutionary democratic struggle in South Africa, and supporters of social justice everywhere are demanding, "Free Nelson Mandela."

What happens in South Africa is of the utmost importance to the entire world.

The South African imperialists play the role of regional cop in Africa, collaborating with Washington, Paris, London, and other imperialist powers against the oppressed and exploited people of the entire continent. South Africa is the source of constant military aggression and economic and political pressure against its Blackruled neighbors. And South Africa's rulers profit from their economic exploitation of Black Africa. Thus, the racist South African state plays a key role in the imperialist system. Imperialist powers the world over un-

derstand the high stakes in this struggle between ruler and ruled, and are deeply concerned about its outcome.

For the oppressed and exploited of the world, on the other hand, the struggle of the Black majority is an invaluable aid and inspiration.

For the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean — who are today on the front lines of the struggle against U.S. imperialism — the escalation of the struggle in the land of apartheid means a weakening of the common enemy. It means Washington is forced to divert some of its attention and resources from Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Cuba in order to protect its political and economic interests in southern Africa.

For the inhabitants of the independent countries that border South Africa — especially Mozambique and Angola — the struggle of the Black majority is decisive for defending and advancing their own countries.

In fact, the struggle of Blacks in South Africa is putting wind in the sails of progressive forces the world over and dealing a blow to reactionaries everywhere.

Working people in the United States have the biggest responsibility and the biggest opportunity of all to aid the fight against apartheid. Because apartheid's staunchest defenders are right here — in Washington and on Wall Street. The fight to break all U.S. ties with apartheid is central to the fight for Black majority rule in South Africa.

U.S. businessmen have huge investments in South Africa. They reap superprofits from apartheid's oppression of Black workers.

These corporations also have a direct hand in the repression the regime metes out to all who dare oppose it, supplying computers, arms, and other equipment to the South African army and police.

And it was only with Washington's aid that South Africa was able to develop a nuclear capacity, and therefore become a nuclear threat to freedom struggles in Africa.

Washington provides South Africa political backing and support internationally, including vetoing UN resolutions condemning apartheid.

While chastising the South African government for not acting effectively enough to head off today's escalating rebellion, Washington refuses to carry out the will of the people of the United States, who are increasingly demanding a boycott of South Africa.

West Coast dockworkers who refuse to unload South African goods; university students who demand divestment of funds in companies doing business in South Africa; actors who refuse to perform in the racist capital of the world; fighters of all types who demand that South Africa's consulates be closed — all are part of the fight to break the ties.

Protests of all kinds are occurring daily around the country. With schools opening in a few weeks, the fight for divestment will take on renewed vigor. And many organizations are planning protests on October 11.

Now is the time for all unionists; working farmers; fighters for the rights of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, Asian-Americans, immigrant workers, and women; students; antiwar activists; and everyone who supports human rights and opposes racism to be part of this movement and demand:

• End U.S. corporate and banking investment in South Africa! Divest now!

 No more trade with South Africa! Boycott South African goods! No to the Krugerrand!

No U.S. military aid — overt or covert — to South Africa!
Close South Africa's embassies and consulates! No

- U.S. diplomatic relations with the archracists in Pretoria!
 End all scientific, cultural, sporting, and other ties with South Africa!
 - Free Nelson Mandela! Free all political prisoners!
- Boycott South Africa!
- Down with apartheid!
- For a free South Africa!

THE GREAT SOCIETY

Good question — "Is Now the Time to Start Selling Krugerrands?" - Wall Street Journal headline.

Only if it's cheaper — "Chemical companies don't deliberately



do things in an unsafe manner." -Ian Swift, a chemical researcher commenting on the latest leak at Union Carbide's W. Virginia

Neat, fat and white OK -Washington state Latinos won a court challenge against Immigration agents who were persistently stopping cars in a farm area if the passengers seemed to have a "Hispanic appearance," a "lean and hungry look," and a "dirty, unkempt" appearance.

