

Apartheid rulers murder more antiracist fighters

BY FRED FELDMAN

The apartheid system in South Africa took at least five more Black lives October 8. The next day two more deaths were reported.

Well over 750 Blacks have been killed as the racist regime has tried to crush a popular revolt against white supremacy and minority rule. And the toll is rising every day.

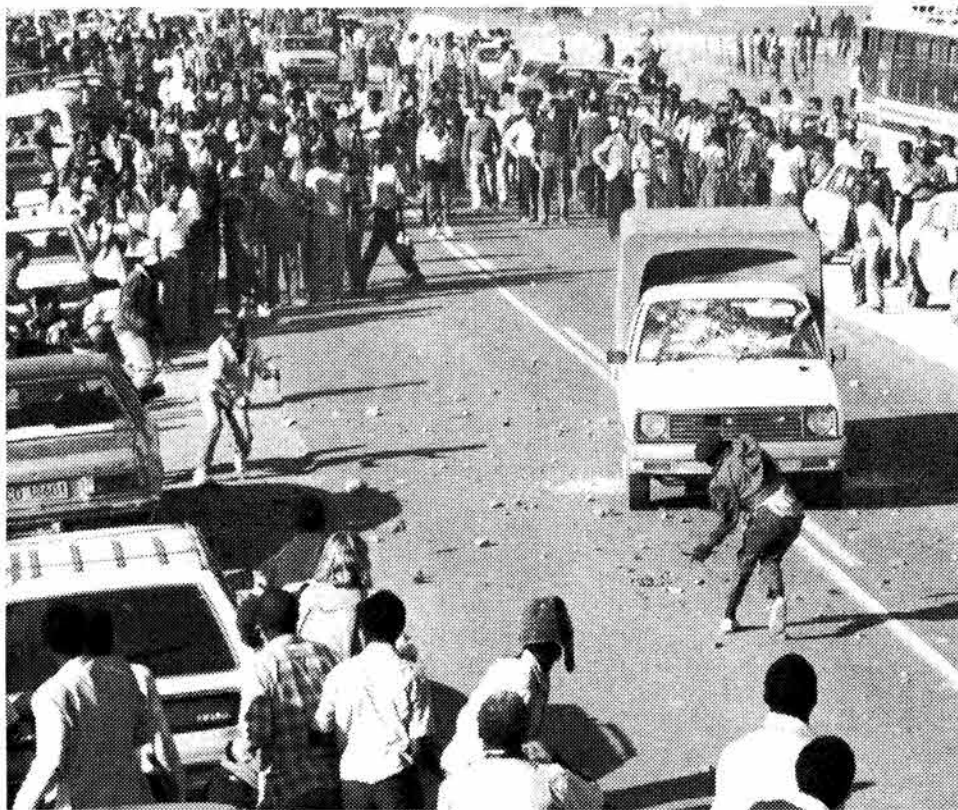
Despite the slaughter, and the jailing and beating of thousands by cops, Blacks refuse to bow to a system that makes them outlaws in their own country.

On October 9, hundreds of thousands of Blacks and whites participated in a nationwide day of church meetings and other anti-apartheid protests.

The action was called by 400 church leaders from 48 Christian denominations as a day of prayer to "repent for the national sin of apartheid." They demanded the release of political prisoners and an end to the state of emergency imposed by the regime of President Pieter Botha.

The call was a reflection of the growing breadth of opposition to apartheid. The United Democratic Front, the coalition of 600 anti-apartheid organizations that has organized many protests, called it a step "to help remove ignorance of events in South Africa and prepare people for living in a changed and totally nonracial land."

Under pressure from the massive Black struggle, many businesses gave time off for workers to participate in the day's events. Thousands of workers refused to go to work. Bus and train companies reported the number of riders was down by 40 percent in Johannesburg, and 40 to 50 percent in Durban.



South Africa's Black majority is not bowing to racist terror. Black youth stone army truck during funeral protest.

Black youths staged sizable protests in Soweto and other Black townships. Most high schools in Black townships around Cape Town were closed as students boycotted classes.

The apartheid regime is clamping down on news about the struggle. And the big-business media in the United States has gone along. When the protests and the brutal repression are mentioned, they are

now usually relegated to a few lines on the inside pages of the papers.

The U.S. rulers seek to convey the impression that the apartheid regime is changing for the better under the impact of Reagan's minimal sanctions — scheduled to take effect October 11.

But South Africa's rulers are killing more and more Blacks to preserve a racist system that has meant big profits for South African, U.S., and other corporations.

The partial news blackout makes the U.S. movement in solidarity with the people of South Africa more important than ever.

This movement, through its educational activities and highly visible protests, like the ones occurring October 11, is the main way the truth about South Africa is becoming known here.

The anti-apartheid movement in this country is stepping up the pressure on the U.S. government, corporations, universities, and other institutions to break all ties with apartheid.

'Fight racism, apartheid' González tells students

BY CAPPY KIDD

BROOKLYN, N.Y. — "The fight against U.S. support for apartheid in South Africa is part of the fight against racist attacks at home." That's what Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, told 300 students at John Jay High School here.

González, along with representatives of the Democratic, Republican, and People Before Profits parties, participated in pre-election forums before three assemblies October 3.

González drew applause when she told the students that "New York City is really two cities — the Big Apple we read about in *People* magazine and the rotten apple we live in. The city government," she said, "represents the minority of people who live in the Big Apple. It isn't our government."

"How can it be our government," González asked to applause, "when Democratic Mayor Edward Koch cheers racist vigilante Bernhard Goetz for shooting four Blacks in a subway and calls Blacks and Puerto Ricans animals?"

During a question-and-answer period, one young man asked why there was no housing for the poor. González responded that "the city government gave billions in tax breaks to developers to gentrify our neighborhoods — forcing us to the outskirts of the city."

Responding to the Republican Party's claim that the city's weak rent control laws were driving landlords out of business and thereby causing homelessness, González

said, "You know your landlord isn't poor. You know your landlord doesn't live like you in your neighborhood because he's living off of you."

"Instead of spending money on housing for the poor," González concluded, "the federal government spends money on waging war against the people of Central

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Militant/Holbrook Mahn
Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York.

CLUW backs abortion rights fight

BY PAT GROGAN

BOSTON — Joyce Miller, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and a member of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, spoke to an abortion rights rally here October 5 and reaffirmed CLUW's strong backing for safe, legal abortion.

"Representing seven and a half million labor union women, we know that the right of a woman to choose whether to bear children or not is essential to her economic independence. Women will never be truly equal to men unless they have control over their own lives," Miller told the rally.

"CLUW strongly endorses the right of a woman to decide how to control her own body. Abortion may not be everyone's choice, and that's all right, but we cannot let the tyranny of the few dictate the needs of the many," she said.

Miller told the rally that "CLUW strongly opposes any legislation or court action that restricts a woman's right to choose abortion."

She said CLUW is fighting to make sure abortion is covered in medical insurance plans and sick benefits negotiated in union contracts. Many companies refuse to treat abortion like any other medical procedure. All federal employees, and state employees in some states, have lost health coverage for abortions.

The rally was sponsored by the Boston chapters of the Reproductive Rights National Network and the National Organization for Women as part of a national day of action to defend abortion rights.

Miller was joined by about 30 other CLUW members and officers who were in Boston for a meeting of CLUW's National Executive Board and a conference on "Family and work." The abortion rights demonstration was listed on the agenda as part of the conference and CLUW members were urged to attend.

CLUW treasurer Gloria Johnson was among those who joined the picket line. Johnson is the social action director and

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Shipyard workers in Maine end walkout after 99 days

BY JOHN STUDER

BATH, Maine — On October 7, 3,200 members of Local 6 of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers (IUMSWA) met at the Augusta Civic Center and voted to end their bitter 14-week strike against the Bath Iron Works (BIW). The mass meeting — attended by over 70 percent of the local's membership — spent three hours debating the proposed settlement before voting to return to work.

After a lengthy discussion, union members accepted a contract containing a number of concessions, but they were below BIW's original demands. Among the features of the new contract are:

- A two-tier wage agreement under which new hires' starting wage would be \$3 an hour less than current employees. It would increase \$1 per year to parity after three years. The company had been demanding a permanent two-tier wage diffe-

rential.

- Job cross-training up to 30 minutes each day, allowing the company to order workers to do jobs normally done by other workers. BIW had pushed for fewer restrictions on job combinations.

- Increases in workers' share in paying for health care.

- A wage freeze over the duration of the contract. Local 6 members were ready to accept a wage freeze before the strike.

- A no-strike pledge by the union, including a specific ban on sympathy strikes. Earlier in the year Local 6 struck for two days in solidarity with their sister local, IUMSWA Local 7, representing shipyard clerical workers who were forced out.

- A contract expiration date in 1988 of August 14, as opposed to the last contract, which ended in June. If Local 6 is forced on strike again, this would mean they

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Sales at Arizona copper mines get good response

BY DAVID PAUL

PHOENIX, Ariz. — On June 30, 1986, the contracts of thousands of copper workers in this area will expire. Most of them are members of the United Steelworkers of America. Like workers in other industries, the copper

discussion among unionized copper workers in the area who know they may face a similar union-busting attack when their contracts expire.

Each Saturday since the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* circulation drive began, teams of

with a subscription coupon.

After the first two weeks, the sales teams decided to sell in the communities immediately around the mines. The first team to use this approach sold an additional 13 *Militants* and two copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* in 45 minutes.

The sales at the mine entrances are particularly impressive because the Saturday work shifts in the mines are quite small, with no more than 100 miners entering or leaving the mine during the shift change.

The copper miners, while they appreciate the fact that the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* actively supported the Phelps Dodge strikers, are also attracted by other issues.

They want to read the ongoing coverage of the freedom struggle in South Africa, and the fight of the Nicaraguan people to defend their revolution against the U.S.-sponsored mercenary attacks.

Many were interested in a recent article about the gains Nicara-



Militant Arizona copper miner with Militant sales team member (left) during 1983-84 Phelps Dodge strike at Morenci, Arizona.

guan miners have made since a workers' and farmers' government came to power in that country.

Articles on the struggle of farm workers, including an article on striking farm workers in Arizona, were also well received. Some miners gave a dollar for a single copy of the *Militant* — one miner gave \$5.

Sales teams have begun thinking about how to increase the distribution of *Perspectiva Mundial* at the mines, where many workers are Chicano and speak Spanish.

The teams are careful to point out, for example, that the socialist press is available in Spanish for those who prefer it, even if a worker reads English.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

workers face a tough struggle against take-back demands by profit-hungry bosses.

Arizona promises to be a focal point of the struggle. Two-thirds of all the copper mined in the United States is mined here.

The state was also the site of a brutal strike battle between copper workers and the Phelps Dodge corporation that began in July 1983.

The lessons of the courageous strike waged by Phelps Dodge workers are an important topic of

socialists have made day-long trips from Phoenix to the copper mines to talk to miners and introduce them to the two socialist publications. In the first three weeks of this effort these sales teams have sold 43 copies of the *Militant* at three copper mines. They have also distributed dozens of copies of the special *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* supplements on South Africa.

Included with each supplement is an introductory letter about the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*

Boston unionists fired in 'anticrime' witch-hunt

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — Union-organized school bus drivers here are prepared to hit the bricks October 16 if city officials don't relent on their efforts to summarily fire 14 fellow workers.

The long-simmering dispute focuses on attempts to deprive the workers of their jobs because of so-called "criminal" records.

United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 8751, which represents the 600 drivers, has voted to go out on strike unless the cases of the drivers are submitted to binding arbitration.

More than 28,000 of the city's 57,000 students are bused.

Boston's newly appointed school superintendent, Laval Wilson, has acted as point man in the showdown, refusing to submit to the arbitration process.

Behind Wilson stands the Boston School Committee, which last month took over the reins of the school system after 11 years of supervision by Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity. Garrity presided over the desegregation of the Boston public schools.

The school committee has given Wilson "unequivocal support," committee President John Nucci stated.

And behind Wilson and the school committee is the power of Boston's ruling rich whose opposition to the bus drivers' union, which is 65 percent Black and Latino, has been promoted by antilabor tirades in the *Boston Globe* and *Boston Herald*, the city's two big-business dailies.

This spring, a spirited public campaign by the union defeated a union-busting probe by the school committee. The drivers had picketed, petitioned, and filled school

committee meeting halls with union members and community supporters.

But with a demagogic "anticrime" clean-up crusade as their cover this time, the union's enemies think their efforts to inflict blows on Local 8751 stand a better chance. Through the media they are milking this campaign for all it's worth.

"All we want is justice," Local 8751 President Jim Barrett told the *Militant*.

He explained that the school committee's passage this year of legislation that gives it the power to review records of employees is now being applied retroactively to the bus drivers.

The union has rejected a proposal by School Superintendent Wilson that would retain 15 drivers, review 8, and fire 14 of the 37 workers who fell under the net of the "anticrime" witch-hunt. Included among these are drivers against whom criminal

charges had originally been filed, but were then dropped or dismissed.

Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn initially supported the union's call for arbitration, but, Barrett told the *Militant*, "has put no muscle behind it."

The city's rulers once before forced the union onto the picket lines, in 1980, when the drivers struck to protest cuts in school bus monitors.

Formed in 1978 in the wake of initial victories in the battle to desegregate the schools, the union is itself a product of that historic struggle. Many drivers have or had children in the school system who were bused to achieve equal educational opportunity. A member of the union's executive board since its founding, Barrett told the *Militant*, "we have always supported integration."

Local 8751 likewise has been known for its solidarity with other unions in struggle, its opposition to U.S. foreign policy in Central America, and support for women's rights.

At a militant meeting of the local last month, USWA District 1 Director William Foley pledged the national union's full support for the embattled local.

One of 13 unions in the public school system, Local 8751 is now at the center of a test between labor and the city's rulers.

Drivers have packed meetings demonstrating their support for elementary justice for their jeopardized 14 brothers, the majority of whom are Black and Latino. The strike authorization vote was unanimous.

But as Local 8751 President Barrett says, the drivers need as much help as possible to win this round.

Socialist candidate backs fired bus drivers

BOSTON — "I pledge my full support to the Steelworker-organized school bus drivers," Kip Hedges, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston City Council, declared in a statement here.

Hedges, a machinist and member of International Union of Electronic Workers Local 201 at Lynn's General Electric Riverworks plant, termed "solidarity with the drivers in the face of union-busting provocations an elementary obligation of all Boston labor, the Black and Latino communities, and all justice-seeking people."

"The anticrime rhetoric of the media, school committee, and Laval Wilson is

nothing but a racist cover for union-busting," Hedges said.

"And behind this union-busting attack on a majority Black and Latino union local is the escalation of efforts to gut school desegregation, because it was the victory of the desegregation struggle that brought Local 8751 into existence," Hedges said.

"The real criminals in this situation are not the bus drivers," the socialist candidate said, "but those who segregated the school system, those who opposed desegregation and busing, and those who want to roll back its gains and weaken labor and our unions with their racist, divide-and-con-

quer tactics.

"Those criminals are the ruling rich of Boston, who are doing everything in their power to set up and deal blows to the bus drivers," Hedges said.

"If Local 8751 is forced to strike, my campaign is at their disposal to help build solidarity and support," Hedges said, "and to back the union to the hilt."

"I and my supporters demand that the jobs of the drivers who Laval Wilson and the school committee want fired, be retained, without conditions."

— J.H.

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☐ \$24 for 1 year ☐ A contribution

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S. Africa revolt spurs Namibia freedom fight



Sam Nujoma, president of South West Africa People's Organization. SWAPO is leading force in fight for Namibian independence.

BY HARRY RING

The explosion of the liberation struggle in South Africa has given new strength to the fight for independence in neighboring Namibia, long a brutally exploited South African colony.

For decades, South Africa's white rulers have defied worldwide demands to get out of Namibia. They have ignored United Nations votes that they yield their rule over Namibia and shrugged aside a 1971 World Court decision that their occupation of the country is illegal.

South African imperialism has good reason to cling tenaciously to Namibia. It is a country rich in diamonds, copper, zinc, and lead, and it is one of the world's major producers of uranium.

Former German colony

Beginning in the 15th century, the Portuguese, Dutch, and British sought to rule Namibia. But in 1884 it came under the grip of German imperialism. Through savage repression, Germany held control of the country until World War I. In 1915, with Germany suffering blows at the hands of its imperialist rivals, South African troops occupied Namibia. In 1920 the League of Nations assumed the right to

"mandate" Namibia — then designated as South West Africa — to the mercies of South Africa's rulers.

More than 317,000 square miles in area, Namibia is mainly desert. Its population is estimated to be about 1.25 million. Africans number more than a million, and those classified as Coloured, about 115,000. Some 100,000 whites constitute less than 10 percent of the population.

The principal peoples of Namibia, the Namas, Hereros, Damaras, and Ovambos, have suffered terrible cruelty at the hands of imperialism. Under the Germans, they were systematically robbed of their land and cattle and turned into a dispossessed labor force. Their resistance to exploitation and oppression was drowned in blood.

In 1904, the Herero people rose up. Out of a population of 60,000, 44,000 were slaughtered.

The dispossession and repression of the Namibians continued relentlessly under South African colonial rule.

White rule violently imposed

As in South Africa itself, white minority rule was violently imposed.

While the whites developed the structure of apartheid in South Africa, they forged a similar system in Namibia.

In 1964 the country was divided into "homelands," the equivalent of the South African bantustans (rural reserves). The African majority was arbitrarily and forcibly relocated to the white-designated "homelands."

As in South Africa, the reserves were set up in an effort to control Africans and to divide them along language lines.

This legally deprived them of all rights in white areas, where they work, by declaring them "citizens" of the "homelands." The Catch 22 is that they have no rights there either.

The whites were assigned about 125 million acres of the country, and the African majority about 81 million acres.

The white area, not surprisingly, contains almost all of Namibia's known mineral resources, its diamond reserves, and the most developed farming areas.

By the government's own admission, at least half the "homelands" are not economically viable. A number of the areas are hit by heavy rains, but the sandy soil doesn't retain the water. Grazing areas are minimal.

Two-thirds of the whites live in the urban areas, which include the concentrations of industry.

Confined to the impoverished homelands are mainly women, children, and those too old to obtain work. Ninety percent of Namibian women are hemmed into the rural areas.

Blacks employed in the white areas must accept labor contracts generally running six to 12 months. That means being separated from families who are left to eke out a miserable existence in the "homelands."

For the contract workers it means living in ratty single men's hostels. More than half the jobs available to Africans are on white-owned farms and in domestic service. Needless to say, these are the lowest-paid jobs.

With the South African regime sitting on the information, hard facts about wages are generally not available. It is estimated that white per capita income is 24 times greater than that of Blacks.

While the rulers were forced to formally abolish the hated pass system for Namibian Blacks in 1977, the restrictions woven around job authorizations remain real and harsh.

And the repression is unrelenting.

The Terrorism Act, for instance, provides the death penalty for a broad range of activities, including "the intent to endanger the maintenance of law and order."

The extent of oppression is reflected in some of the available figures on health and education.

For whites, there is compulsory education, but not for Africans or Coloureds. The spending for white education is nine times that for Blacks.

With that kind of education, the African dropout rate is very high. Two-thirds don't complete the third year of school. One percent make it to the first year of high school.

Per capita expenditure for white health

Continued on Page 17

'Militant' gets excellent response at Madison Sq. Garden Farrakhan meeting

BY HARRY RING

Our circulation campaign got a wonderful boost with the sale of the *Militant* at the huge New York meeting for Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam.

This is written the morning after the meeting and the sales returns are incomplete. But the 23 salespeople who have reported in so far sold 347 copies of the *Militant*.

They agreed that the level of political interest among the huge throng that gathered at Madison Square Garden was quite intense.

They report there were two main selling points for the *Militant* — our response to

the racist smear campaign against Farrakhan, and our coverage of South Africa.

At the 30 percent mark in our national sales drive, we're happy to report, we're right on target.

The aim is to sell 40,000 individual copies of the *Militant* and our Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*, by November 15.

So far, we've sold 10,608 copies of the *Militant*, and 1,355 copies of *PM*.

In addition we plan to sell a total of 2,000 subscriptions to the two publications. Here we need to pick up steam. So far, we've sold 374 *Militant* subscriptions, and 38 for *PM*. That combined total brings

us to 21 percent of our goal, nine percent behind where we should be in the third week of our drive.

The campaign is being conducted by the branches of the Socialist Workers Party and chapters of the Young Socialist Alliance. So far, our chart confirms, Washington, D.C., is leading the field, both on individual sales and subscriptions.

According to Pearl Chertov, the SWP organizer there, this isn't the result of anything special they're doing. They're simply doing all the things they should be.

That includes regular community sales, sales at political events and demonstrations, promoting the two publications at weekly forums, and selling to coworkers.

Chertov described going on a sale in a Black community, along with an active supporter of the SWP.

"For the past three, four years, I would sell maybe three, four copies on such a sale," she said. "This time, in an hour, we sold a total of 25. And it was more like a forum than a sale. People are really trying to think through the political problems. That's what's different, the thinking. And they want to talk."

Sales at political meetings? They set up a literature table at a meeting of 40 South Africa solidarity activists in a town in neighboring Virginia. They sold five subscriptions to the *Militant*.

Other areas are also setting an example in the sale of subscriptions.

Birmingham sold 11 this week. It was kind of what's called an "act of God" — rain prevented a community street sale so they went door-to-door offering subscriptions.

Other areas are doing well with subscriptions to coworkers. In New Orleans, two oil workers have already sold seven at the Shell and Tenneco refineries.

And at the Toledo Jeep plant, 13 subscriptions have been sold to coworkers.

Detroit sold 10 subscriptions this week — three in general sales, four on the job, and three to General Dynamics strikers.

San Francisco reports that when they went to Watsonville to support a rally for striking packinghouse workers there, 33 copies of *PM* were sold — plus a subscription.

Both Seattle and Phoenix report successful *PM* sales at churches whose parishes include immigrant workers.

There's been a beginning on selling subscriptions during plant-gate sales. The key point, it's been found, is to remember to ask.

For instance, Paco Sanchez, a member of the *PM* editorial staff, was on his usual sale at a New York garment building. A worker from Ecuador bought a copy of *PM* and Sanchez decided to ask him, why not a subscription? He promptly agreed.

