

U.S., South Africa step up attacks on Angolan people



South African troops during one of many invasions of Angola. Now Washington is moving to join apartheid regime in openly backing terrorist bands that seek to destabilize and bring down Angola's government.

BY FRED FELDMAN

The U.S. government is threatening a massive escalation of its military intervention against Angola. For a decade Washington and the apartheid regime in South Africa have collaborated in their semisecret war against the independent Black government of that country.

Angola, a nation of 7½ million people, borders on Namibia, which is militarily occupied and ruled as a colony by the white minority regime in South Africa.

Since Angola won its independence from Portugal in 1975, Angola has suffered several invasions by South African troops. The apartheid regime has armed, trained, and provided other aid for UNITA (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), which is led by Jonas Savimbi.

As Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica and a leader of the Free South Africa Movement, pointed out in the November 3 *Washington Post*, Savimbi is the apartheid regime's "heavily subsidized delegate" in Angola.

Now the White House is considering a program of up to \$300 million in covert military assistance to UNITA.

The administration is also said to have assured Rep. Claude Pepper (D-Fla.) that it will support a bipartisan proposal for \$27 million in public "humanitarian" assistance to UNITA. Pepper, a liberal, is a cosponsor of the aid bill now before Congress.

At the United Nations October 24 Reagan declared that "America's support for struggling democratic resistance forces" against Angola and other countries "must not and will not cease." His statement indicated that, despite earlier claims to the contrary, the U.S. government is already providing covert assistance to UNITA.

Like the proposed covert program, the "humanitarian" aid bill aims to make it possible for UNITA and the South African military to kill many more Angolans. The apartheid regime and UNITA are responsible for the deaths of at least 10,000 people in Angola since 1975.

The apartheid regime seeks to subjugate Angola, because Angola — as one of the six Frontline States near South Africa — has politically supported the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and the struggle of the South West Africa People's Organization to win independence for Namibia.

The apartheid regime views the independent Black-ruled states in southern Africa as a threat to the survival of white minority rule, and it seeks to destabilize not only Angola, but Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia, Lesotho, and others.

The South African racists would like to

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Nicaragua assembly approves emergency measures

BY BILL GRETTTER

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The National Assembly here gave its approval October 30 to the state of emergency measures decreed two weeks previously. The measures were adopted over the objections of the capitalist parties and ultraleft parties that oppose the workers' and peasants' government led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The October 15 announcement by President Daniel Ortega had reinstated some state of emergency provisions lifted during the country's election campaign period a year ago.

Ortega is also coordinator of the National Directorate of the FSLN. He and other Sandinista leaders have explained that the purpose of the State of Emergency is to protect the Nicaraguan people from the U.S. government's drive to destroy the revolution.

The Sandinista army has won important victories against the U.S.-financed counterrevolutionaries (*contras*) in the course of this year. Army officials here believe that the *contras* inside Nicaragua are now unable to organize and carry out sustained campaigns around specific military goals.

In the face of this setback, the U.S. government is trying to step up terrorism against Nicaragua, including urban sabotage. This policy of terrorism is one aspect of the war against Nicaragua, Ortega explained when he announced the new measures.

The other side is the action of the "allies of imperialism within the country," including capitalists, landlords, and the Catholic church hierarchy. "They respond to the weakening of their military instrument by redoubling their efforts to sabotage the nation's defense, block economic policies, and cause confusion and discontent," Ortega said.

The State of Emergency measures are

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Student conference: 'Divest now!'

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW YORK — "Trustees, you know: South African stocks have got to go!"

More than 350 young people — the overwhelming majority of them college students from across the United States and Canada — took up the chant. They were led by Tannaquil Jones, a leader of the successful struggle at Columbia University to get that college to divest itself of all investments in companies that do business in racist South Africa.

The students were attending the National Student Conference on South Africa and Namibia, which took place here on the November 1-3 weekend at Hunter College. Hunter is one of 20 schools that are part of the City University of New York (CUNY) system.

The conference was an important national meeting of one component of what has begun to develop as a genuine national mass movement against apartheid and against U.S. government and corporate links with South Africa.

The meeting also raised consciousness about the ties between South Africa's domestic racism, its colonial occupation of neighboring Namibia, and its aggression against other Black-ruled African nations.

Conference participants were activists in the developing anti-apartheid movement on their campuses and in their cities. Many are involved in struggles to get their campuses to divest.

The workshops, panels, and informal exchanges were serious discussions about initial experiences in the fight against apartheid and what the next steps should be in the struggle to break all U.S. ties with South African racism.

One objective of the conference was to organize campus activists to build the National Weeks of Anti-apartheid Action. These run from March 21, the anniversary of the 1960 massacre of 67 anti-apartheid protesters in South Africa, to April 6, the anniversary of the execution of African National Congress freedom fighter Solomon Mahlangu.

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Deep debate on int'l questions in AFL-CIO

BY TOM LEONARD

ANAHEIM, Calif. — International issues clearly dominated the 16th biennial Constitutional Convention of the 13.1 million-member AFL-CIO. The convention took place here October 28-31, and was attended by some 1,500 delegates and guests. The nearly 800 delegates represented 85 national and international unions, 3 directly affiliated local unions, 47 state labor federations, 179 central labor councils, 8 constitutional departments, and 2 fraternal organizations.

Opposition to apartheid in South Africa and a commitment to continue labor's participation in the struggle against it was evident throughout the convention. (See article on page 16.)

Adding to the international atmosphere was the presence of dozens of trade unionists from Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and the Caribbean. The fact that most of them were there to bolster support to the conservative policies of the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Department was secondary. What occurred was a broader airing of the issues behind these policies and a new opportunity to discuss and debate them in the unions.