Almost atheistic - Noting the Holy Father's advanced social outlook, a Papal PR person pointed to the fact that two of the 32 couples His Holiness married in Kenya were carrying their children.

Subversive suggestion — A letter-writer to the Portland Oregonian wonders if the banks which were swindled by E.F. Hutton's check-kiting scheme will

charge the brokerage company \$10 for each overdraft like they do for regular customers.

How concerned can you get? - The Boston Herald offered three days free want ads to workers laid off at General Dynamics Ouincy plant.

No appreciation — An embarrassed Pentagon now says it got conned into flying Rep. Bill Alexander (D-Ark.) and a party of seven to Brazil in a DC-9 at a cost of \$25,410. But, obviously concerned with saving taxpayers money, the good solon made the trip to check out Brazil's system for making fuel from alcohol.

And lectures on alienation -A Japanese supermarket boasts During the energy "crisis" of the

shopping carts with built-in calculators to give you a running tally. A motorized cart weaves through the aisles with samples of daily specials while playing a jingle and giving a sales pitch. At the deli counter, customers punch instructions into a machine that slices, weighs and wraps. But at the checkout, humans still handle the cash.

Supertrim — At least 98 Minnesotans were made ill by ground beef containing an excess of thyroid glands. A health official said too much of the stuff got into the "trimmings" used to make hamburger.

A slip of the cash register -

70's, gasoline prices shot up with every increase in the price of crude oil. But, since last winter, crude prices have dropped \$2 a barrel while pump prices jumped a dime. Explained an industry analyst: "An aberration."

Insist on Mack the Knife — If Republic Health Corp. advertising works, you'll be demanding name brand surgery when you check into the hospital. The company is licensing and advertising such procedures as, "You're Becoming" (plastic surgery), "Gift of Sight" (cataracts), and "Miracle Moments" (maternity). A company exec likens the effort to the way Procter & Gamble peddles Ivory

Actions across country demand: 'Free South Africa'

Continued from Page 8

Thousands protest in D.C.

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — In a spirited midday anti-apartheid action, thousands of people marched down Constitution Avenue to the State Department here on August 12. There was a single, ringing chant, "Freedom yes, apartheid no.

The protest was organized on a few days' notice by the Free South Africa Movement and the Southern Africa Support Project as a "national day of mourning for the Black people of South Africa." It was called in response to the state of emergency put in effect July 18 by the racist Pretoria regime.

People began to gather before noon near the Washington monument. By 12:30 p.m. the crowd had swelled to several thousand.

Signs and banners identified churches, religious-oriented groups, Central America solidarity organizations, and several trade unions. This included the American Federation of Government Employees, the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, United Food and Commercial Workers, Service Employees International Union, International Association of Machinists, and International Union of Electronic Workers.

There was a short send-off rally before the march to the State Department. Randall Robinson, leader of the Free South Africa Movement, told the crowd that with the state of emergency in South Africa the murder of Black Freedom fighters is step-

"We march," he continued, "so that no longer will 22 million of our people be landless, rightless, voteless, and oppressed with American support.'

Washington, D.C. Congressman Walter Fauntroy and Mayor Marion Barry also spoke.

A number of Black rights' figures, elected officials, entertainers, and other prominent individuals led the march to the State Department. These included Robinson, Fauntroy, Barry, Harry Belafonte, Coretta Scott King, Dick Gregory, NAACP Director Benjamin Hooks, Southern Christian Leadership Conference leader Joseph Lowery, Jesse Jackson, New York Mayor Edward Koch, and actors Paul Newman and Tony Randall.

At the State Department, 50 coffins symbolizing the thousands killed in the fight against the apartheid system were delivered to the government.

NOW hits apartheid

BY MARILEE TAYLOR

LOS ANGELES - Strong sentiment against South Africa's apartheid system was evident at the California State National Organization for Women (NOW) Conference held in Los Angeles August 16-18. Most of the 350 women in attendance wore red ribbons as a symbol of their opposition to the apartheid regime.