SALES SCOREBOARD

(Week #3: Totals as of *Militant* issue #38, *PM* issue #19)

Area	SINGLE ISSUES		SUBSCRIPTIONS	
	Sold this week Militant/PM	% of goal reached	Sold so far Militant/PM	% of goal reached
Atlanta	104/5	31	19/0	38
Baltimore	55/0	29	11/0	20
Birmingham	68/0	38	14/0	56
Boston	36/6	27	9/7	32
Capital District, N.Y.	51/0	27	12/0	22
Charleston, W. Va.	34/0	18	5/0	17
Chicago	138/48	27	14/0	19
Cincinnati	23/0	27	4/0	13
Cleveland	112/12	33	3/0	9
Dallas	78/42	29	6/1	11
Denver	74/0	24	8/0	15
Detroit	144/7	28	29/3	49
Greensboro, N.C.	47/2	30	16/0	53
Houston	87/17	23	26/2	37
Kansas City	91/2	39	8/0	27
Los Angeles	184/47	43	17/7	24
Louisville	41/0	33	10/0	25
Miami	34/4	19	14/0	28
Milwaukee	84/19	31	6/0	15
Morgantown, W. Va.	36/0	28	2/0	6
New Orleans	44/0	24	14/0	28
New York	102/50	14	14/2	8
Newark	198/57	30	10/3	10
Oakland	52/30	32	4/2	15
Philadelphia	79/36	33	7/0	14
Phoenix	71/49	34	4/0	10
Pittsburgh	76/1	24	5/1	13
Portland	64/0	25	1/0	3
Price, Utah	18/1	20	2/0	13
Salt Lake City	72/6	33	2/2	16
San Diego	55/14	34	7/1	23
San Francisco	100/27	29	4/0	7
San Jose	51/6	23	5/0	10
Seattle	96/2	32	11/0	22
St. Louis	89/0	15	9/0	18
Tidewater, Va.	42/0	37	0/0	0
Toledo	86/4	33	23/0	46
Twin Cities	91/0	22	4/0	6
Washington D.C.	89/29	47	15/7	55
Total sold this week	2,996/523			
Total sold to date	10,608/1,355	30	374/38	21
10-week goal		40,000		2,000

Reviews hail book of Sandinista speeches

Nicaragua: *The Sandinista People's Revolution*, the collection of speeches by Sandinista leaders issued by Pathfinder Press in April, has been winning enthusiastic reviews from publications in many countries.

Excerpts from some of those reviews are reprinted below.

As Gary MacEoin put it in his *National Catholic Reporter* review, *The Sandinista People's Revolution* "is a valuable counterweight to the distorted analyses of the role of Nicaragua propagated by the U.S. administration."

The new book was released simultaneously in the United States, New Zealand, Australia, and Britain. Successful rallies were held to launch the book in Washington, D.C.; London; Sydney, Australia; and Auckland, New Zealand.

In the United States it is available in paper for \$7.95 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014, and from the offices listed on page 16.

The publication of *The Sandinista People's Revolution* — the second volume in a series that began with *Sandinistas Speak* in 1982 — was made possible in large part by contributions to the Socialist Publication Fund.

The current effort to raise a \$125,000 Socialist Publication Fund by November 15 will make it possible to continue this series, along with the whole range of Pathfinder publication efforts.

The Nicaragua series is an example of Pathfinder's invaluable role in spreading the truth about the revolutionary struggles in the Caribbean and Central America. Pathfinder has also published three volumes of speeches by Fidel Castro. The latest — *War and Crisis in the Americas* — came off the press last summer.

The wide audience for the book of Sandinista speeches is a sign of the breadth of support that can be tapped for the Socialist Publication Fund. Readers of *The Sandinista People's Revolution* and other Pathfinder books will want to help make more such publications possible.

If you have not yet contributed to the Socialist Publication Fund, fill in and re-

turn the coupon below. Your donation, or pledge to be paid over the next few weeks, will be greatly appreciated.

* * *

'Carib News'

From review by Morenke Oshin in August 6 *Carib News*, published in New York City.

Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution, published in April 1985, is composed of speeches and interviews previously published in newspapers and magazines abroad and in Nicaragua.

Among the 16 or so Sandinista leaders who in this book explain what the Nicaraguan workers and peasants have set out to accomplish since their 1979 victory over the U.S.-backed Somoza regime are: Tomás Borge, Jaime Wheelock, Sergio Ramírez, Victor Tirado and, of course, Daniel Ortega.

The speeches, some of which have been translated into English for the first time, are arranged chronologically from 1982 to 1984 and include the original political manifesto delivered by Sandinista hero Augusto César Sandino in July 1927.

The book is brilliantly edited by Bruce Marcus, and although the leaders are presenting the same ideology, the speeches and interviews are not repetitive.

The Sandinista People's Revolution gives the reader a good insight into the lives of Nicaraguans and the economic process in that country.

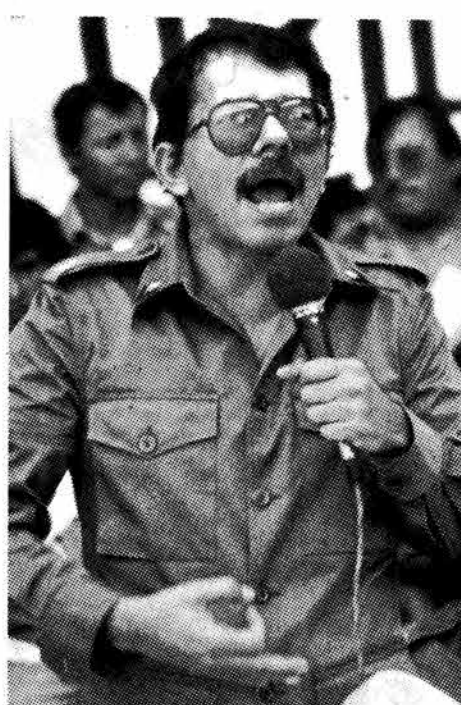
Although this book reflects the voice of the Sandinista leadership, one does get a strong sense that the people of Nicaragua are entirely behind their government.

Anyone interested in Nicaragua should find *The Sandinista People's Revolution* an excellent and important source book.

'An Phoblacht/Republican News'

From review by Kevin Curry in September 5 *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, weekly newspaper of Sinn Féin published in Dublin, Ireland.

A follow-up volume to a collection covering the first years of the revolution, it



Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega. His speeches are included in *The Sandinista People's Revolution*.

continues the record of how this tiny state, "forced to fight not the single war we would have wished to fight, which is the war against underdevelopment, but also a war against military forces organized by the U.S.," is standing up to its enemies and winning the battle.

Against the odds, Nicaragua is developing its own brand of socialism. And though the bulk of the documents are concerned with the twin problems of reconstructing the economy (i.e. away from its dependence on the U.S.) and preparing for an invasion, there are also sections on education, youth, women ("We never said that we were equal — we simply demonstrated it"), trade unions, the police ("Some day there will no longer be any reason for coercive organs of the state"), agriculture, and other matters that will interest republican readers.

Running like a thread through all the documents is an emphasis on sovereignty and contempt for the "denationalized bourgeoisie" that sold its country and are still puppets for the U.S.

Above all the volume shows that the task of consolidating a revolution is as important and as difficult as its initial triumph. The Sandinistas have a saying: "Words move you, but deeds sweep you way." This book, in which three hard years of revolutionary effort is documented, is a testament to deeds.

'Tribune'

From review by Bob Oakes in *Tribune*, weekly paper of the Communist Party of Australia published in Sydney.

So where does Nicaragua get the will to continue the struggle? Why do Sandinistas retain popular support...? Why do people who constantly face the possibility of death not simply give up and accept the destiny outlined for them by the United States?

Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution answers those sorts of questions and also provides invaluable insights into the nature and aims of the Nicaraguan revolution, and the steps that have been taken to ensure it will be successful.

What emerges from the speeches is the willingness of the Sandinistas to speak to the people in the simplest of terms, to explain why problems occur and how they will be solved.

Not only that, but the Sandinistas reveal that while they do regard themselves as the vanguard and take their role very seriously, they are also ready to listen and be flexible.

While revolutionary rhetoric is frequently used, it is manipulated in delightful and surprising ways.

Palestine Liberation Organization

From review issued by the London Office of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Reading compilations of speeches by revolutionary leaders can be a very depressing experience — rhetorical posturings and behests outnumbering plain statements

and reasoned arguments...

This, most emphatically, is not true of *The Sandinista People's Revolution*. Whether because of careful selection of material or because of the nature of the Sandinistas, this book presents a remarkable collection of readable documents which discuss openly and honestly the achievements and the problems of the Nicaraguan revolution since the overthrow of Somoza. All of the major policy areas are covered...

More than anything else, the book reiterates that revolution, far from ending with the storming of the last enemy barricade, enters a new, more complicated phase in which it must both consolidate and advance. The seizure of power from imperialism creates the possibility of a future for the people but that possibility must be turned into a reality by constant struggle.

The Sandinista People's Revolution is about that struggle to define the future Nicaraguan society. It is about problems to be faced, mistakes that are made and contradictions that exist in a society in transition.

One does not read this book and think, "Well, all's well in Nicaragua." One sees that social revolution is not laid down step by step from a purist's plan but rather that the future is up for grabs. And in the background is the constant threat of direct U.S. military intervention.

This book is important reading for those concerned with the Palestinian revolution because it discusses issues which will confront the Palestinian people when they come to build a new society within an independent Palestinian state. It is an important contribution to understanding the dynamics of so-called "Third World socialism."

'Morning Star'

From review by Roger Trask in the August 15 *Morning Star*, newspaper of the Communist Party of Great Britain published in London.

Just as with Vietnam, the story of the heroic people of Nicaragua defying the might of U.S. imperialism is a moving and inspiring drama.

In the tumultuous years since the revolution it has not always been easy in Britain to learn what the Nicaraguan leaders themselves have been saying.

The value of this book is that it arms the reader with the full facts of the situation presented by the Sandinista leaders themselves, enabling the lies and distortions circulated by U.S. imperialism to be corrected.

'Guardian'

From review by Liston Pope in the September 18 *Guardian*, radical news-weekly published in New York City.

Often dramatic, given in what were crucial moments for the first armed, successful revolution on the American mainland, these speeches seem to surge from Nicaragua's poetic and combative heart. Commandante Tomás Borge's impassioned oratory is much in evidence, including his beautiful speech on the situation of women, and also his "Ten Mistaken Theses of Reagan," which he had prepared for U.S. audiences in late 1983 before his visa was denied.

'National Catholic Reporter'

From review by Gary MacEoin in the September 13 *National Catholic Reporter*, published in Kansas City, Missouri.

This book contains an excellent collection of the main speeches from early 1982 through the end of 1984.

Even allowing for the partisan viewpoint of the speakers, some important realities come through clearly. The detailed and documented analyses of the years preceding Anastasio Somoza's overthrow establish a consistent U.S. policy of defense of the dictator...

Borge is persuasive when he talks about the continuing mass base for the revolution. Many elements oppose the revolutionary program, he notes, a program set out clearly before the triumph and slowed down in its execution only because of the externally supported war. But these elements are not persecuted. "This is a revolution that has never used tear gas, a revolution without executions or torture, where the police don't use clubs."

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Nicaraguan leader: what would happen if U.S. invaded

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — What would happen if U.S. troops invaded Nicaragua?

Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge took up this question in a recent speech here. A member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), he was dedicating a new police station in the Eastern Market. The station is named after Enrique Schmidt, Nicaragua's minister of telecommunications and a longtime FSLN leader who was killed in combat by U.S.-armed mercenaries on Nov. 5, 1984. Borge gave the speech Aug. 8, 1985.

"Some people ask themselves if imperialism could triumph in our country," Borge began.

Nicaragua's enemies "have gotten their hopes up about discontent among the people; they've built up illusions about a decline in the people's support for the revolution," he continued. But the turnout of half a million Nicaraguans for this year's July 19 celebration of the overthrow of Anastasio Somoza shows that support for the revolution is increasing, the FSLN leader pointed out.

Discontent versus opposition

He explained that discontent is not the same thing as opposition to the revolution, using as an example complaints in Nicaragua about inflation and shortages:

"It's true there is discontent with certain things. Those of you who use soap — and I'm sure you all do — get upset when you go to look for soap and you don't find it. You look for soap, or cooking oil, or milk, and you don't find it. And you get annoyed.

"Then you go to the Eastern Market and they're selling soap and oil at astronomical prices, and that's just as annoying. Any revolutionary who goes to the Eastern Market to look for those products and doesn't find them, or finds them at outrageous prices, will be annoyed.

"That anger, that discontent with certain things, is interpreted by some as discontent with the revolution," Borge observed. "But that discontent is nothing more than the right of our people to express their criticisms of the errors made by leaders of this revolution.

"People who do not criticize are people who are enslaved. Here, people criticize, because here they are free. Here the people are every day more radical, more revolutionary, more internationalist. They are more and more devoted to their work, to the spirit of sacrifice, and to the struggle."

Nicaraguans discuss S. Africa

BY HÉCTOR CARRIÓN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The mass uprising of Black South Africans is having a big impact on people throughout the world.

Here in Managua, the Nicaraguan Committee in Solidarity with the Peoples (CNSP) held an educational conference on South Africa for some 40 students from the Franklin García Military School of the Ministry of the Interior. The students were high school age, from working-class families.

Eva Conrado Flores, from the CNSP, gave a presentation on the history of South Africa and the political situation there today. She explained how imperialist countries like France, Japan, Britain, and the United States have millions of dollars invested in South Africa. Due to the super-exploitation of Black South Africans, these countries make gigantic profits.

At the end of her presentation, she asked the students to name a leader of the South African people. Most of the students quickly shouted, "Nelson Mandela!"

Then a number of students got up and began to explain their views on the South African struggle. One said, "The struggle in South Africa is very important. It's a revolutionary struggle taking place."

This reporter asked the students what

So, if the U.S. imperialists invade Nicaragua, "they should have no illusions," Borge continued. "It would be a war against our entire people."

Nicaragua would not use regular defense units in such a war, he explained. "It will be irregular warfare; the arena will be the whole nation; those who take up the defense of our sovereignty will be all the inhabitants of Nicaragua."

Peasants' role in defense

The Sandinista leader singled out the role Nicaragua's peasants, who are the majority of the population, would play in such a war.

Defense of the revolution is not an abstract question but a concrete one, he explained. And for the peasants, the revolution has concretely meant, above all, that hundreds of thousands of them have land for the first time in their lives.

The purpose of a U.S. invasion "would be to turn back history," he went on, "to dismantle the agrarian reform and farm cooperatives established by Nicaragua's revolutionary government. The U.S. imperialists 'would try to give the land back to the old landlords.'"

But "now that we've given the land to its real owners," Borge said, "they will know how to defend it. In the rural areas, the raw materials for defense already exist, in the form of the organized peasants."

Recalling that peasants made up the backbone of the army led by Augusto César Sandino, the Nicaraguan hero who drove out the U.S. Marines earlier in this century, Borge said the Nicaraguan people would meet a new U.S. invasion with "an improved version of Sandino's war."

The difference between Sandino's time and now, he emphasized, is that "we — the sons and daughters of Sandino — are in power now. We're in a position to prepare the defenses of the country to confront an invasion, to organize defense in the cities and the countryside."

The heavy losses Sandinista soldiers inflicted on the U.S. mercenaries this summer, he continued, "have qualitatively improved the possibilities for defense in the rural areas. . . . The massive, organized participation of the people in defense of the countryside will make it much too costly for any invading force to advance."

Nicaragua's conscription system, called Patriotic Military Service, has also strengthened the nation's defense, Borge said. The massive incorporation of youth into the army, and their increasing experience in combat, "has made it possible to

connection they saw between the struggles of the Nicaraguan people and the South African people. "The triumph of the Black people of South Africa would be one more triumph for the world revolutionary movement," one student began. He added, "Black South Africans and the Nicaraguans are fighting against a common enemy — imperialism."

Another student said he would like to send "solidarity greetings to the Black people of South Africa and the people of the United States."

A third said, "Capitalism created the bad conditions Black South Africans face, just like capitalism created the underdevelopment of Nicaragua and other countries in Latin America. It is for this reason that we must unite and fight back."

At the end of the meeting, Eva Conrado proposed that the students sign a petition demanding the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

Under the Somoza regime this type of meeting could not have taken place anywhere in Nicaragua. After the triumph of the revolution on July 19, 1979, the Sandinista government encouraged the Nicaraguan people to participate in all kinds of political discussions, from the foreign debt of Latin America to South Africa.



Barricada

Left to right: chief of State Security, Lenin Cerna; Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge; and national head of the Sandinista Police, Doris Tijerino at dedication of new police station in Managua.

decrease the rate of casualties on our side in this war and increase the rate of losses for the enemy."

International impact

The FSLN leader also took up the international impact a U.S. invasion would have, beginning in Latin America.

Referring to the collapse of military dictatorships in several Latin American countries, he said, "This whole democratic process which has recently occurred in Latin America would not have occurred without the Nicaraguan revolution." The masses who are struggling in these countries would see an invasion of Nicaragua as a direct attack on themselves and become part of the armed struggle to defeat it, Borge explained.

"I want to make it clear that nowhere in Latin America have we organized retaliatory groups," Borge said, referring to U.S. capitalist media charges that Nicaragua is organizing terrorist bands throughout Latin America. "It's simply that we have confidence that the people of Latin America are not going to abandon us when an intervention occurs."

Borge also predicted that an invasion would set forces in motion in the imperialist countries, especially the United States. "Dozens, hundreds, and thousands of Yankee soldiers would arrive in the United States in body bags," he explained. There would be "political and social repercussions within U.S. society," especially because U.S. losses in the war would be combined with the capitalist economic crisis facing U.S. working people. An invasion of Nicaragua, Borge continued, could only deepen this economic crisis in the United States and throughout both the imperialist and semi-colonial world. This, in turn, "could lead to a resurgence of mass movements looking for a revolutionary solution."

This perspective, Borge told his audience, does not mean the Nicaraguan people can "rest on our laurels or sit with our arms crossed." In fact, he said, now is the time to step up the Sandinista military offensive against the U.S. mercenaries and, at the same time, to increase revolutionary vigilance carried out in neighborhoods, factories, and on farms across the country.

He reported that Nicaraguan State Security had recently seized 400 kilos [880 pounds] of explosives from U.S.-organized terrorists. "They were planning to blow up electrical towers, plant bombs on buses, put these deadly explosives in workplaces and public offices, destroy the army depot in Chinandega, and place bombs in the vicinity of the Ministry of the Interior," he reported. Assassination attempts were also being planned "against leaders of the FSLN and private producers."

While this conspiracy was broken up, Borge continued, no one should forget that three years ago, U.S.-trained terrorists did succeed in setting off a bomb at Managua's international airport, killing several workers and causing significant damage.

Combating draft evasion

In this context the FSLN leader took up the importance of vigilance in urban areas to root out counterrevolutionary elements who are smuggling Nicaraguan youth out of the country to avoid the draft. Large numbers of the youth who hire smugglers

to get across the Nicaraguan border have found themselves handed over to U.S. mercenaries once they reach Honduras or Costa Rica, and forced to join their military units.

Borge reported that in the battle of La Trinidad, a small town on Nicaragua's Pacific Coast, which sharply repulsed a mercenary attack in July, a number of the contra troops killed were draft evaders.

"It's very sad to die for your country, but it's much sadder to die fighting against your country," he said. The Nicaraguan people are sorry about the deaths of "these confused youth," he continued, "but we can't grieve over these deaths any more. We have to keep fighting, handing more losses to the enemy, improving our system of struggle. And within the urban areas, increasing revolutionary vigilance so these boys don't get recruited and sent to their deaths, so that the next attempts to plant bombs in Nicaragua are not successful."

The defense of Nicaragua, the FSLN leader said in closing, depends on the Nicaraguan people, and also on the solidarity they receive from the rest of the world, especially "the enthusiastic and militant support of the people of Latin America and the United States."

"We are going to triumph," he declared, "over the bandits and assassins" of the U.S. government. "This revolution was made for the benefit of the great majority. Consequently, the perspective of a return to the past does not exist."

Boston picket protests arrest of Puerto Rican political activists

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — Over 100 protesters picketed the federal building here September 23 in response to the predawn raid by more than 200 FBI agents in Puerto Rico August 30. The pickets protested the government's new assaults on Puerto Rican independence fighters there and in the United States.

The demonstration was called by a coalition of groups including the Colectivo Puertorriqueño, Antonio Maceo Brigade, Central America Solidarity Association, Centro Presente, Venceremos Brigade, and Casa El Salvador-Farabundo Martí.

Marchers, the majority of whom were Latino, demanded the release of 13 prisoners seized by the government and held incommunicado for allegedly robbing a Wells Fargo truck to finance "terrorist activities." This is a familiar smear used by the U.S. government to defame foes of Washington's domination of Puerto Rico.

"USA out of Puerto Rico, now! FBI out of Puerto Rico, now! We are patriots, not terrorists," the pickets chanted in Spanish and English as federal police glared at the marchers from behind the doors of the federal building.

The day before, several hundred people gathered in a Puerto Rican independence celebration of El Grito de Lares, which marks the Puerto Rican people's uprising against colonial Spain in 1868.

Defense of the prisoners and opposition to FBI terrorism were themes of that event as well.



Thousands of Black youth outside North Carolina National Bank demand end to loans to South Africa. At left, historic marker notes beginning of civil rights sit-ins.

N. Carolina bank hit for its loans to apartheid

BY MICHAEL VENCETTI

GREENSBORO, N.C. — In the heart of downtown here there is a plaque on a street corner commemorating the Feb. 1, 1960, Woolworth lunch counter sit-ins. These sit-ins were launched by a group of students from North Carolina A&T University, this city's largest predominantly Black campus, and marked an important stage in the massive civil rights struggles of the 1960s. That victorious struggle smashed Jim Crow segregation.

Directly behind the plaque stands the 11-story office building of the North Carolina National Bank. NCNB is the largest bank in the state. And, it has \$100 million in loans to the racist South African government.

On September 18 more than 3,000 people, overwhelmingly youths and Blacks, marched from the campus of A&T to the downtown offices of NCNB demanding an end to all support for the apartheid regime.