It was clear that the weight and influence of that wing of the AFL-CIO officialdom most critical of U.S. government policies, especially in Central America, has grown substantially and was able to influence the course of the convention. Coming into the convention, for example, the 33-member AFL-CIO Executive Council included 11 members of the Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador.

It was also evident as the discussion around Central America unfolded that there was agreement among members of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, who differ on Central America, that the discussion should come out on the convention floor. When the floor discussion began, the federation's president, Lane Kirkland, acted in a completely unprecedented way by evenly recognizing speakers from each side of the question.

Two-hour discussion

The debate took place under a resolution submitted by the executive council titled, "Labor, National Security and the World."

The resolution begins with a rehash of long-standing positions of the AFL-CIO, starting out with support of the North At-

lantic Treaty Organization and reaffirmation of its support for Israel.

On a more positive note it demands that the South Korean government stop its repression of trade unions in that country.

It contains another positive section on South Africa and Namibia. It denounces the apartheid regime in South Africa and that regime's attempt to perpetuate its illegal control of Namibia. The resolution pledges continuing support for South Africa's Black trade unions.

But it was the section on Central America, and Nicaragua in particular, that provoked the debate at the convention. It referred to the Sandinista-led workers' and farmers' government as a repressive regime and condemned it for allegedly suppressing free trade unions. It characterized the U.S.-backed mercenary attacks against Nicaragua as a "civil war." This position opens the door for union support to the Nicaraguan *contras*, the counterrevolutionaries.

In another section opposing President Reagan's emphasis on a military solution rather than a negotiated settlement in Central America, only El Salvador was men-

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N.Y. campaign and S. African events boost sales

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

QUEENS, N.Y. — "Read the truth about the struggle in South Africa. Read the *Militant*." That's

Plant, which is organized by the United Auto Workers.

Starting with the special supplement that featured articles on the

those workers as well. We have also sold copies of the *Young Socialist* newspaper to students on their way to school.

sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

about all you have to say to catch most workers' attention. Some will stop and take a close look at the headline.

Instead of selling three or four copies a month, we're now selling an average of three or four issues of the *Militant* and the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial* a week. This has been our experience at the Eagle Electronics

freedom struggle in South Africa in August, we've developed a more regular readership of the paper. If we miss a week, we usually hear about it.

In some ways, this sale at Eagle is unique. The plant is on a busy city street near a subway stop. There are several other plants in the area and we sell to some of

Like everywhere else, interest in the struggle by South African Blacks for majority rule has sparked the most discussions. Part of our regular readers is a core of workers from Africa.

A worker from Ghana told us recently, "I think all the nations of Africa should gang up and do away with the apartheid system."

As a regular feature, our sales team sets up a small literature display with titles by Fidel Castro, Malcolm X, Che Guevara, Nelson Mandela, and others. The display also advertises forums and events

For the past few weeks we've focused on handing out socialist campaign literature. Hundreds of copies of the brochure entitled "The Socialist Alternative for the '80s" have been taken into the plant.

A couple of weeks ago, we were joined by Andrea González, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor in the recent New York City election. That was one of our most lively sales. Four copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold and several workers found their way to our socialist literature display.



Militant/John Naubert
Socialists have been selling regularly at the Eagle Electric plant in Queens, New York.

Protests grow in Michigan over granting GM new tax breaks

BY ANGEL LARISCY

DETROIT — "No more giveaways — the candy store is closed!"

That was the message 150 people at a meeting in Flint, Michigan, sent to General Motors. The meeting denounced GM's demand that its local taxes be reassessed, resulting in a 76 percent cut in its property taxes.

The demand comes on the heels of a \$29 million property tax refund won by Ford Motor Co. last year from Dearborn, Wayne County, and the Dearborn school district.

The cuts sought by GM amount to \$2 billion. They would cripple social services, especially education, in 20 Michigan communities. So far five communities have agreed to grant tax concessions to GM. The remaining requests by GM for tax cuts have not yet been acted on.

The October 10 protest meeting was called by a coalition including all seven locals of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in Flint, two locals of the Teamsters union, the National Organization for Women, United Teachers of Flint, Concerned Pastors of Flint, the Flint AFL-CIO, and the Hispanic Political Association of Flint and Genesee County.

Michael Moore, editor of the *Michigan Voice*, pointed out at the Flint meeting that General Motors had been granted 14 tax abatements between 1976 and 1983. Even with these cuts, GM has not kept to its promise to preserve jobs and not lay off workers. In 1976, General Motors employed 78,000 people in Flint. Only 58,000 work for the company now. Company representatives say they plan to cut the work force by another 20,000 in the next five years.

Bill Ayre, township supervisor of Genesee Township, pointed out that if GM is successful, it will only be the first of many corporations to seek tax breaks from local governments in Michigan.

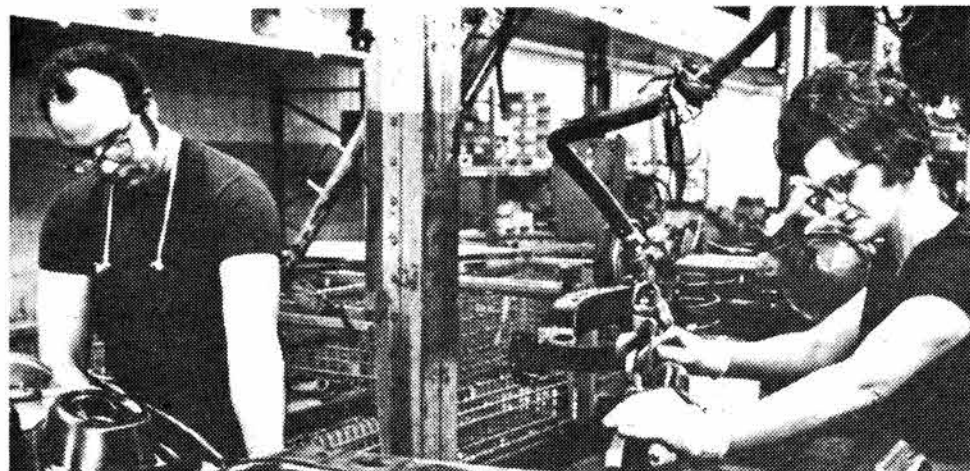
Other speakers included a UAW local president. The meeting was chaired by a

former UAW member who participated in the 1937 sit-down strikes in Flint that forced GM to recognize the union.