A resolution condemning apartheid, which came out of a "Women Working for Peace" workshop, was one of four resolutions discussed and voted on at the plenary. After discussing and amending the resolution, the NOW members voted unanimously to approve it. It reads:

"WHEREAS California NOW affirms human rights and self-determination;

"WHEREAS California NOW opposes racism and sexism and all exploitative practices here and worldwide;

"RESOLVED: that California NOW condemns apartheid as a violation of individual rights, human dignity and self-determination;

"RESOLVED: that California NOW supports the California marches and rallies sponsored by the Bay Area Free South Africa Movement and the Free South Africa Movement of Southern California planned in opposition to apartheid October 11 and

Chicago: Hundreds picket

BY JOHN VOTAVA

CHICAGO - For the second consecutive Saturday, PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity) organized a picket line here in front of the South African consulate. Both weeks the picket line was organized directly from their early morning meetings.

These meetings usually start about nine in the morning and end around 11:30 a.m. But on July 27 and August 3, led by Jesse Jackson, all PUSH members were encouraged to go straight from the PUSH headquarters to the consulate for a 1:00 p.m. picket. The first week 250 people attended. The second week about 150 attended.

Ortega: 'Sandinista Front forged in battle'

Continued from Page 8

also meet in extraordinary session as needed to take up particular topics. The National Directorate appointed 105 full and alternate members to the assembly.

The national departments of the party were in some cases revised as well. There are now seven, dealing with such areas as Political Education, International Relations, Agitation and Propaganda, and Finances. These bodies report to the new Executive Committee.

The work of the party will be organized throughout the country by new Regional committees, which will work with the existing Local committees. These in turn coordinate the work of the Base committees, which are the branches of the party.

The goal of the new organizational measures is to "strengthen the Vanguard character of the FSLN" and its "political

This series of organizational changes sets the stage for future improvements in the base committees. The National Directorate statement announcing the measures stresses that "the base committees will continue to be the primary structures of the FSLN. But it states frankly that the base committees have been uneven in functioning, structure, and membership. "We will move ahead to review this," the document says, "and correct it wherever necessary."

The party must strive, the leadership said, "to strengthen the participation of the ranks in working out the program, and in evaluating and learning from practical experience.

At the same time, it must "strengthen the mechanisms of party education that guarantee for us a constant struggle against lifestyles and work habits that set us apart from the masses." Ortega took up this theme in his speech. The Sandinista Front will be strengthened, he said, to "the degree that it is led by the people.

This increased involvement of the masses of working people in the revolution was also the theme of the celebration of the

sixth anniversary of the FSLN's newspaper, Barricada.

Speaking to the Barricada staff at the July 27 commemorative event, Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce said that Barricada should increasingly become a party organ, faithfully reflecting the FSLN's positions. In particular, he stressed, the paper should not merely expose the problems confronting the country, but must present the party's solutions to

"Barricada cannot become an organ that transmits anxiety and a feeling of anarchy. It must present the answers we are giving to the problems," Arce explained. If the FSLN has not yet presented a solution, he said, Barricada should propose one.

Arce reported that the paper had reached an average daily circulation of 100,000 copies, making it the most widely distributed newspaper in the country. Of these, 48 percent are sold in the capital city of Managua, and 52 percent in the outlying regions.

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THEMILITANT

Free South Africa, free Mandela!

Actions protest apartheid: 30,000 march and rally in N.Y.

BY RASHAAD ALI

Responding to an emergency appeal issued by more than 50 trade unions and community organizations to demonstrate against the racist South African apartheid regime, 30,000 people rallied in New York at Nelson and Winnie Mandela Corner August 13.

The mainly Black and union protesters marched from Mandela Corner, which is across the street from United Nations Plaza, through midtown Manhattan to the U.S. Mission to the UN and South African Consulate chanting "Death to apartheid; free Mandela."

The participants came demanding an end to South Africa's state of emergency, an end to U.S. economic and political support to Pretoria, for divestment by U.S. corporations and banks doing business in South Africa, and for freedom for African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners.