The march, sponsored by the North Carolina A&T student government, the senior class, and the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity Inc., was led by Jesse Jackson, an alumnus of A&T and currently a member of its board of trustees.

Speaking at a rally of thousands of students on the A&T campus prior to the march, Jackson said, "The struggle to end apartheid started at A&T 25 years ago and it continues today in South Africa. For A&T will not be free until South Africa is free."

Jackson denounced the banks and corporations that continue to do business with South Africa, singling out NCNB in particular.

He dismissed the mild sanctions against the government of South Africa recently introduced by President Reagan, explaining to the students that "Reagan's speeches are designed to stop these protests, not to stop apartheid."

Thousands of people marched and chanted with many also carrying signs that said: "Free South Africa," "Abolish apartheid," "Free Mandela."

Central American solidarity activists participated in the march with a large banner which read, "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua."

As the march proceeded through the city's streets many working people joined in, swelling its ranks. There were a number of unionists who also participated in the march, including members of the Teamsters and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

As the march passed in front of the NCNB office building downtown, the procession stopped and began chanting "Free South Africa, take that money out of the bank."

Jackson and a delegation of A&T student leaders decided to go into the building to speak to bank officials about the bank's continued support to the racist apartheid regime.

For almost 30 minutes the large crowd remained in front of the bank, blocking the street, chanting, and booing customers going into the bank.

Finally the delegation emerged and Jackson told the crowd that they had spoken by telephone to the bank's vice-president in Charlotte, and that the bank had decided that in the future it would refuse to make any more loans either to the South African government or to businesses that continue to do business with South Africa. And that further, the bank would encourage the South African government to negotiate with all forces inside South Africa.

Wild cheers of approval went up from the crowd, which then proceeded with the march to government plaza.

Greensboro's socialist campaign gets out word to demonstrators

GREENSBORO, N.C. — The campaign of the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor, Phil Duzinski, had a big presence here at the September 18 anti-apartheid action. Hundreds of campaign statements were passed out calling for the divestment of stocks in companies doing business in South Africa. This demand was directed at all Greensboro-based city, university, and corporate funds.

Socialist campaign supporters also got out over 70 copies of the *Militant* and the *Young Socialist* as well as a number of Young Socialist Alliance T-shirts and "Divest Now" buttons.

Kanak gets warm welcome from Minn. Indians

BY PAT WRIGHT

MINNEAPOLIS — Native Americans here readily identified with the story of Susanna Ounei and the oppressed people of Kanaky. Ounei is a leader of the independence struggle of the Kanak people against French domination of the South Pacific island of New Caledonia. She toured in the Twin Cities September 23-25.

As part of her tour she traveled to the White Earth Chippewa Reservation, a five-hour drive north of Minneapolis. Vernon Bellecourt, a leader of the American Indian movement, and other Minneapolis activists accompanied her.

On the way to the reservation the group stopped at one of the schools built by Native Americans, which teaches Indian children about their culture. At the school Ounei was given a tour and introduced to the students. When shown New Caledonia on their map the children were amazed how far Ounei had come to visit.

While driving up, the Kanak leader was told a little history of the White Earth Reservation. In 1867 when the White Earth Anishinabe Nation made a treaty with the United States government, Indians owned more than 840,000 acres of land. Now they own a little more than 48,000 acres. This is only 6 percent of the originally allotted land. The remaining 94 percent is currently owned by federal, state, and city governments and private landowners. The Anishinabe Akeeng Indians are presently trying to get back their land through action

in the courts and are demanding reparations.

The evening we arrived a traditional dinner was prepared for Ounei. Afterwards Ounei gave a presentation at the Reservation Treaty Council auditorium. In his introduction of Ounei, Vernon Bellecourt asked everyone to listen carefully because she was fighting the same kinds of things American Indians are. He told the 60 people present, "When you read her pamphlet [on the Kanak struggle], you will see these people have endured the same kind of hardships we have."

Before beginning her speech Ounei said, "I have been touched at this tribal meeting by your sharing with me your food and your struggle. When I listen to your story I find my story because all of my people's land has been taken by the French. At home they just show us racist movies about cowboys killing Indians. They did the same thing to us, showing us as cannibals who eat people."

"We identify our struggle with yours, because we know there was a big extermination. James Scott came to New Caledonia from Britain and claimed he discovered us while we were already there, just as Columbus claimed he discovered America while you were here."

In explaining what the Kanaks are fighting for, Ounei said, "We want true independence, not a puppet government. This is a big danger to the capitalists. They know if we get our independence, we will

encourage other countries to get their independence."

On September 23 a reception for Ounei was organized at the American Indian Center in Minneapolis. About 25 people came out to talk informally about the Kanak fight for independence. Some of the women who attended were at the international women's conference in Nairobi, Kenya, last summer. Many had met Ounei there.

On September 25, some 35 people attended a public forum featuring Ounei, as well as Kitty Duma, who is a representative of Perspectives on Southern Africa, and Vernon Bellecourt. All the speakers linked their respective struggles as part of the fight against imperialism worldwide.

Ounei exposed the "socialism" of the Mitterrand government of France. "When Mitterrand says he is a socialist, this is not true; he has socialism in one hand and capitalism in the other. The French have stolen the nickel from our mines, our gold, our zinc, cobalt, iron, manganese and from our sea, which is three times as rich as our land. He promised us independence, but all we have is killing at home. Last year our people began doing what our brothers and sisters in South Africa are doing now: we said we have had enough."

Kitty Duma captured the spirit of the forum when she said, "These are very exciting days, days when oppressed people all over the world are saying enough is enough, the struggle in Nicaragua, the Philippines, New Caledonia, South Africa, and Native American Indians here."

'IP' features foreign debt crisis

The devastating social and economic effects of the two earthquakes that struck Mexico a month ago threw a spotlight on the gravity of the foreign debt crisis in that country and in the rest of Latin America.

This year the imperialist bankers will pump \$12 billion in interest out of Mexico. More than \$40 billion will be drained from the entire continent.

The October 21 issue of *Intercontinental Press* carries several features on the foreign debt crisis in Latin America.

There is a background article by Will Reissner on the economic situation in Mexico on the eve of the earthquake.

In another article, *IP* editor Doug Jenness shows why the Reagan administration's latest loan proposals — presented as a shift in emphasis from austerity programs to "economic growth" — offer no solution.

A statement by Latin American Fourth Internationalists in support

of the October 23 day of protests against the debt is included.

The issue also carries the concluding part of Cuban President Fidel Castro's August 3 speech to the final session of the Havana conference on the foreign debt.

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South Africa

Growing Rift
in Ruling Class

BUILDING ANTI-APARTHEID AND ANTIWAR ACTIONS

No to apartheid

BY JAN GANGEL

CHICAGO — "Women say no to apartheid" was the theme of the anti-apartheid table set up by the Chicago Free South Africa Movement at the Illinois National Organization for Women (NOW) conference held in late September.

A video tape of the ABC educational film, *Adapt or Die*, was played continuously at the table while the conference took place. The film, which is a good introduction to the Black trade union movement in South Africa, prompted much discussion.

But members of the chapters showed particular interest in the suggestion that they show the film *You have Struck a Rock*, which shows the uprising of tens of thousands of South African women in the mid-1950s in their fight against the extension of the pass to women.

Support for the anti-apartheid movement was evident in the more than 60 "Women say free South Africa/You have struck a rock" buttons sold; and the unanimous approval of a resolution that pledges NOW's support to the week of demonstrations and rallies planned on the campuses and in the communities for the week of October 7-11, and in the months ahead.

Michigan labor to rally Oct. 26

BY KATE KAKU

DETROIT — The Michigan Labor Committee for a Free South Africa is calling for a rally on October 26 to be held at the United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 600 hall.

Local 600, at the Ford Rouge plant, helped to initiate this committee and is making the local hall available, as well as a full-time staffer for the organization of the rally.

The speakers will include Dumisano Kumalo, Union of Black Journalists of South Africa; Episcopal Archbishop H. Coleman McGehee of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul; and Leo Robinson, Local 20 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union from San Francisco. The rally will begin at 4 p.m. on Saturday, October 26 at the UAW Local 600 hall "A."

Also on October 26 a demonstration is being called by the Detroit Coalition for Peace, Jobs and Justice. The major demands are "Jobs not bombs" and "Boycott South Africa not Nicaragua." Speakers include representatives from the Nicaraguan embassy and the African National Congress.

Various activists from organizations like the Coalition of Black Organizations, Pan African Students Union and the Wayne State University Student Council have formed the Coalition Against Racism and Apartheid (CARA).

CARA is organizing a week of anti-apartheid activities October 7-11, including rallies each day with speakers and films to be shown in the evenings. Representatives from the ANC and SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) will address the student body. The week will culminate in a picket line in front of the world headquarters of General Motors. GM has one of the largest investments in South Africa.

250 hear ANC, SWAPO, OAU

BY MEL MASON

NEW YORK — A spirited meeting of 250 students and community activists from the Brooklyn Black community at Medgar Evers College heard representatives from the Organization of African Unity (OAU), South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and the African National Congress (ANC).

The theme of the September 25 meeting was "War against apartheid." It was sponsored by the Medgar Evers Student Government Association (SGA).

SGA President Arnold King said, "We support the ANC, OAU, and SWAPO and all the other forces fighting against apartheid."

Hajar Muhammad, recording secretary of the SGA, in her opening remarks, said, "The time has come to declare war on apartheid. As Winnie Mandela says, 'We must fight to the last drop of blood.'"

Nganata Karugu of the OAU called on anti-apartheid activists in the U.S. to continue to demand sanctions against South Africa saying, "Without sanctions, the powerful continue to be strengthened. Sanctions will strengthen the powerless."

Hinyangerwa Asheeke of SWAPO defended Cuban troops in Angola and denounced Reagan's contention that no withdrawal of South African troops can occur until Cuban troops leave Angola. "The independence of Namibia," said Asheeke, "is being held up by Reagan who is using the issue of Cuban troops as an excuse for supporting his racist South African allies."

Asheeke also denounced the recent invasions of Botswana and Angola by South African troops.

Jeanette Ndlovu, of the Women's Section of the ANC, stated that "The war on apartheid is not only being declared in South Africa, it is also being declared in the United States as well. Our people are exhilarated by the fact that people in the U.S. are up in arms."

Ndlovu denounced Reagan's contention that South Africa is the "last bastion of democracy," stating, "Twenty-seven million people can't vote and are in fictitious homelands. Women have fiercely resisted the bantustanization of our country."

"Today, Winnie Mandela is banished, but she has defied that banishment by moving back to her home," said Ndlovu. "Winnie Mandela is an example of women who are rising up as leaders of the liberation struggle in South Africa."

Ndlovu explained that South Africa is "the world outlaw" and should be isolated. "There can be no talk of reforms under apartheid. There will be no peace until the apartheid system is totally destroyed."

700 rally in Phila.

BY CHAKO BENDELLA

PHILADELPHIA — Nearly 700 people gathered in the downtown area of Philadelphia for a rally against apartheid on September 29, sponsored by the NAACP and Rev. Leon Sullivan, the author of the "Sullivan Principles."

William Miller, a deacon at the Zion Baptist Church, said the rally was "designed to give a clear call to the president that the masses of Americans are unilaterally opposed to apartheid and will accept nothing short of full justice, liberty, and equal rights for Blacks and Coloureds in all aspects of life in South Africa."

Many of the participants were members of the NAACP. They gave out buttons to rally participants that said, "NAACP-End apartheid rally — Philadelphia." There were also many NAACP placards that called for the end of racism in South Africa.

The major keynote speaker at the event was Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP. Hooks called for total divestment of all U.S. firms doing business with South Africa.

The rally was the largest anti-apartheid event held in the city to date.

N.B.I.P.P.

NEWSLETTER

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FREE NELSON MANDELA FREE SOUTH AFRICA

The growing international protest against racist white supremacist rule in South Africa is inspired by the struggle of Black South Africans who have shed their blood and led a powerful and courageous fight against the hated apartheid system.

Twenty-four million Blacks (73% of the population), and over three and a half million coloreds and Indians suffer a life of poverty and oppression at the hands of the South African regime.

The confrontation in South Africa for a just society and equality for all is part of the international struggle of all the exploited peoples of the world. South African freedom fighters stand with Nicaraguans defending their revolution, with the Salvadoran people fighting a reactionary regime, with the Palestinians and others. The struggle for freedom in South Africa is tied to these struggles for freedom worldwide.

These injustices of apartheid are carried out with the political and financial support of the U.S. government — the same government that is also dealing blows to the standard of living of working people, to affirmative action and other rights for Blacks and women, to the rights of the elderly, youth, the unemployed, and the oppressed.

To demand freedom for South Africa is to strengthen the fight for our own freedom in the U.S.

On Oct. 11, 12th, national protests have been called by the American Committee on Africa and other anti-apartheid groups. We in the NBIPP urge every one to join us in participating in these and other actions against apartheid. Our job here in the U.S. is to help organize the broadest layer of opponents of apartheid to ensure an effective campaign to demand U.S. corporations out of South Africa, freedom for Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners and an end to apartheid. Mandela is a central leader of the African National Congress, and has been in prison for more than 20 years. The speech reprinted below is his court defense for his role for a free South Africa.



NELSON MANDELA

Mandela: 'We fight for the right to live...'

Latest issue of National Black Independent Political Party newsletter contains excerpts from Nelson Mandela's last public speech. It is available from NBIPP, c/o Ali el Amir, 640 W 153 St., Apt. F-5, New York, N.Y. 10013. Phone (212) 862-8979.

Central America rally salutes South Africa fighters

BY LYNNE FAIN AND JON HILLSON

BOSTON — "In the name of the FMLN, I salute the people, the freedom fighters of South Africa," Arnoldo Ramos, representing the Salvadoran Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, told a cheering antiwar rally here. "The ANC (African National Congress) has the solution for South Africa. I salute the people of the Philippines and of Chile. It is all one

struggle."

The September 21 rally, which capped a spirited, mile-long march, was sponsored by the Boston Area Network on Central America, a local coalition of more than 30 area peace and justice groups. It was part of a national campaign to focus public attention on the massive, U.S.-sponsored air war against the people of El Salvador.

The campaign is a project of the Pledge

of Resistance and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and was built by numerous campus Central America solidarity and anti-apartheid groups.

The militant chanting of the predominantly youthful marchers linked opposition to Washington's war in Central America to U.S. backing for the hated apartheid regime in South Africa.

"Money for jobs, not for war, from South Africa to El Salvador," "Sanctions for South Africa, not for Nicaragua" and "Stop the bombing, stop the war, U.S. out of El Salvador" were among the most popular slogans echoing from the ranks of more than 1,500 demonstrators, including student contingents from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont.

Among the most warmly received contingents in the march was one of 20 Vietnam veterans, whose banners read "Vietnam vets can never forget" and another, on camouflage cloth with the message "Forget Vietnam? U.S. out of Central America!"

A Latino contingent's demand of "U.S. Navy, out of Puerto Rico," was taken up by hundreds of marchers.

FMLN representative Ramos told the rally that in the struggle for peace, the people of the United States are the "most powerful" in stopping Washington's drive towards war, and the "most powerful weapon" available to solidarity and antiwar activists is "reaching out with the truth."

Michael Anderson, a leader of student anti-apartheid protests at Harvard University, told the crowd the fight to free South

Africa and the movement against the U.S. war in Central America were the same struggle against U.S. foreign policy.

Nancy Finkelstein, president of the Massachusetts Teachers Association, linked the teachers union to solidarity with Salvadoran labor, especially the embattled teachers union there, ANDES. She urged activists to send protest telegrams to Salvadoran President José Napoleón Duarte demanding the release of three ANDES leaders kidnapped recently under his regime.

Other speakers included David Scondras, Boston City Council; Jean McGuire, Boston School Committee; Reverend Graylan Ellis-Hagler, and sanctuary movement leader Julia Wallace, who recently returned from a factfinding trip to El Salvador.

Campaign supporters of Kip Hedges, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston City Council, sold 101 copies of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist* at the march and rally.

Pathfinder literature salespeople did a brisk business, selling more than \$220 worth of revolutionary literature and \$133 worth of anti-apartheid and Central America solidarity buttons and T-shirts. Marchers bought 10 copies each of Pathfinder Press's latest books on Nicaragua and the speeches of Fidel Castro.

A post-rally open house sponsored by the Boston Young Socialist Alliance attracted 35 people, nearly half of whom were new supporters of the revolutionary youth group, the majority of them college and high school students.



Militant/Gina March

Young Socialist Alliance members were among participants in Boston Central America support rally on September 21.



Newly formed student organization at Boston abortion rights demonstration.

'Our generation must fight to keep safe, legal abortion'

BOSTON — Many young women and men were participating in their first action in defense of abortion rights. The newly formed Harvard Radcliffe Students for Choice had a contingent of some 20 students at the October 5 rally here.

Margaret Seaver, a junior at Radcliffe, told the *Militant*, "The Harvard Radcliffe Students for Choice is a young organization. We just began and this is our first rally, but we're picking up more and more members every day that goes by. The right to choose abortion is important to most students, because we are just beginning our lives."

Seaver commented on the fact that she had never known what it was like when abortion was illegal. "It's always been a source of great peace of mind to know that legal abortion is available. I think that many of my high school classmates' lives would have been very different if they had not been able to obtain an abortion — without the knowledge of their parents."

Massachusetts is one of many states where teenage women have to get permission from their parents, or else go before a judge who must determine that the young woman is mature enough to get an abortion. "It's an awful thing," Seaver said.

Christine Kerr, one of the founders of the organization, said, "I was born in 1964,

the same time that the Civil Rights Amendment passed. Ever since I was old enough to understand what abortion was, it's been legal. And now suddenly in these last few years, things like civil rights and abortion — which have always been a part of my life — are being seriously threatened.

Betty Achinstein, another of the group's founders, said, "It's very important for people of our generation to fight for abortion rights. We have to realize that we could lose that right." She was wearing a sign that said, "Keep it safe, legal and funded."

Women who have money will always have access to abortion," she explained. "But poor women, minority women who can't afford a legal abortion, or one that's safe, they've lost their rights."

How important are abortion rights to these young women? "The constitution of our group says that we cannot exist as free and equal members of society if we don't have this right, and that affects every aspect of our lives," Kerr said. The group plans an ongoing campaign including educational activities and organizing for the march on Washington, D.C., for abortion rights, on March 9. They plan to work with women's rights and community organizations, and unions.

— P.G.

Actions launch abortion-rights campaign

BY PAT GROGAN

Women's rights supporters held picket lines, rallies, forums, and press conferences October 4-7 to launch a campaign to defend abortion rights.

The campaign will culminate in a March on Washington, D.C., for abortion rights on March 9, 1985. There will also be an action that day in Los Angeles. The March on Washington was initiated by the National Organization for Women (NOW) at its conference in July. NOW is aiming to bring out tens of thousands of people in a show of support for a woman's right to safe, legal abortion.

The October 4-7 actions were timed to coincide with the opening of the Supreme Court's fall session. Last July the Reagan administration formally asked the Supreme Court to overturn the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision that made abortion legal and established it as a woman's constitutional right. The Justice Department filed the attempt to overturn legalized abortion in two cases the Supreme Court will hear this fall.

Some of the activities also commemorated the Oct. 3, 1977, death of Rosie Jiménez. Jiménez died of a back-alley abortion, the first known victim of the Hyde Amendment that cut off federal funding of abortion.

In Washington, D.C., some 200 people took part in an October 7 rally at the Capitol Building. The rally was preceded by a motorcade that circled the White House. Speakers included Joyce Hamlin of United Methodist Women; Francis Kissling, Catholics for Free Choice; and Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women.

In Toledo, Ohio, about 60 supporters of women's rights picketed the Federal Building on October 4. Students from the University of Toledo joined with NOW members and volunteers from the Center for Choice, a local abortion clinic. They carried signs that said, "Don't tread on my right to choose," "Keep abortion safe and legal," "Keep your laws off my body," and in Spanish, "Escoger es mi derecho [To choose is my right]."

In Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 40 NOW members, abortion clinic volunteers, and students from the University of Louisiana protested a gathering of right-wing anti-abortion fundamentalists in that city.

The abortion rights activists are members of the six-state "Southern Coalition for Reproductive Rights." The coalition was formed in June by NOW chapters and clinic workers from Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Arkansas, and Tennessee. They are planning a rally in Pensacola, Florida, on Saturday, December 28 to mark one year of resistance to terrorism against abortion clinics. An abortion clinic was bombed last December 28 in Pensacola.

In Boston, 250 supporters of abortion rights marched under the slogan, "No more Rosies! No more victims!" The action was co-sponsored by the Boston chapters of the Reproductive Rights National Network and NOW.

In San Francisco, the Pro-Choice Coalition held a conference to commemorate Rosie Jiménez. About 60 people, many of them Black women and Latinas, attended the conference that demanded safe, legal abortion and public funding of abortion.

Labor union women join demonstration for abortion rights

Continued from front page

member of the Executive Council of the International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE).

"You ask me why I am marching, why I support the right to choose abortion, why it is a union issue," Johnson told the *Militant*. "CLUW is for pay equity and for child care because these are economic issues that are important for working women. The right to choose abortion is an economic issue too and we support it for that very reason. We support it too because we believe very strongly that a woman has the right to make decisions about what happens to her and to her family, and about what happens to her body. That is the position of the Coalition of Labor Union Women."

Clara Day, a vice-president of CLUW from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, added, "Women have to make the decisions nine times out of ten about the children." She said many women can't afford to support more children, especially with cutbacks in assistance to unemployed mothers. And more and more women are the single heads of households. "So it is important that the woman be able to make that choice, without having to go back into the closet," she said.

"She might have to go back into the closet for an illegal abortion which could damage a woman's health for the rest of her life. We say keep it legal, so she will not have to take that chance," Day said.

Commenting on CLUW's strong opposition to the Hyde Amendment and other laws that prohibit public funding for abortion, Day said, "It's the poorest women. It's always the poorest women who suffer. There's always been abortion for the women who can afford it. We want to make sure it's available to those who can't afford it. We want it to be their right to get assistance."