Pontiac is another Michigan community where the GM demands are being protested. The Michigan Citizens for Tax Justice, who are based in Pontiac, have organized various protests and meetings around the General Motors tax abatement proposals.

In late September, the Pontiac and Flint groups organized a protest in front of GM's world headquarters in Detroit. The protest included a contingent of Pontiac school teachers who were recently on strike against concessions.

Demonstrators carried signs saying, "Pontiac won't pay GM's way."



Working people to suffer if GM gets tax cuts

Bill in Congress would ease ballot access

BY HARRY RING

A bill authored by Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.) would substantially ease the burden imposed by Republicans and Democrats on independent parties and nominees seeking a place on the ballot.

The bill provides that in any federal election the number of names required on nominating petitions in any election unit could not exceed 1/10 of 1 percent of the voters, or 1,000 names, whichever is greater.

In a presidential election, this would mean obtaining about 140,000 signatures to appear on the ballot in all 50 states. To do so under present requirements takes an estimated 750,000 signatures.

In various congressional districts it would reduce the required number by as much as 1,000 percent.

Introduced last spring, the bill has been bottled up since then in the Election Subcommittee of the House Administration Committee. Rep. Al Swift (D-Wash.) heads the subcommittee.

Conyers is pressing for a congressional

hearing on the measure.

If enacted, the bill, H.R. 2320, would also significantly reduce the onerous ballot requirements in various states.

In California the number of required signatures of registered voters would go from the present 115,591 to 11,560. Florida would be reduced from 48,657 to 4,866. Georgia would drop from 61,670 to 2,303. In Massachusetts the number would drop from 41,006 to 3,027. In Indiana it would go from 35,040 to 2,937, and Illinois from 25,000 to 5,966.

The bill would also extend the signature-gathering period in many states by providing a uniform time for the circulation of nominating petitions. The bill provides that circulation of petitions begin uniformly 270 days before the election — February of a presidential election year — and continue until the 60th day before the election, early September.

H.R. 2320 also provides that once a party qualifies for a state ballot it would remain qualified if one or more of its candi-

dates wins 20,000 votes or 1 percent of the total cast, whichever is less.

The bill would be applicable in presidential and congressional elections and would not affect requirements in state and local contests.

In introducing the measure, Conyers said that the many present "onerous" restrictions on ballot access are justified on the ground of protecting the electorate against "frivolous" candidates. In fact, Conyers said, the function of these restrictions is to deprive parties and candidates who are not Democrats or Republicans — and those who would vote for them — of "their constitutional rights of freedom of political expression and equal protection under the law."

Endorsers of the Conyers measure include: American Civil Liberties Union, Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund, League of United Latin American Citizens, U.S. Student Association, and United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers union.

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Why Washington is demanding 'reform' in the Philippines

BY HARRY RING

The sudden announcement by Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos that he will call an early presidential election was intended to offset the highly public campaign of vise-like pressure Washington has mounted against him.

Marcos' corrupt and brutal dictatorship is losing control and Washington is frantically maneuvering to build up a pro-capitalist alternative before the regime is swept away by a revolutionary upsurge.

The Marcos dictatorship is challenged by a growing guerrilla struggle waged by the Communist Party-led New People's Army, by mass demonstrations demanding a return to democratic rule, and by a social and economic crisis that is shattering the living standards of the country's workers and farmers.

The stakes for the U.S. rulers are very high. The Philippines remains an economic and military pillar of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia, containing the largest U.S. military bases in the world outside the United States itself. Since he took office 20 years ago, Marcos has loyally defended U.S. capitalist interests. But now, Washington fears, he has outlived his usefulness.

The Reagan administration, and congressional Democrats and Republicans, are urgently seeking to rearrange the country's political and military power to more effectively respond to the powerful current of rebellion that is spreading among the Filipino people.

Increasingly, Washington's politicians, and editorial writers for the major capitalist dailies, are insisting on the need for action to avoid "another Iran" or "another Nicaragua." To escape a revolution in the Philippines, such as the ones that toppled Somoza and the shah of Iran, they are hoping to build a "credible" alternative to the discredited Marcos, one that would have a

chance at derailing the rising revolution.

To hammer Marcos into cooperating in working out such an arrangement, Washington is engaging in some unusually heavy public moves against him.

The drive was kicked off in mid-October when Reagan dispatched his crony, Sen. Paul Laxalt, the right-wing Republican from Nevada, to Manila to talk turkey with Marcos.

Unnamed White House aides spoke with unusual candor about the Laxalt mission. They said he would convey Reagan's "concern" and an "extremely blunt message of warning" about the situation in the Philippines; that he would seek an overhaul of the Philippine military, and a curb on rampant corruption affecting military and economic life.

Reporters were told that Laxalt would discuss the need to dismantle the two monopolies that control the country's biggest crops — sugar and coconuts. Both are tightly controlled by friends of Marcos.

One administration aide told reporters: "Corruption has been carried to such a degree there that parts of the economy don't function."

Meanwhile, to build the pressure on Marcos, the White House, CIA, and the Congress were feeding information to the press of a type generally withheld from the public. These were accompanied by blunt expressions of opinion usually reserved for private sessions.