The protesters were led by many of New York's top labor officials. At the head of the demonstration was Harry Van Arsdale, president of the New York Central Labor Council, and Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65 of the United Auto Workers (UAW).

Robinson had initiated and pulled together the coalition of unions and community organizations that organized the protest. Other prominent protesters included noted entertainer Harry Belafonte and former tennis star Arthur Ashe.

Trade unionists included members of the UAW; Teamsters; American Federation of Teachers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Service Employees International Union; hospital workers organized by District 1199; International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Transport Workers Union; Coalition of Labor Union Women; and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

The Urban League, the New York branch of the NAACP, the National Congress of Puerto Rican Rights, the National Council of Churches, Asian-Americans for Equality, American Jewish Congress, and other community and peace organizations were visible. Students from Columbia University and Harvard were also present.

David Ndaba, speaking for the African National Congress, told the crowd at the pre-march rally at Mandela Corner, "Your efforts will never be in vain." He stated that "Apartheid cannot be reformed. It must be totally destroyed."

David Livingston, president of UAW District 65, said, "Many important people have spoken out and been arrested [at the South African Consulate]; now it's up to us ... to say that apartheid must be destroyed." Harry Belafonte added, "We're here to tell Reagan we're going to bury apartheid and racism."

Harriet Michel, president of the New York Urban League, told the protesters, "When we march up First Avenue let the sound of thousands of feet be the drumbeat to send our message to South Africa."

Cleveland Robinson closed the rally urging continued support for the Black trade unions in South Africa and added, "Working people must be in the forefront of the protest against the current state of emergency."

2,000 march in Atlanta

BY JIM BLACK

ATLANTA — Carrying signs calling for freedom and justice for South Africa, 2,000 members of the nation's oldest Black fraternity, Alpha Phi Alpha, held a march and rally against apartheid here August 11.

In a speech before the march, Atlanta mayor Andrew Young encouraged those attending the fraternity's national convention to work politically to help bring about change in South Africa. Mayor Young compared the Jim Crow forms of segrega-



Amsterdam News

Tens of thousands marching against apartheid in New York City. Majority of protesters were Black and union members.

tion overturned by the civil rights movement to the system of apartheid in South Africa

He then led the Alpha members on a spirited march to the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change where Coretta Scott King told the marchers, "We must do all we can to eliminate a system Martin called a form of classical racism."

Alpha General President Charles C. Teamer told the rally that, "Martin Luther King, Jr. first brought forth the idea that no one is free until we all are free. The men of Alpha Phi Alpha pledge that they will not stop marching, will not stop working, will not stop fighting until every person in this world is free."

Alpha Phi Alpha was founded in 1906 by six Cornell University students as a result of segregation in college campuses. Its alumni have included Mayor Young, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Dr. W.E.B. DuBois.

Continued on Page 7

'Sandinista Front forged in battle'

BY BILL GRETTER

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), the party that led the July 1979 revolution here, is reorganizing and strengthening itself

In a public speech at the closing session of the Sandinista Assembly on August 3, President Daniel Ortega described the development of the party as "the historic response" of those struggling "for the great social transformations that would free the Nicaraguan workers from the yoke of capitalist exploitation and oppression."

The party's history goes back to the struggle led by Augusto César Sandino 50 years ago to drive the U.S. Marines out of Nicaragua. "We inherited the Historic Program" of Sandino, he said, "and we enriched it with international revolutionary theory and experience."

"Simón Bolívar and Karl Marx became, together with Sandino," the inspiration "for the new generations of Sandinistas."

"Our party did not proclaim itself into existence," Ortega emphasized. It was "forged in the guerrilla fronts, in demonstrations and rallies, in prisons, in torture, and in daily battle."

The FSLN led the people of Nicaragua to victory against the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza in 1979, "destroying capitalist and imperialist domination and expelling it from Nicaragua."