The Boston rally, like others around the country, commemorated Rosie Jiménez, the first known woman to die since Congress passed the Hyde Amendment in June 1977 that cut off federal funding for abortions.

Jiménez was a 27-year-old, single



Militant/John Studer

CLUW President Joyce Miller joins picket line at October 5 abortion-rights action in Boston. CLUW has long-standing position supporting the right of a woman to choose abortion and against Hyde Amendment.

Chicana mother living in Texas. She hoped that a college education would be the way out of poverty for her and her daughter. But she needed an abortion. Unable to get funding for an abortion through Medicaid, she was forced to seek an illegal, back alley abortion. Infection caused by unsterilized instruments sent her to the hospital. One week later, on Oct. 3, 1977, she died. The \$700 scholarship check for college was found in her pocket.

"No more Rosies! No more victims! Act now to save Medicaid funding for abortions in Massachusetts!" was one of the main slogans of the demonstration.

Massachusetts is one of only 14 states that still provide state funding for abortions. In June of 1984, the state legislature voted overwhelmingly for an amendment to the state constitution that would eliminate Medicaid funding and all health insurance coverage for abortion, no matter how urgent the medical reason. In order to become law, this must pass a second legislative session and then it will be on the 1986 ballot as a referendum. Women's rights supporters are organizing to defeat this new threat to women's rights and lives.

Rally organizers pointed out that, while refusing to pay for abortions, the federal government continues to fund up to 90 percent of the costs of sterilization. This bolsters the racist practice of forcing Black women, Latinas, and the poorest of women to submit to sterilization, permanently ending their right to have children.

Pamphlets on abortion rights

ABORTION IS A WOMAN'S RIGHT!

KEEP YOUR LAWS OFF MY BODY
Articles by:
Pat Grogan
Jose G. Perez
Evelyn Reed
Interview with:
Dr. Henry Morgentaler

Is Biology Woman's Destiny?

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Abortion is a Woman's Right 95 cents

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Why U.S. rulers shifted on dollar

BY FRED FELDMAN

In an effort to head off the adoption of broad import restrictions by Congress, the Reagan administration announced September 22 that it had joined with four other major capitalist governments to attempt to reduce the exchange value of the dollar relative to the currencies of other countries.

The exchange value of the dollar is the amount of other national currencies — such as German marks, Japanese yen, British pounds, or French francs — that a dollar can be traded for on the international money markets. The exchange value of the dollar rose by 40 percent in the last five years.

Among other things, this meant that the price of U.S. exports on the world market rose while the price of goods imported into this country became cheaper. When, for instance, the exchange value of the dollar rose relative to the Japanese yen, it took fewer dollars here to buy a Toyota imported from Japan and more yen in Japan to buy a ton of coal imported from the United States.

A declining dollar would mean higher prices for goods imported to this country and, eventually, higher prices in general.

Competitors gain in trade

The high-priced dollar thus tended to give capitalists from other countries an advantage in the world market. They were better able to undersell U.S. competitors here and abroad. In the United States the combination of the economic upturn and the high-valued dollar spurred a rise in imports.

The U.S. balance of trade last year showed a deficit of \$123 billion, and the trade deficit is expected to reach a record \$150 million this year.

For the top sectors of the capitalist class — those with substantial overseas investments and who dominate industry and banking — this presented little or no problem. The increased imports from their vast overseas operations, and profits on high-interest bonds and loans, canceled out any resulting losses in their U.S. holdings.

But many of the employers who are primarily dependent on domestic production — particularly in industries like garment, textile, shoes, and electronic components — were hurting. They began to yell for protection against imports.

As U.S. economic growth slipped from last year's 6.8 percent, they got an enthusiastic response from vote-conscious senators and representatives. More than 300 anti-import bills were proposed.

A bipartisan majority of the House Ways and Means Committee approved a bill to slash clothing and textile imports, primarily from Asia, by as much as 40 percent. Another bill sought to tighten restrictions on shoe imports.

One bipartisan bill would impose tariffs of up to 25 percent on imports from certain countries.

The capitalists who favored more import restrictions found their positions echoed by the union officialdom. The top officials of the AFL-CIO and other unions have spearheaded a nationwide campaign against imports and for protectionist legislation.



Unloading U.S. lumber on Tokyo docks. As world's biggest exporter, U.S. capitalist class stands to lose from trade war.



U.S. Secretary of Treasury James Baker announces agreement to lower exchange value of dollar after meeting with representatives of French, British, Japanese, and West German governments. Protecting profits, not jobs for working people, was topic of meeting.

The chauvinist theme was that "U.S. jobs" were being stolen by workers in other countries.

Rulers oppose trade war

More import restrictions were sure to be adopted by Congress, and it was possible that presidential vetoes of these restrictions would be overridden.

The Reagan administration, speaking for the U.S. capitalists who dominate banking and industry, opposed these moves. It argued that predictable retaliation by competitors could lead toward a trade war.

The resulting disruption in the international flow of goods and capital could spur and deepen recessions. The U.S. ruling class as a whole, the world's biggest exporter, stood to lose.

While utilizing restrictive trade measures in certain cases, the U.S. ruling class at present generally favors other means of pressuring competitors — particularly the ruling families of Japan — to increase their imports from the United States.

Last year the U.S. ended up with a deficit of \$37 billion in its trade with Japan — its biggest deficit in trade with any country.

Plaza Hotel meeting

Under pressure to more aggressively foster U.S. exports and counter the slowdown in economic growth, the Reagan administration shifted from its previous stance of openly favoring a high-valued dollar.

U.S. Secretary of the Treasury James Baker organized a meeting of the finance ministers and central bank heads of the United States, Germany, Japan, France, and Britain. These imperialist allies and competitors hold the dominant positions in world trade and finance.

The September 22 meeting was held in secret at New York City's Plaza Hotel. That afternoon the assembled bankers and politicians staged a news conference to announce their decisions.

In a joint statement they agreed that the dollar's value was too high relative to other currencies and that they were "ready to cooperate more closely to encourage" the decline of the dollar's exchange value.

The following day the dollar declined by 4.3 percent to its lowest point in 16 months on international money markets. In the following days the decline leveled off.

The dollar's price had been on a downward trend since it reached a high point in February.

The day after the meeting Reagan spoke on trade policy to the Export Council — a group of corporation executives, cabinet members, and members of Congress. He announced he was setting up a \$300 million fund to subsidize exports, and a "strike force" to root out what he called "unfair" trade practices by other countries.

He pointed to recent U.S. government moves to challenge restrictions on U.S. exports by Japan, Brazil, and South Korea as examples of his policy.

And he reiterated his threat to veto the import restrictions now being debated in Congress.

The decision to encourage a further decline in the value of the dollar, the latest

moves on trade, and the strong support for import restrictions in Congress are all reflections of the difficulties faced by the U.S. and the other imperialist ruling classes.

Increasing problems for capitalism

On a world scale, overproduction is a growing problem for the imperialist ruling classes. Overproduction means that more is being produced than can be sold at a rate of profit acceptable to the capitalists.

That means the capitalist market is increasingly glutted with unsold goods, and the struggle for shares of the world market among the capitalists is becoming sharper. The result is a tendency toward economic stagnation in all the imperialist powers. In the past decade this has meant deeper recessions and higher unemployment even during upturns in the business cycle.

The dollar's high value was a consequence of the methods the U.S. ruling class used to bring U.S. capitalism out of the 1980-82 recession and maintain the current upturn. The key to accelerating the upturn was a rapid increase in the government's indebtedness, coupled with the 1981 tax breaks Reagan handed to big business and the ruling rich. In four years the government's debt more than doubled to the current level of almost \$2 trillion.

In order to finance the deficit without printing huge amounts of additional money and setting off a round of high inflation, the Federal Reserve Bank offered higher interest rates. The result was a massive influx of capital from abroad, and a rapid increase in the demand for the dollar. The exchange value of the dollar relative to other currencies surged upward.

In the context of an economic upturn, the high-valued dollar attracted foreign capital not only to government borrowers but also in other areas. Foreign investment in U.S. industry increased rapidly. Until 1985, this helped foster a pick-up in industrial production.

The high-valued dollar helped the rulers finance a giant arms build-up. "Without foreign borrowing, rearmament would have been impossible without politically unpopular tax increases," explained economist David Hale in the September 22 *New York Times*.

Loan sharking

Those U.S. banks and corporations that had sufficient capital to invest made enormous profits by buying high-interest bonds issued to finance federal, state, and local deficits.

Other loans also became more profitable. The U.S. bankers squeezed top dollar out of their debt slaves on U.S. farms and in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The economic upturn here also generated several million new jobs in the last three years — more than the Western European and Japanese economies combined generated during that period. Nonetheless, the current official U.S. unemployment rate of 6.9 percent, at a high point of the upturn, is higher than a comparable point in previous upturns in the business cycle.

In comparison to the United States, Western Europe and Japan continued to experience relatively high unemployment and lower growth rates. Investment in U.S. government securities at high interest rates was more attractive to many Japanese and West European capitalists than the declining profit rates of industry in those countries. They found it more profitable to invest their capital in the United States and collect interest than to modernize the industrial plants in their own countries. And they also benefited from rising U.S. imports.

Shift by competitors

Now there are initial signs of a pick-up in some of these economies. Since the beginning of the year, the ruling classes of the Western European countries and Japan have been pressuring Washington to move away from the high-priced dollar. High U.S. interest rates are now seen as an obstacle to ending their lingering recessions.

But it took the threat of expanded trade restrictions, spurred in part by the recent slowdown in the pace of the U.S. economic upturn, to convince the Reagan administration to join efforts to bring down the exchange value of the dollar.

The U.S. bankers and other capitalists who profited from the rising dollar are now preparing to benefit from its decline.

For instance, the U.S. government, corporations, and banks sold securities to investors from other countries for high-priced dollars. Now they may be able to make interest and dividend payments with cheap ones.

Role of federal deficit

The *New York Times* and other prominent mouthpieces of the capitalist rulers were skeptical about whether high interest rates and the exchange value of the dollar would decline enough.

The *Times* called the Plaza Hotel agreement a first but insufficient step. In a September 24 editorial, it warned that "Any new attack on the dollar without deficit reduction may actually raise America's interest rates."

"Until the President and Congress attack the budget deficit, by cutting spending and raising some taxes, their tilting at trade imbalances will not suffice, or protect them from the wrath of hard-hit American industries."

The rulers have been attempting for years to limit the increase in the deficit by slashing the stingy amounts they have been forced to provide for social security, health care, aid to farmers, unemployment compensation, food stamps, aid to families with dependent children, and other basic needs of working people.

But attempts to impose massive cuts or eliminate such programs stirred resistance from workers and farmers. As a result, the government has resorted to chipping away at many social programs, rather than attacking them head-on.

Since any tax increases will be primarily paid by working people, these are also certain to be very unpopular.

And the ruling class is set on continuing its arms build-up, whatever the cost. The accumulating political, social, and economic difficulties they face around the world — such as the growing opposition in Asia, Africa, and Latin America to the imperialist-imposed debt — means that the rulers need a massive war machine to terrorize and repress the oppressed and exploited.

Contest among exploiters

Whatever method the ruling class uses to resolve its immediate problems will be sure to cause other difficulties for them, just as the methods they used to accelerate the economic upturn did. The basic problems confronting the capitalist system will deepen.

The ruling-class maneuvering and debates about trade, the dollar, and interest rates are not about saving jobs or preserving the living standards of working people in the United States or anywhere else. They are about more efficiently exploiting the workers and farmers of the world, and about how to divide the plunder exacted from us among competing gangs of imperialists.

Latin American, Caribbean debt is u

Two speeches from Havana conference on foreign debt

In August 1,200 delegates representing governments and political movements from throughout Latin America and the Caribbean met in Havana to discuss the problem of the foreign debt with which their countries are saddled. This debt now totals \$370 billion and continues to balloon.

An earlier conference on the debt held in Havana in July was attended by Latin American and Caribbean trade unionists. That gathering called for a region-wide Day of Action Against the Foreign Debt to take place October 23.

Among the speakers at the August conference were Sergio Ramírez, vice-president of Nicaragua, and George Louison, a leader of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada.

A central leader of the Grenadian revolution, Louison was minister of agriculture in the government of the slain prime minister, Maurice Bishop. That revolutionary government was overthrown by a counterrevolutionary coup in October 1983.

The following are texts of the speeches by Ramírez and Louison. They are taken from the August 18 and September 15 English-language editions of the *Granma Weekly Review*.

Sergio Ramírez

On behalf of the people and revolutionary government of Nicaragua and the Sandinista National Liberation Front I'd like, first of all, to hail the holding of this meeting — whose scope and importance for the Latin American and Caribbean peoples are undeniable — convoked by President Fidel Castro. We heartily thank him for his initiative, which has led to our gathering here in Cuba.

Nicaragua attends this Latin American forum on the foreign debt while being the target of the most brutal and remorseless aggression to which any country in this hemisphere has ever been subjected. Our country is demonstrating Latin America's sovereignty as never before, demonstrating the right of one of Latin America's peoples to choose its own way after breaking all the chains of foreign domination. Because by proclaiming our right to political and economic independence the way we have and by defending this right, with dignity and with our own blood, we're proving by our example that any one of our countries, no

matter how small, can be really independent, regardless of the price it must pay for that independence.

Legacy of poverty

The legacy of poverty, backwardness, and submission to foreign interests bequeathed to us by the Somoza dictatorship included the heavy burden of a foreign debt incurred with hundreds of private U.S. banks, loans that in the last months of the dictatorship never even reached our country and were deposited in the bank accounts of the Somoza family and their accomplices in the United States. That was a foreign debt incurred for many years to fatten personal fortunes and to misrepresent the country's development needs, thus adding more dependency on the model of dependency imposed by the United States.

And that debt, the heavy burden represented by its servicing, the unjust terms of trade, the unfair international prices, and the protectionist barriers only serve in these difficult yet heroic times in which we must defend our sovereignty and our revolution to aggravate the situation of aggression in Nicaragua, within a policy of state terrorism exercised by the United States.

U.S. state terrorism against Nicaragua in the last four years has resulted in over 12,000 victims — young soldiers killed in action, and peasants, workers, agricultural workers, women, children, and old people kidnapped, killed, and mutilated. Thousands of families with no homes, thousands of orphaned children. Economic losses running to over \$1.5 billion; destruction of our resources by fire and the shelling of port installations; attacks on fuel dumps, power line pylons,

“**Nicaragua, under constant U.S. attack, has no doubt that foreign debt is form of aggression against Latin America . . .**”

bridges, and farm and road-building machinery. Mining of ports; destruction of cooperative farms, schools, and health centers. Loss of crops, and suspension of investment projects. That is apart from all the confusion and serious disorganization of the economy as a result of the state of war, because we must constantly divert human and material resources from production to the battle-front and make use of budgetary and financial resources that could be invested in development programs and the extension of social services.

Nicaragua is plagued by a foreign debt, an economic and trade blockade, a financial blockade imposed by the United States that cuts off our access to multilateral credit sources. These obstacles include the U.S. State Department's recent illegal and arbitrary instruction to the Inter-American Development Bank that it refrain from submitting to the board of directors a request for a \$57 million loan for agricultural development, which meets all the technical requirements.

There's the foreign debt; pressure, threats, the cajolery and blackmail of neighboring countries to involve them in support for the mercenary counterrevolution and in the adventure of military intervention being planned against Nicaragua; the constant destabilization of our efforts for peace and those of the Contadora Group; the absolute rejection of all opportunities for dialogue and the repudiation of a negotiated settlement. The U.S. government has made it clear that the Sandinista revolution is incompatible with its hegemonic interests in Central America and has sentenced the Nicaraguan people to death, which means a verdict of death against every attempt at progress and change in Latin America.

The United States is determined to destroy us through terror and armed aggression, to asphyxiate Nicaragua's economy, to starve us into surrendering. And since it

has failed in its attempts to destroy us or force us to surrender, it's bent on invading our territory with U.S. troops. Just today, a squadron of U.S. warships led by the aircraft carrier *Eisenhower* made its appearance off Puerto Cabezas on Nicaragua's Atlantic coast, and other U.S. warships are now crossing the Panama Canal on their way to our shores.

Right to sovereignty

The United States threatens us, attacks us, harasses us, and lays siege to us simply because by proclaiming our right to sovereignty we are also proclaiming our right to liquidate the past exploitation, injustice, and poverty that the United States imposed on Nicaragua, and also because in six years of revolution we have put into effect a profound and irreversible process of changes. (Applause) We're incompatible with the imperialists' interests because of the agrarian reform, because of the nationalization of the banks and of our natural resources, because of our public health projects, literacy campaigns, and educational projects, and because of the kind of democracy we're building, a real democracy.

All these things have to do with Nicaragua's debt, because we're waging an all-out war for our country's social and economic life and because we're determined to resist, and not only to survive but also to defeat the mercenary attacks, the economic and financial blockade and, if need be, a direct military attack by the United States, and thus continue to be the makers of our own economic future. (Applause)

It isn't Nicaragua alone but rather Latin America as a whole that is facing a chal-

lance, because the contradiction between the imperial interests of the United States and Latin America's interest in its sovereignty and independence is being dramatically and crucially demonstrated in Nicaragua. The contradiction between the United States' military, political, and financial apparatus, infinite material resources, and inexhaustible financial power, and the humble yet firm efforts of a poor suffering people who in Nicaragua, a portion of Latin America, are defending Latin America's borders.

“**U.S. military, political, and its infinite resources and force are in contradiction to the right of a poor suffering people to defend Latin America**”

creation of a common struggle put so that our peoples won't have to endure more sacrifice, backwardness, and lack of the possibilities for development — to which they have a right — on account of a debt whose servicing alone is impossible to pay, as President Fidel Castro has often pointed out. This struggle, like Nicaragua's struggle, has a great deal to do with the sovereignty of Latin America.

Defend Nicaragua

So we've been dealing with two aspects of the same struggle, and the most vital interests of our independence and our identity are present in both. This is why all the democratic governments, all the political forces, all conscientious sectors, all people of good will in Latin America should be urged to defend Nicaragua, because this is a test for the entire continent. Latin America must declare a state of emergency in favor of Nicaragua to put a stop to the United States' threats and aggression and to force the United States to agree to a peaceful, negotiated solution through the Contadora Group and to agree to a renewal of the talks with Nicaragua in Manzanillo. And Latin America must support the Contadora Group in its efforts to make Costa Rica's and Honduras' borders with our country a neutral zone.

Nicaragua is being punished by the United States for having severed its links with a past of injustice and oppression and for having begun to consolidate its full economic and political independence; for having established a new democratic and pluralist system and for its determination to be a really nonaligned country.

Demanding that the Latin American countries pay an astronomical debt that is impossible to pay, except through the useless, cruel sacrifice of our peoples and the disappearance of every possibility for a better life, is one more way to impose more



Sergio Ramírez, left, with Fidel Castro earlier this year in Nicaragua.



U.S. invasion of Grenada. George Louison, right, notes, "Invasion, with help of dependency on our country."

payable

pression, injustice, underdevelopment, and backwardness and open the doors wide to new military dictatorships in Latin America once the burden of the debt has made democratic governments inoperable. This is because democracy in Latin America has never been viewed as an alternative

financial apparatus,
social power,
yet firm efforts
in Nicaragua
borders . . .



Brazilian children picking through garbage dump. Ramirez says, "Demanding that Latin American countries pay an astronomical debt that is impossible to pay, except through the useless, cruel sacrifice of our peoples and disappearance of every possibility for better life, is one more way to impose oppression."

the United States. Its only alternative has always been the repressive regimes loyal to U.S. interests, regimes that the United States has always been ready to finance unrestrictedly and recklessly to contribute to their consolidation. That is why in Nicaragua the United States is trying to push us back, through terror, to the old days of the Somoza "democracy." That is why the United States is training, leading, arming, and financing Somoza's old National Guard, to reestablish a Somoza "democracy" in Nicaragua. It is the same army that defended the interests of the United States in the past, an army that was showered with millions of dollars in loans.

Peaks for Latin America

Even subject to terror, even under attack, our country will always speak for Latin America. And the harder we must fight, the louder we'll speak for Latin America, the more we will identify with the interests of democracy in the continent, change, of justice, and of real independence.

As Latin Americans we're proud to defend Latin America's vital interests, the interests of complete sovereignty for our peoples, of economic sovereignty, their right to a better, more just life, the right to use their natural resources for their own benefit, the right to new terms of trade, the right to end trade protectionism by the rich countries, to end protective tariffs, and to give real possibilities for our peoples' development. We're at war for all these reasons, too, and we're determined to defend our country and our sovereign revolution to the last consequences.

That is why we call on Latin America to use ranks behind this cause, the whole continent's cause.

Patria libre o morir! (Prolonged applause and shouts of "They shall not pass, They shall not pass!")

MAURICE BISHOP
PATRIOTIC
MOVEMENT
(U.K.)



regime, has reimposed syndrome of de-

George Louison

Commander in Chief, Comrade President Fidel Castro; distinguished members of the Presiding Body and leaders of political parties; representatives at this historic dialogue.

Comrades All.

In discussing the grave crisis facing Latin America, the Caribbean, and certainly the Third World as a result of the unjust debt, President Castro has clearly explained that Cuba's position is not a selfish one. The idea of convening this meeting to present a convincing analysis that the debt is unpayable and uncollectable is another fundamental contribution to the already long list of selfless sacrifices made by the Cuban revolution and its peoples for the independence and genuine liberation of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Undoubtedly this event is a bridgehead for the 800 million illiterates, 400 million hungry children, and millions of unemployed and economic refugees of the Third World who are victims of the debt crisis and the unjust economic order.

The Caribbean and undoubtedly the Eastern Caribbean face a special situation. U.S. imperialism has coopted a group of colonial leaders which it utilizes to worsen the debt situation in our area. Ever since the 1979 revolutions in Grenada and Nicaragua, the U.S. imperialists have implemented all sorts of diabolical plans in order to destroy the will of our peoples and obstruct their efforts to achieve a New International Economic Order. These leaders have found the last frontier for their bankrupt monetarist theories in the Caribbean. The neocolonial leaders in the small dependent economies adopted Reaganomics and the "magic formula of the market" as the guiding force of their economies. In fact, these leaders function as a biological extension of Reagan's plans. The Caribbean Basin Initiative became his theory for creating South Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore in the Eastern Caribbean.