Pentagon and State Department officials, in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, warned that the Philippines was headed toward "civil war on a massive scale" and foresaw a military stalemate with the New People's Army rebel forces within three years. (In an earlier report, they said the situation was headed toward "catastrophe.")

Meanwhile, the even gloomier findings of a Senate committee were leaked. The



Student protesters in Manila last August

Militant/Deb Shnookal

senators predicted that, barring change, Marcos would be toppled in three years.

Contradicting the figures of the Marcos regime, U.S. intelligence sources estimated the strength of the New People's Army as 16,500, which is close to the liberation fighters' own figure of 20,000.

Meanwhile, congressional sources leaked an intelligence estimate that as many as a million Filipinos are active supporters of the guerrillas, providing them food, housing, and other aid.

Revolt has been an ongoing fact of life in this long and bitterly oppressed nation of 54 million.

Ruled for 350 years by Spain, the Filipino people, in 1899, found themselves a colony of the United States after the U.S. victory in the Spanish-American War. In 1946 formal independence was granted, but Washington has maintained the two huge military bases there, and, despite rivalry from Japan, remains the principal economic "partner" of the Philippines.

Marcos assumed the presidency in 1965. In 1972 he tore up the constitution and ruled under martial law until 1981. Since then he's permitted various versions of parliamentary government, but he's still top dog.

His powers include constitutional

"amendment" No. 6 under which he can ice any parliamentary decision he doesn't like. This includes the authority to dissolve parliament itself. Other clauses give him harsh powers of detention.

Imperialist domination and the plunder by native capitalists and landlords — particularly the Marcos clique — have brought economic misery to Filipino workers and peasants.

Between 1984 and the end of this year, the gross national product will have shrunk about 10 percent.

Some 37 percent of the work force is involved in the coconut and sugar industries. Both have been dealt staggering blows by the sharp drop in world market prices. Sugar earnings have dropped by almost two-thirds in the last five years. In the past year, unemployment has doubled.

But while the masses of rural workers and tenant farmers suffer, the big sugar planters and the Marcos cronies who monopolize the marketing of both crops continue to prosper.

Rebellion and brutal repression go hand in hand.

Last May Day, despite a denial of permits and arrests of union activists, more than 350,000 workers participated in

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SALES SCOREBOARD

(Week #7: Totals as of Militant issue #42, PM issue #21)

Area	SINGLE ISSUES		SUBSCRIPTIONS
	Sold this week Militant/PM	% of 10-week goal reached	Sold so far Militant/PM
Atlanta	87/0	64	25/0
Baltimore	63/0	67	36/1
Birmingham	83/0	75	26/0
Boston	60/9	54	16/8
Capital District, N.Y.	55/3	62	26/2
Charleston, W. Va.	16/0	33	12/0
Chicago	342/82	79	37/1
Cincinnati	60/0	77	11/0
Cleveland	55/10	62	11/0
Dallas	130/39	66	29/4
Denver	59/1	66	30/1
Detroit	90/0	57	53/3
Greensboro, N.C.	60/0	67	41/0
Houston	66/22	61	71/4
Kansas City	180/0	121	12/0
Los Angeles	102/43	80	62/16
Louisville	38/0	69	16/0
Miami	69/8	58	19/2
Milwaukee	40/20	68	19/2
Morgantown, W. Va.	34/0	73	7/0
New Orleans	24/0	51	34/1
New York	111/50	44	45/2
Newark	155/20	57	48/7
Oakland	56/16	70	31/6
Philadelphia	20/18	61	19/3
Phoenix	77/35	76	12/20
Pittsburgh	54/0	59	10/1
Portland	68/8	57	16/0
Price, Utah	14/1	35	6/0
Salt Lake City	64/4	76	16/3
San Diego	37/13	73	22/3
San Francisco	108/18	76	25/10
San Jose	75/30	55	20/13
Seattle	62/0	63	20/4
St. Louis	209/0	52	28/0
Tidewater, Va.	41/0	79	6/0
Toledo	53/0	69	40/2
Twin Cities	149/7	61	40/3
Washington D.C.	76/13	103	33/11
Total sold this week	3,142/470		
Total sold to date	24,792/2,981		1,030/133
10-week goal	40,000		2,000
Percent of national goal reached	69%		58%
To be on schedule	70%		70%

Good sales at student parley

As we enter the final weeks of our 10-week circulation drive, we're almost on target in the sales of single copies of the *Militant* and our Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*. The aim is to sell 40,000 copies by the week ending November 15.

We're still lagging behind on achieving our goal of 2,000 subscriptions to both publications, and a concerted final effort will be needed to close the gap.

We sold 3,624 individual copies of both publications this past week and 142 subscriptions.

The most gratifying experience of the week was the sales to participants at the national student conference on apartheid. The results there confirmed that the sale of our press is a key part of building our movement.

The following account of our sales at the conference is by Ellen Haywood, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

* * *

NEW YORK — A strong identification with freedom struggles around the world and an interest in socialist ideas led participants in the student conference on apartheid here to buy 155 single copies and 19 subscriptions to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Young Socialist*. In addition, \$550 worth of books and pamphlets were sold at the Socialist Books and YSA literature tables. (For a report on the conference, see front page.)

A number of the anti-apartheid activists asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance. These included a group of college and high school students in New Hampshire who decided to set up a YSA chapter.

The students and other young people at the conference were looking for a reliable source of information on events in South Africa, Central America, and elsewhere.

"You get involved in something like this

and realize you have to answer questions every day," an activist from North Carolina told me.

Conference participants were impressed that the socialist newspapers were full of information on a wide range of struggles in this country and worldwide. A Black student from Arizona said, "Wherever there is a just struggle, you always find socialists and communists."