Now the Front faces new challenges in a very different situation. "We used to be underground cells and guerrilla squads," said Ortega, contrasting the tasks of the past to those of the present. "Today we are the power of the workers and peasants, the power of the people."

Ortega devoted considerable attention to the military situation, saying that imperialism and the counterrevolution are beginning to suffer a strategic defeat. He called Washington's response "desperate." He repeatedly condemned the U.S. Congress for approving \$27 million in funds for the terrorists.

Soberly evaluating the difficulties facing the country, Ortega said: "We are engaged in a merciless war, facing an enemy who is determined to destroy our revolutionary process."

He explained that the development of the party is linked to the advance of the revolutionary process. "Today, enriched by experience, we are adopting new structures which are the fruit of the reality of our daily confrontation with yankee imperialism," he said

With the new organizational moves, the FSLN plans to achieve "more ideological unity, more political unity, more action, more organization in meeting the goals projected by the vanguard.

"To defeat the enemy," said Ortega, "the Sandinista Front must be more and more solidly structured."

Under the new plan the National Directorate (DN) will remain the party's highest decision-making body, and its functioning will be strengthened. The nine Commanders of the Revolution who make up the DN are: Bayardo Arce, Tomás Borge, Luis Carrión, Carlos Núñez, Daniel Ortega, Humberto Ortega, Henry Ruiz, Víctor Tirado, and Jaime Wheelock.

The central element of the FSLN's new organizational structure is an Executive Committee composed of five members of the National Directorate. The Executive Committee will implement the decisions of the party's leadership; it will not set policy.

Daniel Ortega, President of the Republic, will be the coordinator of the Executive Committee. Its vice-coordinator will be Bayardo Arce, who will also continue to coordinate the work of the National Directorate. The other members are: Humberto Ortega, Minister of Defense; Tomás Borge, head of the Ministry of the Interior, which has jurisdiction over the Sandinista Police, state security and intelligence, and special combat units; and Jaime Wheelock, Minister of Agricultural Development.

The new Executive Committee replaces the three-member Political Commission of the DN.

The Sandinista Assembly will continue to function as before. This consultative body has no day-to-day organizational duties. It serves to advise the National Directorate.

The Sandinista Assembly will hold a regular meeting once each year, to draw up a balance sheet of the party's work. It will Continued on Page 7

Wheeling-Pitt strike gains support

BY MARK WEDDLETON

PITTSBURGH — The AFL-CIO Executive Council, meeting here August 15, adopted a resolution strongly backing the members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) who are on strike against Wheeling Pittsburgh Steel Corporation. The unanimously adopted resolution "condemns the actions of Wheeling Pittsburgh in abrogating its collective bargaining agreement with the USWA and in unilaterally slashing wages and benefits of its employees."

The 8,200 workers were forced out on strike at the Wheeling Pittsburgh Steel Corporation on June 21 after the company tore up its contract with the USWA and attempted to impose massive paycuts and other takebacks. The workers are standing firm and winning new support.

On Tuesday, August 13, 400 USWA members from Wheeling Pittsburgh's Monessen, Allenport, and Steubenville plants carried out mass picketing at the Monessen mill. The action came in response to the crossing of the picket line by two USWA-organized clerks the previous day. The clerks have not scabbed since the protest.

Art Harris, vice-president of USWA Local 1187 at the Allenport plant, said the mass picket lines were "to show our unity and solidarity and to show we aren't going to put up with any scabs going to work."

Following a company attempt to get a court injunction against the mass picket line, the union leadership and Wheeling Pittsburgh management reached an agreement to limit the number of pickets in the future.

The support for these embattled unionists has been demonstrated by many other workers joining the picket line. This included seven members of Britain's National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) who were visiting the area. The British miners were accompanied on the August 17 visit to the Monessen plant by members of the United Mineworkers union. Some German Metalworkers also stopped by the picket

USWA spokesperson Dick Fontana said that contributions for the Wheeling Pittsburgh steelworkers and messages of support should be sent to: USWA Strike Fund, USWA International Headquarters, 5 Gateway Center, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.