Since 1980 [Jamaica's Prime Minister] Edward Seaga, chief altar boy of Reaganomics, has been talking about the engine theory, arguing that the United States is one of the greatest and richest markets in the world and the Caribbean merely has to link its car to that engine in order to achieve its own development, since the U.S. engine has sufficient power to facilitate this development. The tragic thing is that cars have derailed and are smashed, leading to unspeakable suffering for the peoples of the area.

In the Eastern Caribbean the problems of terms of trade and underdevelopment are so overwhelming that many islands couldn't even get credit to fall into large-scale foreign debt. The New International Economic Order and changing the terms of trade is even more urgent for our peoples.

Deterioration of trade terms.

In Grenada, the rapid deterioration of the terms of trade in recent years has virtually destroyed the productive sector of Gre-

nada's economy. For example, in 1950 two tons of nutmeg were sufficient to buy a truck; in 1977, 10 tons were necessary and by 1984 about 25 tons. Grenada's cocoa, whose top quality fetched top prices on the world market of £2,000 sterling per ton in 1978, dropped to about £800 sterling in 1984, while Grenadian farmers must now pay 21 Eastern Caribbean cents to produce a pound of bananas for which they receive 14 or 15 cents from the transnational companies.

Under the leadership of our beloved Latin American and Caribbean patriot and revolutionary, Maurice Bishop, we started to change all that. (Applause) Bishop's People's Revolutionary Government started to restructure our economy in order to become self-sufficient and truly independent. We had taken the first steps for the development of a new international order in our foreign trade.

As you know, internal differences in the party paralyzed the revolution and the United States moved quickly against our revolution, invading and occupying our country in one of the most criminal operations ever seen in this region.

Now the invaders, with the help of the puppet regime, have reimposed the syndrome of dependency on our country. Grenada is again on the road to economic ruin now that the U.S. invaders have destroyed each one of the gains won by the revolution. The state is limited to two functions: collecting tax and covering potholes in roads. Uninhibited capitalism is presented as the means to achieve national development.

Unemployment in Grenada is now more than 40 percent, while during the revolutionary period it was only 12 percent. Production and agriculture have declined and the small manufacturing sector which we had started to build has been paralyzed. Only a few weeks ago the regime dumped more than 170 tons of industrial products that had been turned out by the revolution's agroindustrial plants.

As you have heard, not even the mental

hospital — which was bombed by the United States, killing more than 40 patients in the process — has been rebuilt. Now many of the mentally ill roam the streets with no hospital to care for them.

The invaders have destroyed everything and built nothing. The only area in which there has been a slight improvement is in tourism and this has been as a result of the new airport. But when the U.S. and its pro-Scoons* puppets opened the new airport, they didn't mention Fidel, they didn't mention the Cubans and acted as if they had brought the airport with their invasion.

But today, I want to tell you, Comrade Fidel, that the people of Grenada will always be grateful for the selfless sacrifice and support given to our people when we began building a new order and now I want to express the gratitude of the Grenadian people for your heroic efforts. (Applause)

We talk about eliminating the debt, but we feel this is a debt we must pay, the debt of being capable of regaining our independence and national sovereignty in order to redeem the bloodshed by our Cuban comrades in Grenada, and this is the struggle we have started. (Applause)

Comrade Fidel, comrades:

Due to four and a half years of revolutionary experience I know our struggle can be won and I can tell you that Maurice Bishop is alive in the hearts and minds of the people. (Applause)

In the days that I have spent in this historic meeting of Latin American, and English-, French-, and Portuguese-speaking peoples from the Caribbean, I know that Maurice Bishop lives and is with us as we start this struggle and crusade for true independence and the true liberation of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Long live the struggles of the Latin American and Caribbean peoples!

Long live the spirit of Maurice Bishop!

Long live Caribbean and Latin American struggles for a new order!

Thank you. (Applause)

*British Commonwealth Governor-General Sir Paul Scoon.

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FIDEL
CASTRO
SPEECHES 1984-85



WAR & CRISIS
IN THE
AMERICAS

CBTU-CBC forum hears S. African unionist on apartheid

BY MIKE FITZSIMMONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — "So as the South African government continues to fall victim to its own racist ideology, by tossing out false hints of reform, American trade unions and the American public must not be deceived. Apartheid cannot be reformed; it can only be dismantled."

With this, William Lucy, the national president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), introduced Tozamile Botha, the administrative secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). Botha was the featured speaker September 25 at a forum sponsored by the CBTU and the Congressional Black Caucus. The forum was held here as part of the 15th Annual Legislative Weekend of the Congressional Black Caucus held September 25-28.

Lucy also explained that the CBTU and other organizations were combining resources to put maximum pressure on the U.S. government to withdraw support for the apartheid regime in South Africa. He referred to the many anti-apartheid protests

that have occurred and continue to be planned across the United States.

The CBTU is urging all its members and all opponents of apartheid to support these demonstrations, and to take further steps to isolate and weaken South Africa. These steps include pushing for divestment from and legal sanctions against corporations operating in South Africa. They include unions refusing to handle South African goods and boycotting South African products.

Both Lucy's and Botha's presentations helped answer important questions faced by anti-apartheid activists in the unions and other organizations. Can apartheid's brutal features be reformed? Will the withdrawal of U.S. corporations from South Africa help or hurt South African workers?

Referring to the Sullivan Principles — steps U.S. corporations are encouraged to take to improve the quality of life for Black South African workers — Botha explained that these codes avoid the political question. He said that apartheid is a system for the separation and exploitation of Black



Tozamile Botha, leader of South African Congress of Trade Unions, speaking at union meeting in Bridgeton, Missouri. Botha was featured speaker at September 28 Washington, D.C., forum sponsored by Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and Congressional Black Caucus.

labor. U.S. and other corporations support apartheid because it guarantees very high profits.

"Do Blacks want to improve the quality of life of the ghettos? Do Blacks want segregated bantustans?" such as that set up by the Ford Motor Company to comply with the Sullivan Principles? Ford established training for its Black workers in Port Elizabeth, but the facilities are sepa-

rate and inferior to those used by its white workers.

Botha ended his talk saying that most Blacks in South Africa favor divestment and are more and more prepared to die fighting to end the apartheid system.

CBTU President Lucy responded to the criticism that economic sanctions will harm Black workers in South Africa rather than aid their struggle. He said the best answer to what he calls paternalistic concerns is given by an official of the National Union of Mineworkers of South Africa:

"It might cause some suffering, at first, if American companies are forced to leave, but nothing compared to the suffering that we could bring to an end if we could get rid of the system we have right now."

"Even people who have jobs with the American companies are willing to sacrifice a little to be able to live as free people."

The forum was attended by close to 100 people, most of them Black and members of the CBTU from around the country. Questions asked after the presentations focused on exactly how workers here can help South African workers end apartheid. It was mentioned that the United Mine Workers of America has set up a fund to aid families of South African mine workers.

Striking meatpackers win court battle

BY STEVE WATTENMAKER

ST. PAUL — Meatpackers striking the George A. Hormel Company in Austin, Minnesota, won an important court battle here at the end of September, turning back an attempt by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to charge the union with unfair labor practices.

Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers struck the Hormel plant August 17 after overwhelmingly rejecting Hormel's demand that the Austin workers accept far-ranging concessions as the price for a new contract.

The NLRB and Hormel had charged P-9 with conducting an "illegal secondary boycott" against First Bank Systems — a company P-9 has identified as Hormel's financial parent. Since 1984 the bank has been a target of a corporate campaign by P-9 to publicize the fact that the real decisions about Hormel policy are made in First Bank System's Minneapolis board room.

As part of its strike strategy, Local P-9 has organized large picket lines at First Bank offices in Minneapolis, St. Paul, and other cities in the Upper Midwest. Striking Hormel workers have also handed out nearly half a million leaflets in five states exposing the links between First Bank and Hormel and explaining the issues in the strike.

Federal Judge Edward Devitt granted the NLRB request September 23 for a temporary injunction against P-9's corporate campaign. With the courtroom packed with P-9 members and supporters, Devitt brushed aside the union's arguments that the injunction would represent a grave injustice to P-9's First Amendment rights. The judge's sweeping ruling prohibited P-9 from linking First Bank to the Hormel dispute in any way.

After the hearing, P-9 leaders and their attorneys explained that the strategy of the NLRB, Hormel, and the courts was to tie up P-9 in months of legal wrangling over the secondary boycott question — turning the "temporary" injunction into a permanent gag order on the union.

However, the following day an administrative law judge appointed to begin hearings on the NLRB charge against P-9 ruled that constitutional issues of free speech were involved. The judge ordered Hormel, the NLRB, and the union to reach a negotiated settlement immediately.

After meeting four hours, the union announced that Hormel and the NLRB had dropped the unfair labor charges in return

for some minor adjustments in P-9's corporate campaign that would still leave the union free to continue publicizing the links between Hormel and First Bank Systems.

Local P-9 President Jim Guyette called the settlement "a real victory, especially important because the NLRB is dropping its charges."

While P-9 was in court, several blocks away the annual convention of the Minnesota AFL-CIO voted to support the P-9 strike along with more than a dozen other strikes under way in the state.

P-9 delegates received a standing ovation when they entered the convention hall. State AFL-CIO head Dan Gustafson, how-

ever, ruled against a request by the Hormel delegates that several hundred more P-9 members waiting outside the convention hall be allowed to enter as observers. The strikers later formed a long receiving line to talk with and leaflet the convention delegates as they left the hotel for a lunch break.

In addition to passing a resolution of support, the convention took up a collection for the strike that netted several thousand dollars, and pledged to send several thousand more. To strong applause, P-9 President Guyette then proposed that the funds not only go to Hormel workers, but be divided among all workers on strike across the state.

Shipyard workers in Bath, Me. end walkout

Continued from front page

would face cold weather, decreased seasonal job openings, and higher bills more quickly.

- An increase in probation from 35 to 45 days.

The contract was sweetened by the inclusion of bonus clauses, offering workers a \$1,000 bonus for returning to work and two \$500 bonuses at Christmas in 1986 and 1987.

These provisions were short of what the company had been demanding since forcing the union onto the picket lines. BIW claimed that it needed deep concessions from the union to remain competitive. Company spokesman James McGregor complained to the *Portland Press Herald*



Young workers on picket line last July at beginning of 99-day Bath shipyard strike.

after the contract was ratified that BIW didn't get what they claimed they needed, noting that the company had wanted a permanent two-tier pay system, and did not want to pay bonuses.

Heated discussion

The union contract ratification meeting was long and heated, reflecting the real discussion in the local about whether to accept the concession contract. For the first time in its history, the local's negotiating committee was not unanimous. The recommendation to accept the contract was brought to the meeting by a five-to-three vote.

Ray Ladd, president of Local 6, was one of the minority recommending rejection of the contract. Ladd told the *Militant* before the vote that in his opinion the offer contained too many concessions that were not justified given the strength of the union.

Most strikers on the picket line pointed out weaknesses in the proposed contract. But some also voiced apprehension about the future, pointing to the financial pressures from the long strike, the increasingly union-busting stance the company had adopted in recent weeks, and the effects these had on union members.

As they went into work for the first time in three months on October 8, many Local 6 members echoed these themes in talking with *Militant* reporters. While almost everyone saw the concessions in the contract as setbacks, many pointed to their increasing financial problems.

Threat to bring in scabs

Other workers discussed their concern about possible divisions within the union. Over the last few weeks, BIW had publicly threatened that it planned to reopen the yard, calling for people to cross the picket

lines and come to work. The company raised this threat in letters sent to all workers and in full-page newspaper ads they took out across the state. A September 26 ad concluded, "With this deepening impasse in negotiations, it is necessary to consider every option that will allow BIW to resume full operations."

Many others argued that the concessions were too deep and too divisive themselves. After the first shift had gone to work, Ladd told the *Militant* that he felt the union and its picket lines were strong enough that neither strikebreakers nor a company-sponsored back-to-work effort would have gotten anyone to cross the lines. Ladd also explained that he believed that with a continuing solid strike and solidarity from other unions the company would have been forced to back down from more of its concession demands.

Ladd also felt that the concessions voted in the contract could weaken the local on the job and in future contract negotiations when BIW goes for deeper cuts.

These divisions were reflected in the local meeting. Ladd explained that for the first time in the history of the local a motion was made to take the ratification vote in a secret ballot as opposed to a standing count. The vote on whether to have a secret ballot was so close it had to be taken three times, twice by voice vote and once by standing vote. No one could tell which won. As chair of the meeting, Ladd ruled that in the interest of avoiding further division the vote would be taken by secret ballot.

Before the meeting the company had openly attempted to interfere in the union's business, publicly campaigning for a secret ballot. The October 6 *Sunday Portland*

Continued on next page

IAM members divided on new contract

BY DEBRA MADDEN

SAN DIEGO — On September 23, 1,900 hourly workers of the General Dynamics Electronics Division (GDE) here began working under a new, three-year contract. The production workers are all members of Local Lodge 1125 of the International Association of Machinists (IAM).

The new agreement eliminates the dual wage structure. Now, newly hired workers will be able to reach the top of the wage rate. Under the previous contract only those workers hired before the beginning of the 1982-85 contract could reach the top rate.

The first and third years have a three percent general wage increase for both the top and the bottom of the wage rates for all workers. There are also two lump sum payments — a one percent bonus in November 1985, and a four percent payment in the contract's second year.

The previous contract had a three-tier COLA (cost-of-living adjustment) structure, which workers at GDE call a "funny formula" COLA. The new agreement has gotten rid of the "funny formula." Now all workers will receive the same COLA that previously only workers in the higher labor grades had received.

There were other contract improvements such as increased pension payments, expanded recall rights, and expanded arbitration rights. Employees will no longer have to pay premiums for their health insurance.

There was strong shop-floor sentiment favoring a strike to get a better contract. It centered on the issue of wages and the need for wage increases instead of lump sum payments in each of the three years covered. The lowest labor grade scale now starts at \$3.81 an hour, with six of the 12 labor grades starting at \$4.57 an hour or less. The majority of production workers fall into those labor grades. Although the wage structure is no longer a two-tier system, the more recently hired workers find that due to the extremely low starting rates, it will take them 10 or more years in most cases to reach the top of their wage rate in the range of \$9, \$10, and \$11 an hour.

Union members who participated in both the initial meeting when the company proposal was presented and the ratification meeting three days later ripped the low starting wages offered by GDE. Many wondered how the company could justify such wages when it registered 1984 profits in the hundreds of millions of dollars, while not paying one cent in income taxes for the past four years.

One young Black woman explained that \$3.81 an hour and three years of the new contract would not put her above the welfare level. Others, also referring to the low starting wages and the 1985 bonus of one percent, stated that "one percent of nothing is still nothing."

Another worker shouted to the negotiating committee to tell the truth about what the company had offered. This forced the negotiators to admit that "we still have low wages" and that the 10 years required to progress to the top of the wage rates "takes forever."

One member of the local's elected bargaining committee explained that the company's offer was a smart one. It was clearly just good enough to split the membership. This division was expressed by the 51 percent vote to reject the offer from GDE. Although most workers felt that the offer contained substantial improvements over the previous contract, the younger members of the work force had a real desire to take the company on in a fight for even better starting wages and for a second-year wage increase instead of the proposed 4 percent bonus.

The contract was voted down 702 to 669, and a second strike vote found 893 to 464 in favor of a strike. But since the strike vote total failed to reach the union's constitutionally required two-thirds margin by only one-half of one percent, the representatives from the International declared the contract ratified. Earlier in the meeting, they had stated that this action would be taken in the event that the agreement was rejected and the strike vote failed to reach the two-thirds level.

After the results of the contract and strike votes were announced, a large number of workers expressed anger and disappointment over returning to work under the new contract. A lot of discussions in the plant on Monday morning focused on what had happened at Sunday's meeting. Many people questioned how democratic the whole process had been, how we had ended up with a contract we had voted down.

Most workers agreed that the union's tactic used three years ago, of voting down contract offers while continuing to work without a contract, encouraged the company to push a worse agreement today. The GDE bosses had realized that it was unlikely the union was going to go out on strike. And most workers also admitted that there was obviously a significant layer of workers that were conservatized and willing to accept the company's offer.

At the same time some gains were registered. Besides winning a modest wage increase and getting rid of the two-tier wage structure, racism, and how the company uses it in its own interests to divide the workers, was dealt some blows. A small layer of workers tried to blame the large number of Asians at GDE for hurting the union's fight against the company. Many Asians — like other workers — had not supported a possible strike. One speaker who tried this racist line of argument at the ratification meeting was shouted down.

Anyone who looked around the room saw the huge turnout of Asians, many of them among the lowest paid. Although many were in a labor union for the first time in their lives, they clearly saw the need for unity, to fight together to take on the bosses.

This unity was also seen on the shop floor. An in-plant support committee was formed that included not only shop stewards, but a number of rank and file members. Many of these workers were becoming union activists for the first time.

The first of two strike sanction votes was held in August, and three-fourths of the work force turned out, with 98 percent voting in favor of striking.

The support committee produced at least one leaflet a week for mass distribution at the plant gates and one leaflet a day in the two weeks preceding the contract's expiration. The topics included eliminating the dual wage scale, general wage increases versus lump sum payments, fighting the current policy of mandatory overtime, and calling for child care as a necessity for working parents.

Leaflets were also produced explaining what a union is and the need for unity. Several of these leaflets appeared in five languages: Spanish, Tagalog (spoken in the Philippines), Lao, Vietnamese, and English. These multi-language leaflets were a step forward for the union, relating to the entire membership and promoting unity among the members.

Debra Madden is a member of IAM Local Lodge 1125.

Shipyard workers end walkout

Continued from previous page

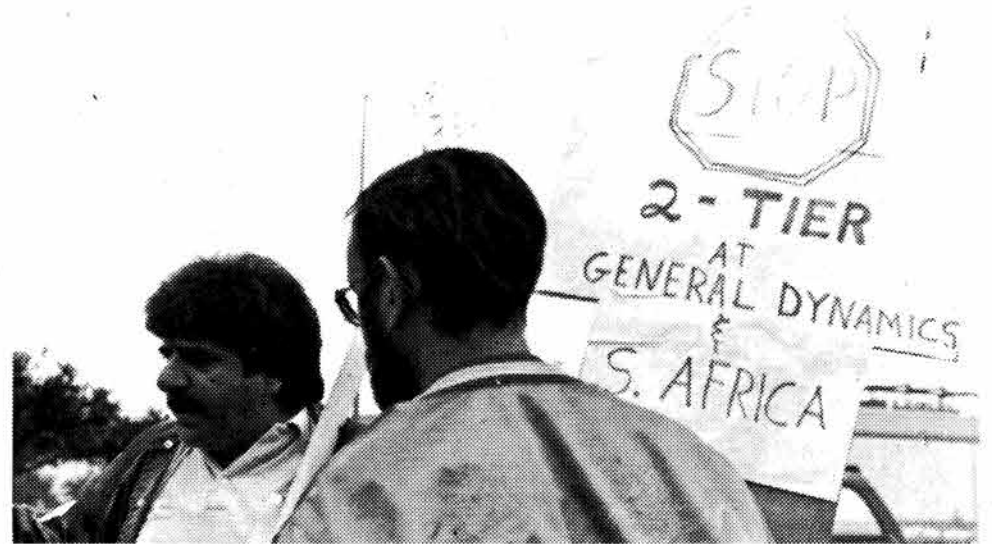
Tribune reported that "Haggett said he would like to see a secret ballot."

After deciding to ratify the contract and return to work, the local voted not to release the vote figures. For all the strikers, rebuilding the unity and strength of the union as it reentered the yard was paramount.

Fight not over

As Local 6 members returned to work they were immediately hit by the continuing animosity of the company. They found out that since they were getting a bonus instead of a wage hike, it was going to be treated as a "gift" — and taxed accordingly. The \$1,000 signing bonus turned out to be actually \$628.50.

The next big job confronting the local will be coping with company efforts to test



Opposition to two-tier wages is an important issue with Detroit UAW General Dynamics strikers (above) and was also a big issue with IAM members in San Diego in their negotiations with General Dynamics.

Gen'l Dynamics strikers keep solid picket lines

BY JOANNE MURPHY

DETROIT — Inside the government-owned tank plant in Warren, Michigan, supervisors are wading around in rubber boots because the coolant systems are overflowing.

Production and maintenance workers, 1,600 members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1200, went on strike September 18 against General Dynamics. One of the largest war contractors for Washington, GD Land Systems Division operates tank plants in Lima, Ohio, and Scranton, Pennsylvania. All 5,000 UAW members who produce the tanks are out on strike.

In a September 29 *New York Times* article titled "Army to get tanks despite walk-out," GD spokesman William Shiel blustered, "We are using management people to keep to schedule. We have 1,000 people involved and will deliver 60 to 70 tanks."

This is pure hogwash, as Local 1200 members can testify. Nothing is rolling off the end of the line at the Warren plant.

The government may be rewriting contracts and shuffling papers to make it appear that GD is meeting delivery schedules. This would fit into a pattern of government complicity with GD's push for profits.

More evidence of this relationship appeared in the *Detroit Free Press* September 29 in an article titled "Rule gives defense firms big break."

"General Dynamics, which hasn't paid income tax since 1972, got a \$33 million tax rebate last year despite domestic profits of \$649 million, according to its annual report," the article stated.

This quote has been printed in poster format by Local 1200 to use in winning solidarity with the strike.

GD workers are demanding pay raises, return of holidays, and abolishing two-tier wage scales — basically to recoup concessions given in 1979 when Chrysler owned the tank plant, and in 1982 when GD took over.

The right to strike over health and safety issues and to get Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday as a holiday are two other important demands.

out the union's strength and unity on the shop floor, Ladd said. Local 7, the clerks' union, which settled with no concessions two weeks earlier, has seen its members considerably harassed since returning to work. Ladd said, "we expect BIW to push now. But they should know that whatever you think of the contract, you will fight like hell for the members — with whatever it takes."

Ladd also pointed to the support Local 6 received from unionists and others across Maine and throughout the country. "We really appreciated it," he said, "and we want to thank everyone. We really learned that you can't look at these fights as just your union against your company. This is a national fight, and labor is starting to stand up today. We'll be proud to help other unions who find themselves forced out into the street like we were."