In fact, quite a few activists considered themselves socialists or wanted to find out more about socialist ideas. They crowded around the Young Socialist Alliance literature table. Some of the activists participated with YSA members in workshops or in informal discussions on the free South Africa movement and other struggles. They wanted to know where we got our information and ideas. We were glad to show them the *Militant*, *PM*, and the *Young Socialist* and tell them about our organization.

We had a number of discussions with students at the University of Vermont during the conference. In addition to their anti-apartheid work, they have formed a student "political awareness" group to educate on other struggles. The students from New Hampshire told them about their plans to form a YSA chapter and encouraged them to do the same. The Vermont activists invited us up to give a class on Cuba and discuss the YSA.

Students from San Jose, Arizona, and New York came to a reception sponsored by the New York and Newark, New Jersey, YSA chapters on Sunday evening after the conference. We discussed the success of the anti-apartheid conference, our plans for continued protest activities, and how good it was to see other young people getting involved.

YSA members ended the weekend more confident than ever in the growing activism and interest in socialist ideas on the part of our generation.

Haitian people: victims of debt slavery

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.

The Oct. 18, 1985, issue of the *Militant* carried speeches to the August conference by Sergio Ramirez, vice-president of Nicaragua, and George Louison, a leader of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada.

The following speech by René Théodore, general secretary of the United Party of Haitian Communists, was also given to the August conference. It is taken from the August 25 English-language edition of the *Granma Weekly Review*, published in Cuba.

In dealing with the subject that brought us here, I am first tempted to tackle one aspect of Haitian history with which most of you are probably entirely unfamiliar.

In a few words, I can tell you that Haiti went through a period of its existence, the entire 19th century, during which it remained illegally in debt. If people talk today about Haiti as a country at rock bottom, as the poorest country in the Americas, and even talk about countries in the Americas that are economically receding as if these were on the road to "Haitianization," it's because during the 19th century, after a 21-year blockade imposed in the wake of Haitian independence, the country had to acknowledge a debt to its former oppressors — a debt of 150 million gold francs, an indemnity to the former French settlers, the former slaveowners.

Can there be anything more illegal than [that] once the people had freed themselves from slavery, won their country's independence, created all the wealth and had been the French Crown's most flourishing colony, they even had to reimburse the settlers for their property?

Those 150 million gold francs, to give you a better idea, equaled France's total national budget at the time. Once we signed, we spent the entire 19th century paying. What with? With debts contracted with French banks; usurious French capital functioned that way all throughout the 19th century.

Thus, the conditions of those loans were: one fifth withheld by the banks as premium for the banks, repayment of 100 percent of the debt at 15 to 30 percent interest. And so the loans kept coming: 19 million in 1875, 15 million in 1897, 64 million in 1910, and then when the U.S. imperialists invaded Haiti, the first thing they did was to buy from France all the bonds pertaining to the Haitian debt so that Haiti remained indebted to the EXIMBANK, and we went on paying this debt until 1948, when finally only five million dollars remained of the debt, and we who were students at the time chipped in two cents to help pay the five million.

It was an act of patriotism for us to rid ourselves of financial tutelage, and this was the first official slogan of the Dumas Estime [president of Haiti from 1948



Debt slavery was imposed on Haiti by capitalist powers, which demanded compensation to former slaveowners for loss of their 'property' — the Haitian people, who had abolished slavery and foreign rule through a revolution. Debt keeps Haiti one of poorest nations on earth.

to 1950] administration in 1948. It was repaid. And how much do we still owe today? Eight hundred million, 800 million, which in absolute figures seems like nothing in comparison with what the rest of the Latin American countries now owe; but as a relative figure it's a lot when one realizes how poor the country is. It represents more than half of Haiti's Gross National Product today. Servicing of that debt comes to 24 percent of the national budget. And you all know that coffee, Haiti's main export product today (since bauxite is no longer being exported because they decreed there isn't any more bauxite left, although actually the world market price is low), has a cyclical production. During the lowest yield periods all the coffee goes to pay Haiti's debt service charges today.

The Duvalier government, as soon as it starts hearing that the debt might not be paid because it is unpayable, thinks aloud that there's been some discrimination against Haiti, because Jamaica's debt is a lot bigger and we have a larger territory

and more inhabitants, and so we would need an even larger debt and he's in favor of more and more loans.

Mortgaged since 19th century

That's the situation. It is a mortgaged country, a country that has been struggling since the 19th century up until now. The entire historic period of an independent Haiti has been a period of the people struggling against a satrapy, against oppression, against all the abuse stemming from the foreign control of the national wealth.

Nowadays the Haitian situation is such that not many figures are needed to explain the degree of the people's poverty and misery. I won't go into a list of figures to explain. Once it is known that there are two doctors for every 10,000 inhabitants, one dentist for every 25,000 inhabitants, that malnutrition in Haiti afflicts 73 percent of the children — these are World Health Organization figures — that 50 percent of the adults are undernourished, that even at the Port-au-Prince hospital there is what we could call — I don't know if the word

exists in Spanish — a moratorium, where the indigent go to die of hunger and disease. That's the situation.

There's such a high mortality rate that 45 percent of the population is now under 15 years of age, while the fertility rate has dropped. The state is totally bankrupt; it can't even guarantee education — 80 percent illiteracy — or public health, and it deems it unfair that there aren't enough credits, even though the credits do not benefit the people in the least; and under these conditions it offers the racists, those who write in bourgeois newspapers, the chance to speak about Haiti with intolerable insolence.

For example, a certain journalist wrote in 1974 that foreign powers must regard Haiti as an indigent they had to support. And that's how it was; to such an extent that although Haiti owes less than Latin America, the Western countries have donated \$1.5 billion during this period, but this has not improved the people's situation in the least.