On the picket line on Van Dyke Street in Warren, Local 1200 has a big wooden coffin inscribed "Bury concessions." The local has plans to put out a button with the same motto.

Letters asking for support have gone out from Local 1200's Education Committee to UAW locals and other unions.

"We are a small section of the UAW and the labor movement. We are aware that our strength to fight back against these concession demands comes from the support we give, as well as the support we receive, from our brothers and sisters who are fighting the same anti-concessions struggle," the letter says.

The Detroit Federation of Teachers voted to support the strikers, and sent a message. People from other unions have begun stopping by the picket lines, and requests for speakers are coming in.

Despite the union's discussion with the Warren City Council, police harassment of pickets continues. Five Local 1200 members have been arrested. Police are also routing trucks along residential streets to avoid the main gate on Van Dyke.

Every resident approached by union members in the neighborhood of the plant signed a petition against the city allowing overweight trucks on the side streets, where they endanger children and damage property.

In Lima, GD went to court and got an injunction limiting UAW Local 2075's 2,400 members there to four pickets per gate. Since the plant has nine gates, this still means the union has 36 pickets on the streets at all times.

Chrysler strike vote

BY HARRIS FREEMAN

DETROIT — Members of the United Auto Workers union (UAW) in the United States and Canada voted to authorize a strike against Chrysler Corporation if the union's demands are not met by the October 15 contract expiration date.

UAW members at U.S. Chrysler plants voted for strike authorization by an 89 percent majority, while members of the Canadian UAW — now independent of the U.S. union — mandated strike authorization by a 99 percent majority.

Canadian and U.S. Chrysler workers have long expressed a demand for wage and benefits parity with UAW members employed by Ford and General Motors. For more than five years, Chrysler workers have had lower wages, less benefits, and fewer holidays than Ford and General Motors workers. Since 1979, Chrysler workers have given up more than \$1.1 billion in wage and benefits concessions.

Canadian UAW members have expressed active support for the parity demands. Two thousand members of Local 444 in Chrysler's Windsor, Ontario, van plant, for example, recently held a lunchtime rally to show their support for the union's negotiating team.

Chrysler bosses are demanding a two-tier wage scale for new hires and sweeping concessions in work rules, job classifications, seniority rights, and union representation.

Action links Ireland, S. Africa

N.Y. socialist candidate backs Irish freedom struggle

BY MARC LICHTMAN

NEW YORK — The more than 1,000 activists at the annual Irish Solidarity Day here solidarized with the freedom struggle in South Africa and attacked the U.S.-British Supplementary Extradition Treaty, which is currently before the U.S. Senate. The treaty would make it easier to extradite Irish Republicans from the U.S. to British-ruled Northern Ireland.

The September 21 demonstration was supported by Irish-American political and cultural organizations, including Irish Northern Aid, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and the Irish-American Labor Coalition. Its official statement said:

"We believe that the great outcry in America has given new courage to the people in South Africa struggling to end apartheid and achieve dignity and democracy. In like manner, this rally on behalf of Irish freedom can give moral support to those in Ireland struggling to end sectarian discrimination, end political repression by the British government and its allies, and win a united Ireland."

Solidarity with the South African struggle was shown by slogans on hand-made signs carried by demonstrators on the march from the British consulate to the UN.

Speakers at the rally were primarily Democratic and Republican party politicians, including Senator Alfonse D'Amato and Mayor Edward Koch.

The best-received speaker was Martin Galvin from Irish Northern Aid. Galvin gained attention recently, when for the second year in a row he visited Northern Ireland despite the British government's ban on his doing so. While there, he attended the funeral of an IRA volunteer killed in combat, and held a news conference.

The major theme of the rally was opposition to the Supplementary Extradition Treaty between the United States and Britain. The treaty is currently bogged down in Senate hearings, due to major opposition from Irish-American groups.

Washington and London have been frustrated until now by several court rulings that Irish Republicans cannot be extradited because the "crimes" they are charged with are political. The amendment to the extrad-

ition treaty would essentially eliminate the political offense exemption, which has been a tradition in U.S. law for 140 years.

Once extradited to Northern Ireland, Irish Republicans can be tried in juryless Diplock Courts and convicted solely on the word of a paid informer or on the basis of false confessions beaten out of them.

Two Irish Republicans who federal authorities ruled could not be extradited are still in prison. The two, William Quinn in San Francisco and Joseph Doherty in New York, would face extradition if the treaty became law because it is retroactive.

Andrea González, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, attended the rally with several supporters. They passed out 400 copies of a statement by González attacking the extradition treaty. George Harrison and Tom Falvey, two longtime Irish activists who were acquitted on gunrunning charges several years ago, helped distribute the statement, as did a Teamster from Connecticut who had come to the socialist literature table and talked with the campaigners.

"Reagan and Thatcher want us to believe that the Irish Republican Army are terrorists, part of an international conspiracy

against 'Western Democracy,'" the statement read.

"But who are the real terrorists? The IRA who fight to unite their country and free it from foreign domination? Or the British army, who shoot down children in the street with plastic bullets? The African National Congress, who fight for majority rule? Or the apartheid government of South Africa, which kills peaceful Black protesters by the hundreds to preserve the privileges of a small minority? Britain and the United States are the largest foreign investors in South Africa and the strongest opponents of an end to white-minority rule."

"Workers and farmers in this country," the statement continued, "must oppose the real terrorists in Washington and London and stand with our brothers and sisters around the world who are fighting for freedom."

Another focus of the Irish Solidarity Day demonstration pointed in the wrong direction. That was the call for the United States to appoint a special envoy to Northern Ireland to try to bring peace. But the Supplementary Extradition Treaty is just the latest proof that the problem is not that the United States isn't sufficiently interested in Northern Ireland. The problem is that it's on the wrong side.



Militant/Marc Lichtman

Manhattan protest in 1981. More than 1,000 attended this year's Irish Solidarity Day, which included support for anti-apartheid struggle, as well as opposition to Washington's backing for British imperialist domination of Ireland.

N.Y. socialist campaign in high gear

BY OLGA RODRÍGUEZ

NEW YORK — Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, is taking her campaign to New York's working-class neighborhoods, especially the Black and Puerto Rican communities, and plant gates. Her goal is to reach the maximum number of working people with the socialist alternative before the November 5 elections.

González is on the ballot with seven other candidates in the race for mayor. These include: Edward Koch, the incumbent and Democratic Party candidate; Carol Bellamy, Liberal Party candidate; Diane McGrath, the Republican and Conservative parties' candidate; Jarvis Tyner,

People Before Profits candidate; and Dr. Lenora Fulani, New Alliance Party candidate.

A central theme of her campaign is building the movement against apartheid and demanding the U.S. break all ties with the racist South African regime.

González and Mark Satinoff, SWP candidate for New Jersey governor, will be going to Staten Island to campaign against the U.S. Navy's plans to "homeport" ships carrying nuclear weapons in New York harbor, off Staten Island.

González is calling for a "yes" vote on a referendum on the November 5 ballot that would amend the New York City charter to prohibit the city Board of Estimate from approving any "sale, lease, exchange or other disposition of city owned property so as to facilitate the development of any military facility, any component of which is designed to carry or store nuclear weapons."

Among the many upcoming campaign activities, González and her supporters will be joining with opponents of U.S. racist immigration policies on October 15 in Brooklyn for a "Day of Justice" for undocumented immigrants.

On October 17, she will speak on a platform with other participants in the July International Women's conference held in Nairobi, Kenya, at a report-back meeting sponsored by the New York chapter of the National Organization for Women. That

morning the socialist candidate will be with other supporters of the New York 8 + at the federal courthouse to demand that all charges be dropped against these victims of a racist government frameup.

González is calling on supporters of justice for the Irish people to join with her and other Irish solidarity activists in attending Senate hearings in Washington, D.C., on October 22 on the U.S.-British Supplementary Extradition Treaty. The treaty would make it easier to extradite Irish Republicans from the United States to British-ruled Northern Ireland.

González and the other SWP candidates — Rashaad Ali for city council president, and Pat Hayes for Brooklyn borough president — have just issued a bilingual campaign platform titled "The socialist alternative for the '80s."

Sunday, October 27, will be an important day for the socialist candidates. They, along with other fighters for social justice, will be speaking at a socialist rally at their campaign headquarters. The event begins at 4 p.m. with a buffet and reception.

Volunteers and funds for the Socialist Workers campaign are needed. Call or stop by the campaign headquarters if you want to campaign with González and the other socialist candidates or if you would like a campaign representative to speak at your school, or before your union or organization. The headquarters is located at 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013, (212) 226-8474.

González: 'Fight for your rights'

Continued from front page

America and the Caribbean. It spends money to prepare to send you to see Central America through the sights of an M-16 rifle, to send you to kill people just like you who are fighting just like you — for housing, jobs, education."

While the other speakers told the students to register to vote so they could change the city, González told them, "Your generation is changing the face of South Africa today, right now, without ever voting. You change things by organizing, mobilizing, fighting to defend your interests. Don't wait for anything or anyone else to fight, to defend your interests for you."

González recently issued a statement challenging the racist hysteria being whipped up against Louis Farrakhan by the big-business press and the Democratic city administration. Her statement was printed in one of Brooklyn's major Black newspapers, *The Daily Challenge*, and played several times on two Black radio stations.

González has also been campaigning in

defense of the Puerto Rican independence fighters arrested in Puerto Rico, Mexico, and the United States on August 30. She participated in a picket line outside the Metropolitan Correctional Center on September 29.

González sent a letter to the prisoners expressing her solidarity and pledging to use her campaign to defend them against this government frame-up. She also spoke at a defense meeting for these prisoners organized by the Newark Militant Labor Forum in New Jersey.

On September 30 González participated in a march and vigil against apartheid, called by Mayor Koch and the NAACP, that drew 2,000 people. But Koch's attempts to tie his racist campaign against Louis Farrakhan to this anti-apartheid action reduced the potential size and impact of the march.

Later that same day González spoke at a rally in Harlem in defense of the New York 8+, a group of Black antiracist fighters framed up by the police.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish?

'PM' backs Oct. 23 debt protest

"In Grenada, the rapid deterioration of the terms of trade in recent years has virtually destroyed the productive sector of Grenada's economy."

"Now the invaders, with the help of the puppet regime, have reimposed the syndrome of dependency on our country. Grenada is again on the road to economic ruin now that the U.S. invaders have destroyed each and every one of the gains won by the revolution. The state is limited to two functions: collecting tax and covering potholes in roads."

These words by George Louison, leader of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada, were spoken at the Meeting on the Latin American and Caribbean Foreign Debt which was held recently in Havana, Cuba.

The new issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* reprints Louison's speech in Spanish. Also in the issue are other articles on the Latin American and Caribbean debt, including an editorial supporting the October 23 regional day of protest against the foreign debt that was called by a continent-wide trade union conference held in Havana.

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.

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30,000 rally in solidarity with Farrakhan

BY RASHAAD ALI

NEW YORK — "Look bro, them racists are out to get Brother Farrakhan," said a young Black woman, wearing a "Free Nelson Mandela" button. "We can't let them tell us who to like. When they jump on one of us, we should all stand up and fight!"

She was one of the 30,000 who turned out here October 7 to hear Minister Louis Farrakhan at Madison Square Garden and the Felt Forum. People were packed in the aisles, and the crowd overflowed onto the city's streets.

Blacks came from all parts of the New York City area to show their solidarity with Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam. Some whites, Arabs, and Latinos were also at the meeting.

The crowd was noisy and the mood rebellious. People were angry about the racist campaign whipped up against Farrakhan by officials of the Democratic Party, religious figures — leaders of major Jewish groups in particular — and others.

As one brother told the *Militant*, "We're not willing to take anything from anybody."

"I'm not a racist or anti-Semitic," Farrakhan told the crowd. There was warm applause.

New York's Democratic mayor, Edward Koch, had said Farrakhan was a new Hitler and should be burned in hell. But "Blacks in New York already live in hell," Farrakhan replied in his speech.

When he asked the audience if the U.S. government, mayor, and governor were "righteous," they thundered back: "No!"

On the platform with Farrakhan, in a gesture of solidarity, were Russell Means, a leader of the American Indian Movement; singer Chaka Khan; Ron Daniels, leader of the National Black Independent Political Party; and others.

The audience responded favorably when Farrakhan attacked racism, U.S. support to Israel, and South Africa's apartheid system, and defended "the poor and oppressed against the blood suckers."

During the two-and-a-half-hour talk, this reporter did not hear any anti-Semitic remarks. Yet Farrakhan's alleged anti-Semitic statements were the reason that Black leaders here and around the country have been strongly told by Koch and others

to publicly repudiate Farrakhan.

But Farrakhan is *not* on an anti-Jewish campaign. This speech, like most of Farrakhan's talks, centered on exposing the racism of U.S. society. But the commercial media refuses to print what Farrakhan actually says.

Many reporters from the big-business media were clearly disappointed by the lack of anti-Semitic remarks. It showed on their faces. And most of them left half-way through Farrakhan's speech.

The racist campaign against Farrakhan here first began a few weeks ago. After drawing large meetings in Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles — 18,000 in Los Angeles — article after article began to appear in the dailies about Farrakhan the "anti-Semite." The proof? A quote by Farrakhan taken out of context from a year and a half ago.

In Los Angeles, Farrakhan's denouncers demanded that Black leaders — including Mayor Thomas Bradley — publicly repudiate Farrakhan. A number did.

In New York a similar drive opened.

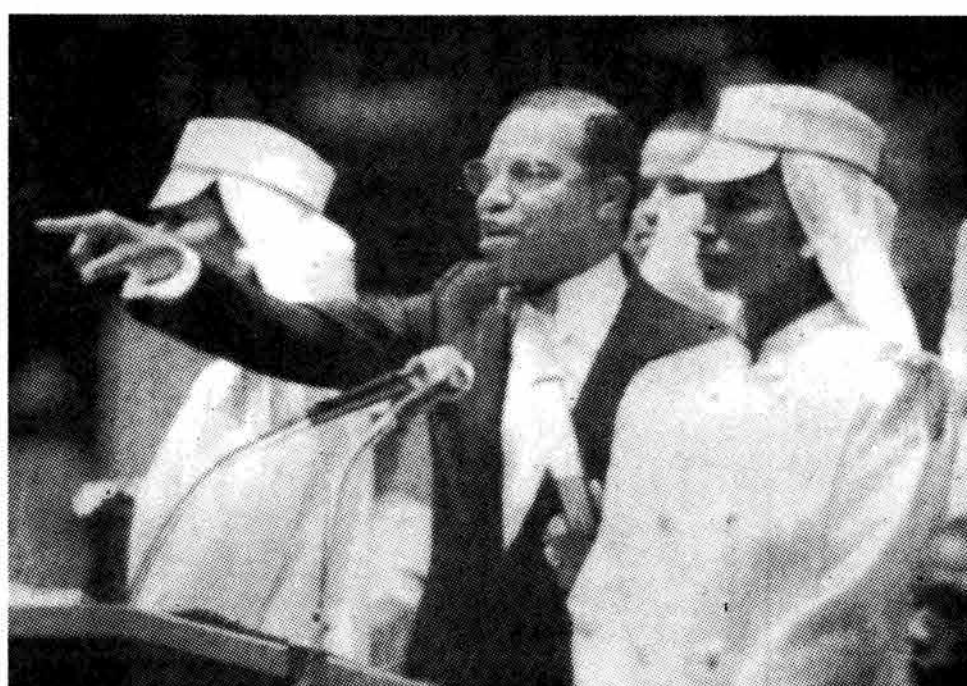
David Dinkins, Democratic Party candidate for Manhattan borough president, said, "I find his blatantly anti-Semitic remarks offensive, and I condemn them."

Others did so but were uneasy about it. Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) commented, "I just hope that this is not coming to the point where, if Blacks in South Africa have to carry a pass book to go from place to place, that Black Americans have to carry their last statement refuting Farrakhan."

After he had condemned Farrakhan, recent Democratic mayoral candidate Herman Farrell complained, "I have never gone to my Jewish friends and said 'to prove you are a liberal denounce Ed Koch.' It is like 'All right, folks, let's have litmus test time.'"

None of these critics, however, bothered to attend Farrakhan's meeting.

But a few Black leaders and others did refuse to buckle to the racist pressure. At a press conference held on the steps of City Hall prior to the Madison Square Garden meeting, Rev. Lawrence Lucas, the pastor of Resurrection Roman Catholic Church in Harlem, said that "it was hypocritical of Koch to denounce Farrakhan without simi-



Louis Farrakhan speaking at Madison Square Garden meeting.

larly condemning Israel for failing to impose sanctions against South Africa to protest South Africa's policy of racial separation."

Others at the press conference were Rev. Calvin Butts, Abyssinian Baptist Church; Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, Canaan Baptist Church of Christ; Dr. Muhammad T. Mehdi, president of the American Arab Relations Committee; and others.

In a letter to the mayor, Dr. Mehdi said that Farrakhan was "more consistent and therefore more honorable" than the mayor because he was "opposed to racism everywhere — America, South Africa, or in Palestine."

From his pulpit, Rev. Walker said, "Where were these forces when the Rev. Jerry Falwell assailed Desmond Tutu as a phony and announced to the world his program to prop up apartheid?"

In a sharp escalation of the racist campaign against Farrakhan by New York City officials, the Black daily, *Daily Challenge*, reports in its October 10 issue, that Koch "ordered the study of the minister's text for 'threat assessment,' following Farrakhan's

acid denunciation of City Clerk David Dinkins."

According to the Oct. 10 *New York Times*, Koch said, "The life of David Dinkins was threatened by Minister Farrakhan in my opinion." He sent tapes of the speech to Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward. The chief cop immediately ordered protection for Dinkins.

This racist campaign is directed both at Farrakhan and the whole Black community. After the meeting, Koch said he was disturbed that "25,000 people knowingly came to hear someone spewing racism and hatred against whites, and anti-Semitism directed against Jews." New York's Governor Mario Cuomo said Farrakhan's views were not acceptable "to intelligent and responsible Blacks."

In other words, views that are not acceptable to the U.S. rulers are antiwhite, anti-Semitic, and irresponsible. For a Black or any working person to say Israel is an "outlaw state" and Blacks have a right to fight racist oppression becomes illegitimate.

But this racist campaign against Louis Farrakhan took a beating by Joe Louis's people at Madison Square Garden.

As the A train to Brooklyn — packed with those who went to the rally — pulled out of 34th Street, the feeling of solidarity still held sway. "Farrakhan express to Brooklyn," said the conductor over the loudspeaker. Some riders responded, "and a big Black express too." Everyone shouted "Yeah!"

Socialist candidate hits mayor's campaign against Farrakhan

BY MEL MASON

NEW YORK — One of the 30,000 people who turned out to hear Nation of Islam Minister Louis Farrakhan was Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York.

Interviewed by the *Militant* before the meeting, González explained why she was there:

"I'm participating tonight in this meeting in defense of Minister Farrakhan's right to speak. I'm also here to extend my campaign's solidarity with the Black community which is the target of the racist campaign being whipped up by [New York City Mayor] Koch, Governor Cuomo, and other Democratic Party politicians." González explained that by aiming their fire at Farrakhan, the racists hoped to intimidate anyone in the Black community from speaking out against racist injustice in this country.

González's supporters were in evidence throughout the evening, passing out campaign literature and selling copies of the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* newspapers — the two main newspapers that cover the socialist campaign.

González had this to say about the Black community's response to the racist attacks of Koch, Cuomo, and others: "The size of the crowd — overflowing Madison Square Garden and the Felt Forum — was a fitting answer to Koch's attempt to dictate to the Black community."

'South Africa is moral question of the day'

Continued from back page

So those who are worried about Soviet or communist influence in that part of the world should know then that we should be breaking our backs to make sure that we are the friends of those people, rather than being seen as aiding those who are oppressing them.

What do you see as the perspective for building the type of movement that will force the United States government to end this collaboration with South Africa?

A. Let me say, firstly, in terms of perspectives, we are winning, the South African people are winning, victory is at hand.

That doesn't mean that tomorrow morning or the day after the racist South African regime is going to lay down and play dead. They still have some powerful tricks left. But victory is at hand.

What we need to do is keep the pressure up. The South African economy is at a low ebb, and if we continue the pressure, it will get even lower.

Many white South Africans are now concerned about the situation and are ready to do what makes sense. I think it's not an isolated situation, when you see South African businessmen traveling out of their country to meet with those who are regarded as terrorist and enemies and outlaws — the ANC members who cannot even come to their own country. They are going there to meet with them and they want to talk.

The fact that loans are not going to South Africa. And let's understand something, more banks and other institutions are withdrawing than we really know. Because they now realize it's not safe to invest their money in South Africa. They are seeing the

handwriting on the wall.

I was saying that the pressures are there, and we have to continue the pressures, creating new pressures, boycotting many of the corporations' products, as we have been able to do here. Pressing for more states to pass legislation, including New York state — divestment legislation just like New Jersey and other states have done — and make sure that it sticks. Urging all institutions to withdraw their funds from any financial institution that does business with South Africa, or any private concern that does business with South Africa.

These things we must continue to do more and more, and we must find ways to assist directly the fighters in South Africa, the freedom fighters, the unions, and the church organizations and the other organizations. We ought to find ways of assisting them. They can use finances. We ought to raise funds for them. We ought to communicate with them directly. Send them messages of support so that their morale is kept high. These are the things we need to do.

Is the newly formed New York Anti-apartheid Coordinating Council part of a long-range approach to fighting apartheid? [The council was formed September 17 at a meeting held at District 65 headquarters.]

A. The Coordinating Council is simply a clearinghouse so that various organizations and institutions, what have you, can get together, so that whatever events are taking place, whatever planning is being done, maybe here or elsewhere, we can acquaint each other, we can work together. It's an organization that simply disseminates information and tries to get everyone to act together in programs that are taking place. Because each organization has their own right to carry on their struggles.

Second year of Massey strike opens

Continued from back page

entire Massey system.

The month-old trial has been accompanied by an escalation of Massey's slander against the union. Speaking before the Charleston Rotary Club, E. Morgan Massey, company president, called for a "federal law to deal with violence in southern West Virginia coalfields." Local and state officials are incapable of dealing with the "problem of massive acts of union violence," Massey declared, citing the Elk Run incident four years ago and other strike-support activities.

While Massey has obtained 23 federal and state injunctions against the UMW, he complained, "not one union member has been found guilty." "If the name of the or-

ganization directing such acts of violence were the Ku Klux Klan or the A.T. Massey Coal Co., the leaders would long before now be lodged in a federal penitentiary," he continued.

In the last year 50 miners died in coal mines, most of them nonunion. This is the real violence in the coalfields. The mine operators disregard safety laws and the government fails to enforce them. On October 3, UMW Vice-president Cecil Roberts told a news conference, "Our society has come around to accepting the fact that it's okay to die in the coal mines as long as it is in the name of profit. Broken windshields and other strike matters get a half-page spread, but when a coal miner dies in the mines, nobody hardly pays any attention."

ARIZONA

Phoenix

Nicaragua: A Popular Democratic Revolution. Slideshow presentation by Steve Doncaster and Don Noggle, recently returned from Nicaragua. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 12, 7 p.m. 3750 West McDowell, #3. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 272-4026.

National Day of Justice for Immigrants and Refugees. March and rally. Sat., Oct. 19. Meet 10 a.m. at Federal Building, First Ave. at Van Buren; 11 a.m. march to Harmon Park east of Memorial Hospital, 5th Ave. and Yavapi. Rally at noon. Ausp: National Day of Justice for Immigrants and Refugees Task Force.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

March and Rally Against Apartheid. Sat., Oct. 12. Assemble 11 a.m. at Jackie Robinson Stadium; march to Leimert Park, 43rd and Crenshaw Blvd. Rally 1 p.m. Ausp: Free South Africa Movement. For more information call (213) 747-1367.

Spear of the Nation. A film about South Africa. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 12. Open house, 6:30 p.m.; film, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Malcolm X and Che Guevara: Their Meaning for Today. Speakers to be announced. A bilingual program in English and Spanish. Sat., Oct. 19, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Oakland

National Anti-apartheid Protest Days. March and rally. Sat., Oct. 12, 11 a.m. Assemble at Oakland City Hall Plaza and march to Lake Merritt for 12 noon rally. Ausp: Bay Area National Anti-apartheid Protest Days Committee. For more information call (415) 436-7130.

COLORADO

Denver

Militant Bookstore Open House. Sat., Oct. 12, 1 p.m. 25 W 3 Ave. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (303) 698-2550.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

U.S. Escalates War Against Nicaragua. Eyewitness account. Speakers: panel of activists recently returned from Nicaragua. Sat., Oct. 19, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Socialist Campaign Rally. Hear Kip Hedges, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston City Council at-large. Sat., Oct. 12. Reception: 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m.; party to follow. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

Evening of Music and Solidarity with Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua. Speakers: Central American union leaders; Themba Vilakazi, representative, African National Congress. Sat., Oct. 19, 7 p.m. Longwood Theatre, 364 Longwood Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Central America Solidarity Association Labor Committee. For more information call (617) 492-8705.

Fight for Puerto Rican Rights. Speakers: representative of Colectivo Puertorriqueño of Boston. Sat., Oct. 26, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA

Stillwater

Fundraiser for North American Farm Alliance. Pig roast. Sun., Oct. 13, 2 p.m. Donation: \$6. Ausp: NAFA. For more information call (612) 439-0033.

NEW YORK

Albany

The Reagan-Gorbachev Summit: Who's Responsible for the Arms Race? Speakers: Jim McClellan, professor at State University of New York, Albany; member Albany Central Labor Council; Jon Flanders, member United Steelworkers of America Local 12207, and Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 18, 8 p.m. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

Manhattan

Performance by Macate Theater Group from Nicaragua. Sat., Oct. 12, 7 p.m. Columbia University Teachers College, 120 St. at Broadway. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua and Columbia Students in Solidarity with Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 316-0870.

Central American Refugees and Sanctuary. Debate by religious figures, scholars, government officials, and lawyers. Fri., Oct. 18, 1-5 p.m. NYC Bar Association, 42 W 44. Ausp: Lawyers Committee for Human Rights. For more information call (212) 921-2160.

Defend Women's Rights: the Fight for Pay Equity. A panel discussion with Margarita Aguilar, president, American Federation of Teachers Local 3882; Noreen Connell, New York State president of National Organization for Women; Pat Grogan, staff writer for *Militant* newspaper, National Committee member, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Oct. 18, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Legs Against Arms: Walk-a-thon for Medical Aid to Central America. Speakers, rally, music, and food. Sat., Oct. 19, 10 a.m. (rain-date: Sun., Oct. 20). J. Hood Wright Park, 175 St. and Fort Washington Ave. Ausp: New York Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, others. For more information call (212) 242-1040.

Socialist Campaign Rally. Speakers: Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York; Rashaad Ali, candidate for city council president; Pat Hayes, candidate for Brooklyn borough president. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Oct. 27. Reception 4 p.m., rally to follow. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: New York Socialist Workers Campaign '85. For more information call (212) 925-1668.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Repression in the Philippines. Speakers: representative of Friends of the Philippine People. Sun., Oct. 13, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Defend Workers' Rights from South Africa to Cincinnati. Socialist campaign rally. Speaker: Michael Italie, Socialist Workers candidate for city council. Sat., Oct. 19. Reception, 6:30 p.m. with refreshments; rally 8 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: rally and reception \$5; rally only, \$2.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

How to Solve the Crisis in Cincinnati Public Education. Speakers: James Meredith, civil rights activist; Virginia Rhodes, member, Cincinnati Federation of Teachers; Mark Rahn, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Oct. 27, 7 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Toledo

Cuba: Cancel the Foreign Debt! Video showing of *Cuba and Fidel* followed by presentation by Joe Callahan, member, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Oct. 13, 7 p.m. 1701 W Bancroft. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

Wheeling-Pittsburgh Strike. Speaker: Robert Flournoy, staff representative and civil rights coordinator, United Steelworkers of America District 29. On strike against Wheeling-Pitt. Sun., Oct. 20, 7 p.m. 1701 W Bancroft. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

OREGON

Portland

South Africa Belongs to Us. Film on Black women in South Africa. Speakers: Julia Hicks, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Northwest Joint Board and Portlanders Organized for South African Freedom; Becky Ellis, member, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

South Africa: an Eyewitness Account. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

FBI Raids in Puerto Rico. Speakers: Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 19, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

From South Africa to Central America, Fighting for Freedom — U.S. Youth Join the Battle. Panel, including Paco Sánchez, National Committee member of Young Socialist

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Alliance and staff writer for *Perspectiva Mundial*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 26, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

Pittsburgh

End the Blockade of Cuba. Slideshow and presentation by U.S. workers who have visited Cuba. Sat., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m. 402 N Highland (next to Sears in E Liberty). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

Free South Africa! March and rally. Sat., Oct. 19. Assemble 11 a.m. corner of Milwaukee and Herron. Hill district, march to Federal Building. Ausp: Pittsburghers Against Apartheid. For more information call (412) 681-3788.

Socialist Open House. Featuring Mark Weddleton, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh. Sat., Oct. 19, following Free South Africa rally. 402 N Highland Ave. (next to Sears in E Liberty). Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

What's behind the AIDS Hysteria Campaign. Speakers: representative, AIDS Education Fund of Whitman-Walker Clinic; Derrick Hicks, Cochair Langston Hughes/Eleanor Roosevelt Democratic Club; Bruce Marcus, editor, Pathfinder Press, member, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat. Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Behind the Scare Campaign Against AIDS Victims. Speakers: Ralph Navarro, Milwaukee AIDS Project; Sandi Sherman, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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(signed)
Lee A. Martindale
Business Manager

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Wait and rejoice — Gordon Hinckley, adviser to the president of the Mormon church, told an assembly of women church mem-



Harry Ring

bers that women cannot be ordained to the priesthood unless and until God so orders. "He has not done so," he counseled, "so, it is profitless for us to speculate and worry." Meanwhile, the spiritual

leader added, women should "rejoice in the enlargement of opportunities" in the church and society.

Helping hand — Iowa's Gov. Branstad declared an "economic emergency" putting into effect a state law which permits judges and banks to postpone farm foreclosures but doesn't require them to do so. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, state banking officials "don't expect the law to have much impact."

Oops, wrong Symbol — The University of Rochester has decided that the traditional symbol of Mercury, a staff entwined with two snakes, is not suitable for doctors and dentists and will be re-

moved from the school seal. The board of trustees explained, "Besides appearing commercially for Floral Transworld Delivery and a car produced by Ford, Mercury is said to be the patron of thieves and outlaws..."

What could be saintlier? — Father Noel Moholy is seeking sainthood for Junipero Serra who established the first Catholic missions in California. True, the good father did dragoon Indians into forced labor and was heavily into whipping them. But, Moholy responds, Serra was also into whipping himself. And he showed his respect for the Indians by baptizing them and teaching them the "virtues of free enterprise."

Snowed under — It's the paperwork demanded by the Pentagon that drives up the price of parts, complained Fredrick Wood, a General Dynamics veep. That's so, he said, "whether it's a piece of wire or a lollipop stick." We didn't know GD sold lollipop sticks, but they did sell the Pentagon a 2-inch "pulley remover" for \$8,832.

We hope so — Custom-made dresses by Arnold Scaasi run up to \$7,500, which struck us as a bit steep. But, one fashion critic assured, at these prices, "clients can be reasonably assured of getting something outstanding."

Maybe you can squeeze in —

Critter Comfort offers heated water beds for pets. From \$100 to about \$240, depending on size.

What could be healthier? — "Children of very strong, rich men usually end up playing the piano or being a little mixed up. My children want to outdo me." — Victor Potamkin, the hustling car dealer who's tickled that his two sons are really into the business.

50% more convenient — We reported coffin-nail companies are upping pack sizes from the traditional 20 cigarettes to 25. Meanwhile, Pall Mall is introducing a pack of 30 in the Quebec market.

Nikki Giovanni defends doing business in S. Africa

"Nikki Giovanni Opposes South African Divestment" read the headline in the San Francisco *Sun Reporter*, a Black newsweekly. She was interviewed by that paper while she was in the Bay Area.

She was one of my favorite poets along with Sonja Sanchez and the Last Poets. They were a reflection of the anger and deep-going radicalization that was taking place in the Black community and especially among youth in the late sixties.

I jumped into the article to find her reasoning for opposing divestment. As I read along it became clear she

total naiveté. All we have to do is look at our own experiences with the rich families who own corporate America. They oppress and exploit us. How can anyone say they could do otherwise in South Africa?

In fact Giovanni's line of argument is one and the same as the U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa. They say they treat Blacks more fairly than their South African counterparts. Yet, like the South African bosses, they have been helping themselves to the huge profits they make by exploiting Black workers.

Giovanni tries to justify her stance by saying "I believe in the 'Sullivan Principles.'"

But these so-called principles have been the sheepskin that has covered the wolf-like U.S. corporations. Since 1977 when the principles were put into effect, 130 of the almost 300 U.S. corporations have signed them. Yet they have made little impact on the racist rulers in Pretoria.

"Foreign investment is a pillar of the whole system which maintains the virtual slavery of the Black workers of South Africa." This is the assessment by the predominantly Black South African Congress of Trade Unions and is widely shared by Black unionists, students, community activists, and other victims of apartheid.

The importance of this point cannot be taken lightly. There are many foreign corporations with large investments in South Africa, but those of the United States play an especially crucial role. Behind them lies the whole weight of U.S. economic and political power.

As the African National Congress, the leading freedom organization, has stated, "We accuse those Western countries and their transnational corporations which collaborate actively with the regime of complicity in the commission of the crime of apartheid. The time has come

to cease all collaboration."

Giovanni, however, is not only opposed to divestment. She is also opposed to the democratic concept of one person, one vote.

Why? It would deny the white minority a share of power!

She also accuses anti-apartheid leaders in the Black community of using the South African question as a "smokescreen" to cover their misleadership of Blacks here.

There is a lot to be said about the political weaknesses in the leadership of the Black community. But on the South Africa question they have at least tried to take it to the hoop against the U.S. government's pro-South African policy. Black trade union officials especially have actively participated in the anti-apartheid movement.

Giovanni also told the *Sun Reporter*: "I don't think you have to choose between Reagan and the ANC."

Sorry sis, but that is the question.

The fight to break all U.S. ties with the racist regime in South Africa is one of the central political questions in world politics today. The destruction of the slave-like apartheid system would be a boost to the freedom struggle in all of Africa and the rest of the world. It would be a major blow to imperialism.

The long walk to freedom by the South African majority led by the ANC has won the support and the respect of democratic-minded people all over the world. The anti-apartheid movement of this country has become one of the allies of the fighting South African people.

While I'll continue to read sister Giovanni's works, much of the fire will now be gone.



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Rashaad Ali

was not only opposed to divestment, but also all that is happening to help bring down apartheid.

Arguing for the continued presence of U.S. corporations in South Africa, she said that "withdrawing American influence from South Africa will not end apartheid. It doesn't make sense," she added, "since U.S. involvement has made some positive gains for South Africa's Black population."

Hold on sister!

For any right thinking Black person to say to Blacks in South Africa that they should rely on U.S. corporations to help solve their problem is a clear sign of lunacy — or

South Africa revolt spurs Namibia freedom fight

Continued from Page 3

care is more than 14 times greater than that for Blacks.

In 1973, there was one hospital bed for every 72 whites. For Blacks it was one bed for every 143.

The infant mortality rate for Blacks is about eight times as high as the white rate. Whites live just about twice as long as Blacks.

SWAPO

Despite all of this, and in the face of 60,000 South African occupation troops, the resistance of the Namibian people is proving irrepressible.

Since 1960, the leadership of the struggle against the racist occupiers has been provided by the South West Africa People's Organization — SWAPO.

Recently, SWAPO and its armed wing, People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), have been able to escalate the resistance. In much of northern Namibia, which is most heavily populated, the government has been forced to impose martial law.

The fighting has also been extended to other areas of the country. Military installations and convoys have been targeted, as well as factories, rail lines, and administration offices.

In September officials admitted that in the first eight months of this year, there had been 106 acts of sabotage and 230 armed clashes. And they have not been able to conceal the fact that hundreds of South African troops have died in the fighting.

The Namibian rebels have been given a

solid boost by the rise of the struggle in South Africa. And, by the same token, the blows struck by SWAPO give new resolve to the South African freedom fighters.

In 1976, both of these struggles enjoyed a big gain when the South African regime suffered a heavy military defeat in Angola.

Soon after Angola won its independence in 1975, South Africa invaded. But with a major assist from Cuban troops, Angola drove out the invaders.

Since then, South Africa has made a

number of attacks on Angola. They try to justify these murderous raids by pointing to the fact that Angola has been a sanctuary for SWAPO and for South African guerrilla fighters organized by the African National Congress.

In Namibia, the military gains by SWAPO have been accompanied by a rise in open mass protests and demonstrations. Here too, the embattled South African people have proven an inspiration.

Public protests, petition drives, and

legal actions in Namibia have demanded an end to conscription into the Pretoria-controlled South West Africa Territory Force.

This past April, 5,000 people rallied in one area of Namibia to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the founding of SWAPO.

Close ties are maintained between SWAPO and the African National Congress. Today they are leading a common struggle which is dealing hammer blows to apartheid and the imperialist system which spawned it.

Burkina leader on fight against apartheid

Continued from back page

"It is for that reason that Burkina Faso, at all platforms where we've been able to speak, tries to create the greatest possible unity, to oppose the unity of the international banks."

He explained that nearly a century of French domination had left his country of 7 million so poor it ranked last in some UN statistics. In the countryside, he said, "even animal-drawn plows are rather rare, much less tractors."

The government has mobilized the population to build roads and a major dam project, and to extend the only railroad line past the capital to the north, which has some of Burkina's most significant mineral deposits. The French colonial rulers, Guissou explained, viewed Burkina — which they called Upper Volta — as merely a source of labor for neighboring Ivory Coast, and thus made no efforts to develop his country.

Since the revolution, school costs have been cut in half, and the government ex-

pects to double educational facilities within two years, he said. A 15-day campaign last year vaccinated 2.5 million children against three of the most common childhood diseases there: yellow fever, measles, and meningitis. By next year, he said, the government hopes to have a health clinic in each of the country's 7,000 villages.

Land has been nationalized and made available free to those who farm it. Commercial farmers have been urged to grow food crops, and food banks have been set up around the country for emergencies.

These measures, combined with the best rainy season in 40 years, Guissou said, have resulted in important strides toward easing the famine that has hit Burkina along with other countries in the region.

Involving women in the revolution is a major emphasis, he said, and the government now has three ministers who are women, including the minister of the budget.

Measures have been taken to insure that most of a man's wages go to his wife and children, easing the economic dependency

of women, most of whom do not work outside the home.

"Men had reduced their wives to maids in their houses, but didn't even want to give them the salary of maids," Guissou said.

He added that while such measures may not seem like much in the United States, "in a society traditionally very sexist and male-oriented, they are seen as psychological earthquakes."

Key to the progress that has been made are the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs) which have been established in every village to involve the masses in improvement campaigns and defense.

Asked about the threat of a Grenada-style invasion of Burkina, Guissou replied:

"We have 7 million Burkinabe organized in CDRs, which we think is the strongest defense against imperialism and reaction."

"We arm them for that. We train them for that. We think there is no other barrier than the people in arms."

Join the Young Socialist Alliance!
YSA, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

'Program for Sustained Misery'

"Program for Sustained Growth."

That's the title of Washington's latest proposal to deal with the snowballing debt owed by the semicolonial countries to the imperialist bankers.

U.S. Treasury Secretary James Baker outlined this proposal at the recently concluded joint annual meeting of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), held in South Korea.

The "Baker Plan" was hailed in the big-business media as a "major policy shift" by the Reagan administration from support for IMF-imposed austerity programs to support for "economic growth."

There's nothing new, however, about Baker's plan.

And the only "sustained growth" it can lead to is in the Third World's foreign debt — and the profits of the bankers and businessmen who exploit those countries and collect the interest.

What the White House proposal boils down to is that the World Bank and individual banks would increase their loans to semicolonial countries by \$29 billion over the next three years.

In exchange for this generous offer to increase their debt — which already runs into the hundreds of billions of dollars — Baker stressed that "first and foremost" the debtor countries must show they are pursuing "policies for growth."

These policies, according to Baker, include opening up these countries to more imperialist investment and exports, transforming state-owned industries into private companies, and slashing government spending.

This is a prescription, in other words, for more of the same — increasing and intensifying the exploitation of Latin America, Africa, and Asia by the wealthy rulers of the United States and other advanced capitalist countries

— the cause of underdevelopment and poverty to begin with.

Far from leading to less austerity for the workers and peasants on these continents, Washington is pressing for more belt-tightening.

The cause of the debt crisis of semicolonial countries is neither bad economic policies of their governments nor too lax lending policies by the Rockefellers of the world.

Rather, the debt crisis is one result of decades of systematic plunder of the human and material resources of Latin America, Africa, and Asia by a small handful of superrich families who own and control much of the world's wealth.

A different proposal for how to deal with the debt crisis is being discussed throughout Latin America and elsewhere. A proposal that's as simple as it is effective: cancel the debt.

Cuban President Fidel Castro has been leading an international campaign to win support for this proposal.

Castro proposes that the imperialist governments assume responsibility for the billions of dollars that the peoples of the Third World simply cannot pay.

To those who say that this demand isn't fair, Castro has explained over and over: "The task of helping us to emerge from underdevelopment is first and foremost a historic and moral obligation for those who benefited from the plunder of our wealth and the exploitation of our men and women for decades and for centuries."

Latin American and Caribbean opponents of the debt, with trade unionists in the lead, have called for a region-wide Day of Action Against the Foreign Debt on October 23. These activities will be an important response by the victims of Washington and the IMF to Baker's better-named "Program for Sustained Misery."

Maurice Bishop on revolutionary trade unionism

Two years after his murder on Oct. 19, 1983, Maurice Bishop's views on the responsibilities of progressive and revolutionary-minded trade unionists remain pertinent for today.

Bishop was the central leader of the New Jewel Movement that led the Grenadian people to power in March 1979. His murder was organized by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard, who led a clique of army, government, and party officials. This clique had overthrown the revolutionary government a week earlier. Their betrayal of the revolution opened the door to a subsequent U.S. invasion on Oct. 25, 1983.

The following excerpts are from a speech Bishop gave at the opening of the Third Trade Union Conference for the Unity and Solidarity of Caribbean Workers held in St. George's on Nov. 18, 1981. It appears in the book *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, which can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Price \$6.95 (include 75¢ for postage and handling).

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Workers in a revolutionary country like ours, who are under a progressive and democratic leadership in their trade unions, do not see trade unionism solely in a narrow, economic sense. They do not see their responsibilities stopping only at their fundamental tasks of impro-

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

ving their members' wages and working conditions. They see themselves deeply involved in all aspects of the social and political life of their country, their region, and their world. Our unionized workers have consistently shown solidarity with all other struggling workers of the world. They see this as an internationalist duty to all trade unionists organizing for their rights and fighting for social and political justice, be they in Chile, El Salvador, southern Africa, the Middle East, or any part of the world where the producers of wealth are exploited and oppressed. They see their responsibility, likewise, with other trade unionists of the Third World, in pressing for the new international economic order that will create more favorable terms of trade between rich and poor nations and transfer wealth and technology for the benefit of the masses in countries such as ours.

Comrades, it is clear that the growing economic crisis in world capitalism is having a dynamic effect in the Caribbean. Throughout our region we see the employing class united in its attack upon trade unionism. There have been newspaper advertisements in Barbados calling upon workers there to abandon their trade unions. There have been incidents of multinational companies in St. Vincent forcing workers to sign documents pledging that they will leave their trade union. Clearly, the employers are trying to de-unionize their work forces to make them more pliable and exploitable, so we, throughout the Caribbean, must go beyond all our political and ideological differences and forge the essential unity of our regional trade union movement to combat this reactionary offensive by the employers. This is why we have to work towards the total unionization of our workers and the maximum democratization of our unions, to ensure that they are vigilant and active in the struggles against the employers, and to guarantee that the negativism and passivity that arise from undemocratic trade union structures are forever finished in our region.