We even reached a point where our country is now selling men, selling people for Santo Domingo plantations, where they work as slaves — charges to this effect have been made. But not only in Santo Domingo — also in the plantations of Florida, in the plantations of California where they go from field to field trailed by dogs and armed guards, inaccessible to people that might learn of their conditions, listen to their demands, bring in legal authorities. That's the United States, the richest country, which still needs slaves in this century.

Ladies and gentlemen, in tackling this problem of the foreign debt, we Haitians think it is necessary to tackle it together in political terms, in fighting terms. There are states and governments that are already somewhat involved in it; governments can provide support, but it's a question for the peoples. And in our struggle as Haitian Communists, democrats, and patriots we offer our support.

Big push now can put fund over top

BY FRED FELDMAN

The drive to raise the \$125,000 Socialist Publication Fund scored a big advance last week. Pledges now stand at \$120,000, a sharp increase from last week's \$103,400. The amount collected now stands at \$56,800.

The *Militant* strongly urges our readers to redouble efforts in the coming days to complete the fund in full and on time — by November 15. This fund is urgently needed to maintain and expand the *Militant* and other socialist publications.

The level of pledges still needs to be increased. And the money pledged must be collected.

Militant readers who have made pledges should now consider whether it is possible to increase them. Supporters of the fund in Los Angeles upped their pledges by almost \$1,000 to \$10,000.

In Newark, *Militant* readers increased their pledges by \$800.

Dozens of Socialist Publication Fund rallies are scheduled for the weekends of November 9 and November 15. These will be focal points for gaining additional pledges and ensuring that all pledges are collected and mailed in by the end of the drive.

In San Jose, fundraisers are planning an "Evening in Solidarity with International Workers' Struggles" as a benefit for the fund. In addition to unionists and speakers from the solidarity movement, a representative of a group of high school students from Tuolumne, California, will speak. Fund supporters met them while participating in the current *Militant-Perspectiva Mundial* sales campaign.

They are also building the rally among the striking cannery workers in Watsonville, California. They have sold more than 20 *Militant* subscriptions to these Teamsters union members at the special rate of \$1 for workers on strike.

These special subscriptions are subsidized by the Socialist Publication Fund. Scores of unionists have become *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial* readers through this offer.

In the next days, fund supporters should make a special effort to discuss the Socialist Publication Fund with coworkers and participants in the anti-apartheid movement and other struggles. Every contribution, small or large, is an important part of this vitally needed fund.

There has been an impressive response to the fund mailing that was sent to *Militant*

readers. In the last two weeks alone, more than 40 readers have sent in contributions totaling \$2,000.

Contributions came in from cities and towns ranging across the country: from Rochester, New York; Fort Lauderdale, Florida; Omaha, Nebraska; and others.

A retired UAW member from Chula Vista, California, sent \$75.

A retired longshoreman from Culp Creek, Oregon, sent \$30.

A reader from Montpelier, Vermont, sent \$5 to the fund and pledged \$5 a month to the *Militant* through 1986.

In the September 6 issue of the *Militant*, we announced the launching of the Socialist Publication Fund with the goal of raising \$125,000 by November 15.

The purpose of the fund is to help finance publication of the *Militant*, our Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial*, *Intercontinental Press*, the Marxist quarterly *New International*, the French-language *Nouvelle Internationale*, Pathfinder Press books and pamphlets, and other important socialist publication projects.

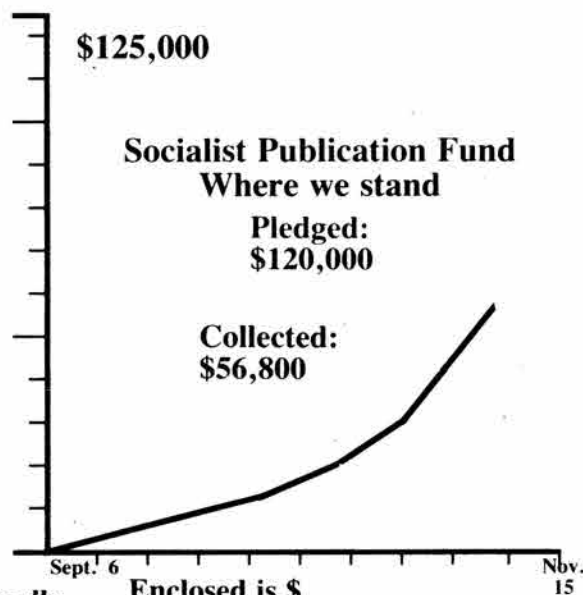
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IAM at Boeing gets involved in anti-apartheid activities

BY RICH LESNICK

SEATTLE — The union here at Boeing Aircraft is getting more and more involved in the growing anti-apartheid movement. District 751 of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) represents some 25,000 workers at the plant, who are responding to the struggle in South Africa with interest and action.

The union's district vice-president, who also chairs the Human Rights Committee, recently got a copy of the video "Adapt or Die" to show at local union meetings or meetings of the Human Rights Committee and the District Council. "Adapt or Die" depicts recent developments in the fight against the apartheid regime carried out by the Black South African union movement.

When the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists began circulating petitions for the release of four leaders of the South African Allied Workers Union, a new possibility for union action against apartheid emerged.

A representative of the local anti-apartheid coalition was invited to speak at union meetings in October.

District 751's 25,000 members are organized into four local

unions. Each local holds separate union meetings for the day and second shifts.

The first meeting was the day shift of Local C, which represents most of the more skilled production and tooling workers, as well as machinists. Maryamu Etayeb, cochair of the anti-apartheid coalition, spoke about the complicity of U.S. government and corporations — including Boeing — in proping up the apartheid system. She also spoke about a local boycott against TreeTop apple juice led by Teamster-organized warehouse workers in Yakima, Washington. TreeTop imports apple concentrate from South Africa.

The following week, Etayeb spoke to a meeting of the second shift of Local C which is held at 1 a.m. The union president introduced and praised her for her dedication and courage. Under the good and welfare point on the agenda, the campaign to circulate the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists' petition was announced. When the meeting adjourned, workers waited in line to sign it. The next day on the job more signatures were gathered, and the campaign is continuing.

Union members in the past have been active and supportive of the union's involvement in antiwar and anti-apartheid activities. But the continuing upsurge in the South African freedom struggle is inspiring many union members to



get more actively involved in the anti-apartheid movement.

Rich Lesnick is a member of IAM Local 751 C.

Cuban children raise funds for Mandela house

Cuba's schoolchildren have raised 60,000 pesos (about \$69,000) to rebuild the home of Winnie Mandela, which was burned to the ground by paramilitary groups of the apartheid regime.

Winnie Mandela had refused the hypocritical offer of the U.S. government to rebuild the house.

The Young Pioneers organized the drive in which primary and secondary school children each contributed 10 cents apiece to rebuild the "home where Nelson Mandela will live once his people's growing struggle, assisted by the active solidarity of more and more indignant people the world over, tears down the bars of the cell where the South African racists have confined him for the last 23 years."

Texas actions against apartheid

BY RONI LEROUGE

The month of October in the Dallas area was marked with lively demonstrations and events as students, trade unionists, and activists organized to protest the racist system of apartheid.

At Southern Methodist University, SMU Students Against Apartheid coordinated an "Apartheid Awareness Week," which opened with a student senate resolution demanding divestment.

The week of protest climaxed as SMU, along with North Texas State University in Denton and thousands across the country, participated in National Anti-apartheid Protest Day on October 11.

During the same week, two spirited rallies demanding divestment were held at the University of Texas in Arlington. Currently the University of Texas system has

\$770 million invested in U.S. companies doing business in South Africa.

The call for a free South Africa was not only heard on area campuses. The Dallas NAACP Coalition Against Apartheid, headed by Rev. Clarence Glover, organized the October 19 Rally to Bury Apartheid.

Petitions demanding an end to apartheid were circulated heavily at schools, events, churches, and work places before and after the rally. At the LTV Vought plant, which is organized by the United Auto Workers, 200 signatures were collected. At the statewide National Organization for Women (NOW) convention an activist in the coalition gathered another 80.

Reverend Glover gave a presentation on women and apartheid to a meeting of the Dallas County NOW chapter. He said the October 19 rally was "a drop in the bucket."

Woody Allen films won't show in South Africa

Woody Allen's *The Purple Rose of Cairo* was scheduled to open in Johannesburg in a few weeks. But the film will not play in South Africa. Allen has requested that none of his films be shown in South Africa, as an expression of opposition to the racist apartheid regime.

St. Louis trade union delegation tours Nicaragua

BY JIM GARRISON

ST. LOUIS — A delegation of trade unionists, primarily from the St. Louis area, recently spent eight days in Nicaragua. They met with union leaders and workers, representatives of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, members of a farm cooperative, health workers, and teachers.

Planning for the tour had begun several months ago. An article announcing it was published in the June issue of the United Auto Workers (UAW) *Missouri State News*, which is sent quarterly to thousands of auto workers throughout the state.

The delegation included local officials and staff members of the UAW, the Illinois Education Association, and the baker's union. Rank-and-file members of the UAW, the American Nursing Association, and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) also were on the tour. One member of ACTWU represented her chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

On the way to Nicaragua, the delegation had to stop over for a day in New Orleans. A front-page story in the *Times-Picayune* said, "Shortages bring shrill complaints from Nicaraguans." The article portrayed the Nicaraguan people as nostalgic about the good old days before the revolution, when dictator Somoza ruled.

But the union delegation saw a different picture. Meeting with Gustavo Soto of the Institute for Social and Economic Investigation in Managua, the unionists learned about the serious economic challenges facing the revolution, including a marked increase in inflation and unemployment. Soto explained that the difficulties arise chiefly from the war waged by the U.S.-sponsored *contras* (counterrevolutionaries) and the sabotage of trade and aid relations engineered by Washington. Anger at this is widespread, Soto noted, and the troubles have deepened mass opposition to the *contras*, who are generally recognized as the culprits.

The delegation saw many examples of the real gains the revolution has made possible for Nicaragua's workers and farmers. During a trip to a farm cooperative established under the land reform program, a discussion was held with several members of the cooperative. Previously all had been landless farm workers working on one or

another of the huge estates of Nicaragua's former rulers.

When they were asked how they had come to learn about the land reform program, one farmer smiled and explained, "We always knew about the land reform. That's why we made the revolution in the first place." Now the men in the cooperative take turns on active military duty at the front and belong to a local militia unit.

The delegation met with José López, a leader of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST). The CST is the largest union federation in the country. López noted the huge expansion of trade union organization since the revolution. He described the CST-sponsored "movement of innovators," in which workers employ their ingenuity to repair and maintain machinery in the face of a severe shortage of spare parts no longer available from the United States.

The CST encourages participation in "Red and Black Work," López told the delegation. Workers join volunteer brigades that put in extra hours at work or participate in the sugar cane harvests in areas subject to *contra* attacks.

Denver UAW members send tools to Nicaragua

BY MIKE CHAMBERLAIN

DENVER — Unionists at the Martin Marietta aerospace plant here donated more than \$500 in tools and cash to our fellow unionists in Nicaragua. The campaign resulted in a growing interest in, and support for, the Nicaraguan revolution among many Martin Marietta workers.

The idea of holding a collection came from a mailing we received from Nita Brueggeman, manager of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Pacific Northwest Joint Board. This mailing explained that the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), Nicaragua's largest trade union federation, was asking for our help. The CST had appealed to unions and unionists around the world to organize solidarity activities and collect material aid for Nicaragua during August and September of this year.