We consider that in Grenada we have a critical role to stimulate and achieve this unity, because our revolution has emancipated our trade union movement to fully serve the country and help to build it, along with our party, the mass organizations, and other democratic community structures. For we are benefitting, not only from increased wages and better working conditions, unlocked freedoms, and an explosion of democracy, but also from a massively increased social wage, which makes more and more sure and profound the security of our working people, one of the prime objectives of trade unionism. Free medical treatment, pre-primary care, an eye clinic, free milk distribution, more doctors and dentists than we have ever had before, new low-cost housing and house repair schemes, free secondary education, cheaper electricity rates and less tax to pay for the poorest workers, a new international airport, a national public bus service on the way — all this has been achieved in the last thirty months. Such concrete benefits are what true trade unionists have always struggled for, and we see our trade unionists too taking a greater and greater part in this huge process of national reconstruction.

We in Grenada pledge to continue to put our trade union movement at the center of the process in our country, to link all our workers in an organized relationship with democratic structures and practices, and so pump with ever-increasing vigor the vibrant blood that runs through all the organs of our revolution.

'Workfare' — a reactionary tool

Last month, California's Republican Gov. George Deukmejian signed a law requiring most able-bodied welfare recipients to work as a condition for receiving benefits.

There are 36 states with such "workfare" requirements, including such major population centers as New York, Illinois, and New Jersey.

These programs were first initiated in 1981. Then, Reagan had proposed to Congress that there be a federal workfare law. Instead, Congress authorized the states to initiate such programs.

These programs are reactionary in every respect. They are used to discredit, harass, and victimize those forced to seek welfare. They are further used as a means for cutting down the welfare rolls. And they are used to weaken established wage levels and job conditions.

In many states, applicants for welfare must agree to work for the municipality for nothing in order to receive subsistence level welfare. In some cases, they replace regular, paid employees.

In New York City, 15,000 welfare recipients are doing such unpaid work. If they work hard and well, it's suggested, there may be paid jobs in their future. According to the city's estimates, a few hundred of the 15,000 have gotten paid jobs.

From Chicago, a press account quotes one welfare recipient who had to take an unpaid job. Said Benny Kelly,

46: "It's modern-day slavery. I worked at a warehouse food depository loading and unloading trucks for eight hours. It didn't make much sense. If a guy can get someone to work free, he'd look like a fool to hire somebody."

Such forced-work practices have been protested by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees as an attack on union wages, benefits, and conditions.

One \$7.5 million study of these programs found that they confirm that "the poor want to work."

Of course they do.

And if municipalities have jobs for them to do, there is no reason why they should be on welfare. They should be receiving a union wage.

Instead of being forced to spend their time on meaningless, degrading makework, they should be provided with meaningful job training. (In some cities, "training" consists of sweeping stairs or raking lawns.)

Those who are unable to work should not be penalized. They are as much entitled to a decent standard of living as anyone else.

And those able to work should be provided jobs. If private industry cannot provide them, there is plenty of useful public work to be done — building desperately needed homes and schools, for example.

And those who work should be paid a living wage.

Protest FBI raids in Puerto Rico

Norman Mailer and other prominent writers have sharply protested civil liberties abuses committed by the FBI during its recent massive raid in Puerto Rico directed against partisans of Puerto Rican independence.

More than 200 FBI agents flew into Puerto Rico August 30 and invaded 37 homes and offices.

One of those targeted was the writer Coqui Santaliz. A dozen agents descended on her home, occupying it for some 13 hours. They seized the manuscript of one of her novels, as well as cassettes of interviews and an extensive film file.

Eleven people were arrested in the raids, spirited to the United States, and charged with participating in a Connecticut armored truck robbery.

Santaliz is past president of Puerto Rican PEN, the international writers association. She flew to New York to join Mailer and others for an October 1 press conference at the PEN American Center.

Writers Allen Ginsburg, Rose Styron, and Frances Fitzgerald were also present to voice their protest.

There were also messages scoring the FBI from Kurt Vonnegut, William Styron, and Gay Talese.

Mailer characterized the FBI's conduct of the raids as an "outrageous abuse" of constitutional rights.

Also attending from Puerto Rico were Neftali García, and Luis Nieves Falcon. Nieves Falcon is president of

Puerto Rican PEN. García is an editorial board member of *Pensamiento Critico*. The magazine was shut down during the raid, its press seized, and one of its editors arrested.

Santaliz told the press conference that she considered herself nonpolitical.

She added: "In Puerto Rico almost all intellectuals, almost all writers and artists, are *independentistas*. It is no coincidence that all the houses they searched are *independentistas*."

Nieves Falcon added, "To us as writers, it is an attack on every single Puerto Rican."

García charged that the raids were perpetrated because "the economic, political, and military interests" of Washington are at stake in Puerto Rico.

Allen Ginsburg observed that if it is acceptable to seize *Pensamiento Critico*, or a writer's manuscript, "it might then also be possible for them to seize New York PEN club files."

Ginsburg was exactly right, as was Nieves Falcon when he characterized the raids as "an attack on every single Puerto Rican."

The fight to defend the 11 jailed victims of that Gestapo-like raid should be a high priority for every defender of constitutional rights in general, and Puerto Rican rights in particular.

Bosses close shoe factories—children go barefoot

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MIAMI, Fla. — Dade County, Florida, is a major center for shoe manufacturing in the United States. Three big companies, Suave Shoe, Gator, and Injection Footwear, employ thousands of workers.

Right now, there is a crisis in the shoe industry. The rich who own these factories are throwing thousands out of work, and threatening to shut down entire factories.

A few years ago, there were 15,000 workers in the shoe factories here. Today, there are fewer than 7,000

AS I SEE IT

and the bosses are threatening to lay off half of these. Many of these workers have spent five, ten, or more years working for these companies.

Naturally, this has provoked a lot of debate over how to protect jobs.

The bosses and their politicians have one answer: stop imports. They point to the large number of inexpensive, imported shoes now on the market and claim that these imports are keeping U.S. workers from working.

Many of the shoe factories here are located in Hialeah, a suburb of Miami. Hialeah Mayor Raul Martínez has organized public meetings to speak out against imports and to demand restrictions on imported shoes.

That workers need to fight for these jobs is obvious.

But in planning our strategy, workers need to take a good look at the facts and make sure that we are fighting for solutions that will help working people and not fall for slick programs that really help only the bosses.

A first fact to consider: if severe import restrictions are imposed, and if the bosses actually did not lay off any more workers, consumers in this country would pay at least \$68,000 more per year for each job saved. That's

the estimate made by International Economic Analysis in a study for the Footwear Retailers of America.

This means that we workers and farmers, who buy most shoes since we're the big majority of the population, would hand the shoe bosses \$68,000 more in higher prices each year for shoes — for each person they keep working.

Most shoe workers at Gator or Suave make \$3.35 an hour or a bit more. That's less than \$10,000 per year, even with overtime. So where would the other \$58,000 go? Right in the coffers of the bosses.

How much do these bosses really care about the workers in the factories? Suave Shoe set a good example last year when it fired 100 workers who wanted to organize a union. A high, barbed-wire-topped wall surrounds their plant. Armed guards keep watch on the workers.

The workers at Suave wanted a union because the company had just shut down the entire plant, cut pay rates by 20 percent, eliminated already meager health benefits, and then called back those workers they liked on a take-it-or-leave-it basis.

What will these bosses do with the extra \$58,000 per year per job they will rake in if import quotas are imposed? Besides paying for their mansions and extravagant lifestyles, they could hire more guards to spy on and disrupt workers and buy newer and faster machines to make shoes — and lay off more workers.

Stopping imports and handing this bonanza to the bosses will not *guarantee* anything for us.

There is an even worse side to the bosses' arguments.

To hear them talk, you would think that there are too many shoes in the world.

But are there too many shoes today?

Here in Miami, there are children who go barefoot because their parents can't afford to buy them shoes. In Belle Glade or Florida City, nearby farming communities, it is even worse.

And what about Haiti or Brazil or Central America? Are there too many shoes?

A friend of mine recently returned from Nicaragua and reported that the Sandinistas are on a campaign to convince children in the countryside to wear shoes. When children don't wear shoes, they get infections and parasites through their unprotected feet. Tens of thousands get sick and many die — just from lack of shoes.

In Nicaragua, many rural children are not used to shoes because their parents and grandparents did not have any as children. Shoes are still scarce in Nicaragua, a poor country suffering from the U.S.-organized war against it.

But while millions of children in Latin America, Africa, and Asia — and even the United States — suffer and die for lack of shoes, the bosses in South Florida are closing shoe factories and throwing skilled workers out onto the street.

What an indictment of capitalism!

We have built the factories and trained the workers to make shoes. Shoes that could improve the lives of millions.

Yet the rich who own and control these factories refuse to allow this production to go on. They look at their bank balances and profit sheets — not the barefoot children in the streets.

Capitalism is now an obstacle to humanity — even for meeting such a simple human need as shoes.

Workers in Florida should fight to save the jobs at Suave and Gator and Injection.

But we should do it in alliance with the workers and oppressed of the world, not with the bosses against humanity. We shouldn't have to pay for the crisis of the bosses' economic system — and neither should the barefoot children of the world.

LETTERS

Thanks for coverage

Enclosed is \$24 for a year's subscription to the *Militant*, beyond my current subscription.

Thank you so much for your coverage of South Africa, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. Please keep informing us about the struggle for social justice abroad, and here at home.

Good luck to all the socialist mayoral candidates from your party.

Kendall Brown
Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

Terror attack

In light of the recent accusations made by the Reagan administration that the Sandinista government is made up of terrorists, I would like to recount an experience I had this summer.

We were on a ferry boat, the *Rio Escondido*, traveling on a river by the same name to the town of Bluefields on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast. The 150 on board were mostly poor women, children, and elderly people. I felt a little eerie when I realized there would be nine soldiers on board, a measure taken because of an attack by a *contra* group on the same river three weeks before, when they shot at the boat, forced it to pull over, and boarded the boat, telling the passengers that they were there to "save them from communism" and that the Sandinistas were thieves and liars. Then they proceeded to rob them of all their belongings. Eight people, most of them civilians, were kidnapped and have never been seen again. The boat was destroyed and the four soldiers who were on board were burned alive.

Without any warning, we were fired upon from both banks of the river. The gunfire continued mercilessly for 15 minutes. Three rockets were fired at the boat.

A nine-year-old girl, who was on her way to a week's vacation with her family, was shot in the thigh. A mother, clutching her four-year-old girl, was hit with shrapnel in the arm. Her daughter was hit in the head. In all, two people died and 16 were injured.

The people of Bluefields were outraged by the attack on their families and neighbors and held a demonstration denouncing the at-

tack on the following night. If this final boat is destroyed, Bluefields will be cut off, making it easier for the counterrevolutionary forces to take over the town.

This type of indiscriminate killing of civilians by the U.S.-backed contras is not an isolated event.

Who, then, are the real terrorists, the Sandinistas or the U.S. government?

The people of the United States have nothing to fear from the Sandinista government, backed by the majority of the honest and hard-working people of Nicaragua, a country with the same size and population as the state of Iowa. They want to be our friends, not our enemies. Let Nicaragua live.

Lori Fritsch

Gainesville, Florida

Best paper

I am writing you at this time to express my feelings about your paper, and at the same time, to get a subscription to it. Being an inmate here in Virginia, I had the chance to read the *Militant*, which another inmate shared with me.

I found it to be great in respect to the many issues expressed from people all around the world, and here at home — by people who have something of themselves to give.

When I first started out doing my time back in 1978, I was 18 years old, young with no direction in life. But my great moment came when I learned about myself and people around me. My life had been a onesided view in respect to world affairs and here at home. That is until I read your paper. So many new things to learn about and read!

I want to receive your paper by subscription, and I understand it's \$24 a year. I would be glad to pay that amount but as an inmate I only make 40 cents a day.

I was hoping I could make two installments of say \$12 a month or, if possible, get a free subscription as I really would like to receive your paper.

I do hope to hear from you soon and keep up the good work of your fine paper. It's the best paper I have ever read.

A prisoner
Capron, Virginia



Haitian killed

The Palm Beach sheriff fired two guards and disciplined five others for their role in the death of Haitian inmate Mario Abraham.

This action came after Judge Michael Miller recommended August 29 that the state consider charging the guards with crimes ranging from manslaughter to perjury.

Abraham was arrested for driving without a license on May 28.

The following day he went to court. He spoke only Creole and his case was held over until June 26, when a Creole interpreter would be available.

This is the same jail where another Haitian, Nova Benoit, died in April of this year.

On June 13, Abraham was transferred to the wing of the jail reserved for inmates who are suspected of being mentally ill.

According to testimony, Deputy Wendell Nygren jabbed Abraham with a broom while Deputy Joseph Studi punched him in the back, and Deputy Donald Ross dragged him from his cell.

Nygren, witnesses reported, repeatedly kicked Abraham.

Mario was found unconscious in a pool of blood on his bunk June 15.

At the inquiry, Dr. James Grogan testified that he had trouble

diagnosing Abraham because he didn't have his medical records. Grogan said he could not talk to Abraham who only spoke Creole.

During the night Abraham lost control of his bladder and bowels. He could not eat or drink.

The next morning, June 19, David Hiner, the jail doctor, ordered Abraham to be transferred to Humana Hospital. The doctor's decision was ignored. A part-time nurse, on duty that afternoon, pleaded for Abraham to be taken to Humana. Finally, deputies brought him to the hospital.

There Abraham suffered three coronary-pulmonary thromboses and was declared dead.

Coco Camillo
West Palm Beach, Florida

Much insight

I would like to continue to receive the *Militant* paper. However, at this time I am unable to contribute anything.

I thank you for printing such a paper that has so much insight, both national and international. The brothers here enjoy reading it and then discussing certain aspects.

A prisoner

Remember Attica

This is a time to remember — September 9 and 13, the days in

prisoners got cold-bloodedly murdered by the United States of North America government backed by the racist, capitalist, sadistic Rockefeller. Their spirit lives in all of us.

I would like to acknowledge that I received the September 1985 *Young Socialist*. It was well appreciated.

I would like in the future to keep on receiving the *YS* and the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, which I haven't received in a while. I have been missing out on all this truth, knowledge, and wisdom.

A prisoner
Comstock, New York

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

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

Union leader: 'South Africa is the moral question of the day'



Cleveland Robinson

Cleveland Robinson is Secretary-Treasurer of United Auto Workers District 65 and First Vice-president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

He has been a leading figure in the anti-apartheid movement and a central organizer of the trade union-led August 13 protest of 30,000 in New York City.

The following are major excerpts from an interview conducted at his office on October 4 by Militant staff writer Rashaad Ali.

Question. You've been very much involved in the movement to get the U.S. to divest from South Africa and to end apartheid. Why have you and the union taken on the issue of South Africa? And why is District 65 playing a leading role in the development of the anti-apartheid movement in New York City?

Answer. Those are very elementary questions. Firstly, it's the moral question of the day. Freedom and dignity is the first order of business for every well-thinking person. I want it for myself, for my family. I want it for this country. To have it here, we must have it everywhere.

Secondly, I'm a trade unionist and what

affects workers in South Africa, in Central America, affects workers here in the United States. The forces that would oppress us are also forces that oppress working people elsewhere. So we have a vested interest in seeing to it that working people in South Africa are free — free to plan their own destiny, free to organize unions, free to be able to work or not work as they see fit, to determine their wages, their conditions, etc.

These are the basic reasons that myself and the unions in general and our union right here have been engaged not only in the struggle of South Africa, but in struggles of working people in other countries over many years.

Q. Some people have said that sanctions will hurt Blacks in South Africa. In your press release on your discussion with Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of South Africa's National Union of Mine Workers, you make clear your stance in favor of sanctions. Can you elaborate?

A. That speaks for itself. Not only from this trade unionist, Brother Ramaphosa, but we have heard from others in the struggle there. Even if it be true that sanctions against the South African regime will add further suffering, they are ready to do so, because it means, ultimately, their freedom.

If they are ready to bear that suffering, who are we to say they should not bear it?

They are facing sudden and immediate death at the hands of the racist regime. They bare their breasts and they go out and they demonstrate nonviolently. They are shot down violently and they are not backing away. So I think if you look carefully at the people who are shedding these crocodile tears [about sanctions hurting Blacks in South Africa], they are the very people who have never lifted a finger in terms of helping these victims of apartheid get free from apartheid.

Q. What are your comments on the sanctions that Reagan has imposed? [These were announced on September 9 and most are to go into effect October 11.]

A. Certainly he has been forced into this position. It's not enough and we are pushing for even greater sanctions. I, for one, would want to see not only sanctions but a blockade of South Africa. . . . They should be barred from trading with this country. Their ships should not come. Their planes should not come. I think corporations should be barred from trading. And this I believe, this quick, sharp measure, would bring about a situation where they'd be isolated. They would be forced to sit and come to a settlement that would bring freedom to all of South Africa.

Q. Jerry Falwell, in his recent TV debate with Jesse Jackson on ABC's "Nightline," violence-baited and communist-baited the African National Congress (ANC) and other freedom fighters in South Africa. Can you comment on that?

A. There's nothing new about that. Even the trade unionist trying to organize the workers is faced with the cry of communism to scare the workers away from the union. Various leaders have been either accused of being communists or dupes of communists, or what have you.

What we are doing is what ought to be done. Because ultimately it is southern African countries, including Namibia, South Africa, Angola, that will be free. And to the extent that the American people and the American government helps them in their day of trouble, helps them to get rid of their oppressor, to the extent that is done they will regard us as friends.

If we don't and instead if they see us assisting their oppressor, then they will seek assistance elsewhere. And anyone else who helps them will be their friends, not us.

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UMW determined as 2nd year of Massey coal strike opens

BY HENRY SAMS

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — October 1 marked the one-year anniversary of the United Mine Workers (UMW) strike against A.T. Massey Coal Co. and its subsidiaries. A year ago, Massey, one of the largest coal operators in the United States, refused to sign the agreement negotiated between the Bituminous Coal Operators Association and the UMW in a bid to weaken and bust the union in southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky.

Massey is owned by the Shell Oil Company and the Fluor Corp.

Fluor is the country's largest construction company and has extensive holdings in South Africa.

Thousands of miners and their families have mobilized in support of the strike and are still determined after one year, in spite of confronting a force of well-armed private thugs and cops in riot gear. Hundreds of miners have been arrested in attempts to prevent movement of scab coal. Court injunctions have limited pickets and the union has faced a virulent slander campaign.

Massey's latest efforts involve a \$16 million suit brought against the union by the Elk Run Coal Co., a \$77 million nonunion Massey subsidiary operating in Boone County, West Virginia. The suit, which concerns incidents four years ago, finally went to trial as the fight against Massey approached its October 1 anniversary. The jury trial is being heard by District Court Judge Dennis Knapp in Charleston, West Virginia.

The suit claims the UMW engaged in illegal picketing at the Elk Run mine site during the 1980-81 national miners' strike. The company claims that on May 14, 1981, the union leadership "incited" and led several hundred strikers in attacking the site, then under construction, causing \$6 million in construction delays, property loss, and production. Elk Run is joined in the suit by two construction firms.

These employers have also filed for an additional \$10 million in punitive damages to ensure that such activity, in the words of one company representative, "Never oc-

curs again in the state of West Virginia or elsewhere where the UMW represents workers."

Larry Harleff, counsel for the UMW, while arguing that the district and local union could not be held responsible for the actions of individuals, explained before the court that "Boone County is nothing but coal and nothing but UMW coal. It's the UMW that people rely on to put dinner on the table, protect jobs, bring back black lung benefits. The UMW is not a bingo club or a lodge, it's their future, it permeates their whole lives. If you start messing with the UMW, you start messing with a whole lot of people."

He explained the May 14, 1981, confrontation as "a spontaneous reaction because people just could not accept a big nonunion operation smack-dab in the middle of their community."

Key to the UMW's defense is exposing what UMW President Richard Trumka has described as Massey's "corporate shell game," whereby the company claims its subsidiaries are "independent" and should deal with the union separately.

Most of Massey's coal comes from dozens of subsidiaries, the vast majority of which are owned 100 percent by Massey, as is Elk Run. The union maintains that it has the right to picket Elk Run because the company is part of the Massey operation.

Massey continues to deny that it is a common employer in spite of an April National Labor Relations Board ruling directing it and its subsidiaries to bargain directly, as a single employer, with the UMW.

Testimony proved that Massey files a single consolidated tax return for itself and all its subsidiaries, that company executives transfer throughout the Massey system, and that all sales revenues go to Massey headquarters. Even Judge Knapp became tired of the coal baron's denial, calling it a "cat-and-mouse game."

This is a key issue in the current strike. With 50 percent of the miners laid off in West Virginia, the union is demanding seniority rights for its members within the

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Burkina foreign minister on fight against apartheid, debt



Militant/Holbrook Mahn
Basile Guissou, foreign minister of West African nation of Burkina Faso, addressed New York Militant Forum.

BY DON DAVIS

NEW YORK — Participants in the October 4 Militant Labor Forum had a rare opportunity to hear directly from a leader of a revolutionary government, Foreign Minister Basile Guissou of the West African nation of Burkina Faso.

The 36-year-old Burkinabe leader, who was in New York to address the UN, began by stating simply: "I am here to talk about

the struggle, not for protocol."

He went on to describe to the audience of nearly 100 the gains made by workers and peasants since the beginning of Burkina's democratic revolution in August 1983. These include the organization and arming of the masses, and his country's foreign policy, which he described as "revolutionary nonalignment: anti-imperialist, anticolonialist, and anti-neocolonialist."

In response to the upsurge in South Africa, he said, there was a mass demonstration recently in Burkina's capital of Ouagadougou that marched past the embassies of the United States, Britain, and other countries that support the racist apartheid regime.

Burkina fights apartheid in every international forum, he said. In addition, "We always put our radio, television, and newspapers at the disposal of all people struggling, especially in South Africa, the Western Sahara, and the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization]."

He also emphasized the fight of Third World countries against the crushing debts they owe banks in the United States and other imperialist countries.

"The problem of the foreign debt will be resolved by the relationship of forces that the people will impose on the organized force of capital," Guissou said.

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