We started out by showing this mailing to a number of our coworkers in the plant who we knew were supporters of the Nicaraguan cause. This started some discussion on what we could do in our local, United

López added that Nicaraguan workers were currently planning educational and demonstrations in solidarity with the freedom struggle in South Africa.

When asked about what U.S. workers could do to aid Nicaraguan unionists, López said that tours are important, material aid is helpful, and that marches and protests in the United States are especially important.

A different view of the current situation was expressed in a meeting with Santos Tijerino, a leader of the opposition union federation, CUS (Council on Trade Union Unification). Tijerino claimed that CUS had lost ground since the revolution as a result of repression by the Sandinistas. He charged that CUS leaders had been detained and some imprisoned solely for union affiliation. Tijerino also charged that CUS organizing efforts were regularly disrupted by the Sandinistas.

A member of the delegation asked for documentation of CUS' charges to investigate them further. Tijerino replied that Sandinistas had infiltrated his organization and stolen all the documentation supporting his claims.

Auto Workers (UAW) Local 766. Two of us met with the local president, and he agreed to post a notice in the plant announcing that contributions for the CST in Nicaragua would be accepted at the union hall.

Martin Marietta management hit the roof over the planned collection. They refused to allow the union to post the notice on our own union bulletin boards.

This attempt to censor the union backfired. More than a dozen workers on both the first and second floors of the factory posted notices on our roll-away tool boxes in defiance of the company ban. These boxes stand out on the shop floor 24 hours a day like miniature billboards. Many more workers became more interested in the campaign than if management had allowed posting on the union bulletin boards.

An opportunity presented itself to deliver the tools in person. Unionists in St. Louis, Missouri, had organized a union tour to Nicaragua to leave September 28. My companion and I arranged to join the tour group and we brought the tools down

Before leaving the United States, the delegation had received copies of a letter from the AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington, D.C., making similar charges of union repression. A list of nine CUS members reportedly imprisoned for union activity was attached to an appeal for messages of protest. The delegation brought this letter to Sister Mary Hartman of the National Commission for Protection and Promotion of Human Rights in Nicaragua.

Hartman supplied the delegation with an account of each case. In three of the cases, the individuals were convicted and imprisoned for specific acts of collaboration with the *contra* forces. Others had already received pardons or been released. She assured the delegation that no one was in jail for membership in CUS.

On returning to St. Louis, members of the delegation have been interviewed on radio and in the press, including the *UAW News*. A slide presentation was held at a local ACTWU hall October 19, and a second meeting is planned for November 23 at the UAW Region 5 headquarters in St. Louis.

to Nicaragua as part of our luggage.

In Nicaragua we had a very informative discussion with José López, a leader of the CST, and delivered our tools to him. In return, López gave us a thank-you letter to take back to our local.

Two weeks later, back in Denver, I gave a report to the monthly meeting of UAW 766. I announced the delivery of the tools, read some of the thank-you letter, and reported on the gains that have been made by workers in Nicaragua because of their 1979 revolution. A number of members stayed after the meeting to read the CST letter and to ask questions about my trip.

Back at work my trip sparked even more discussion. I brought back pro-Sandinista pendants for everyone who contributed to the tool collection campaign. I also brought back 30 or 40 cigars. Everyone had comments on the quality of the cigars and questions about Nicaragua.

Mike Chamberlain is a member of UAW Local 766 at Martin Marietta.

Nicaragua National Assembly approves emergency measures

Continued from front page

designed to thwart these actions by the contras' internal allies; to push them back just as the mercenaries have been pushed back.

The measures give the government broad powers to conduct searches without a warrant, hold prisoners without bringing charges, restrict travel, and ban strikes and demonstrations. Working people support the law, confident that it will be used against the enemies of their revolution.

In approving the decree, the National Assembly, acting on a motion by the FSLN, restored some of the rights that had been suspended. And it added several paragraphs to ensure that the right of habeas corpus would remain in force in all cases except those involving a threat to the security of the country.

Capitalist parties boycott discussion

The FSLN holds a majority of the seats in Nicaragua's National Assembly. Six other parties also participate. The largest of these opposition groups, the Conservatives and the Liberals, are capitalist parties.

The majority of the delegates from the Conservative Party boycotted the session of the National Assembly that voted to approve the State of Emergency. They asserted that they had not been consulted about the agenda. In fact, the agenda had only one point — to discuss and vote on the State of Emergency. This had been known publicly days in advance.

The Liberals carried out their boycott in a different way: their delegates walked out of the session before the vote was taken, after they had spoken in the discussion.

The day before the National Assembly met, six opposition parties had issued a joint statement demanding that the assembly revoke the State of Emergency. The statement described the measures as "completely contrary to the great and urgent needs of the country."

The authors of the statement nonchalantly dismissed the idea that the State of Emergency might be needed to confront the mercenary aggression against Nicaragua. After all, they said, "government authorities have been assuring us in recent months that they have the military situation under control."

"Far from helping to overcome the profound crisis that affects our country," the statement said, "the new state of emergency decree will aggravate even more an already difficult situation."

The six parties signing this document are:

- Democratic Conservative Party, the largest opposition force in the assembly

with 14 delegates (although split into two factions).

- Independent Liberal Party, the second-largest opposition party, with nine representatives.

- Social Christian Party, a right-wing capitalist group which is not represented in the assembly because it refused to participate in the elections last November.

Joining these three procapitalist parties were two ultraleft sectarian groups which claim to be Marxist:

- Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN), which traditionally had looked toward the Soviet Communist Party for leadership. Many of its members have joined the FSLN. Today's PSN is the sectarian wing that remains outside the FSLN.

- Communist Party of Nicaragua, which split from the PSN in 1967.

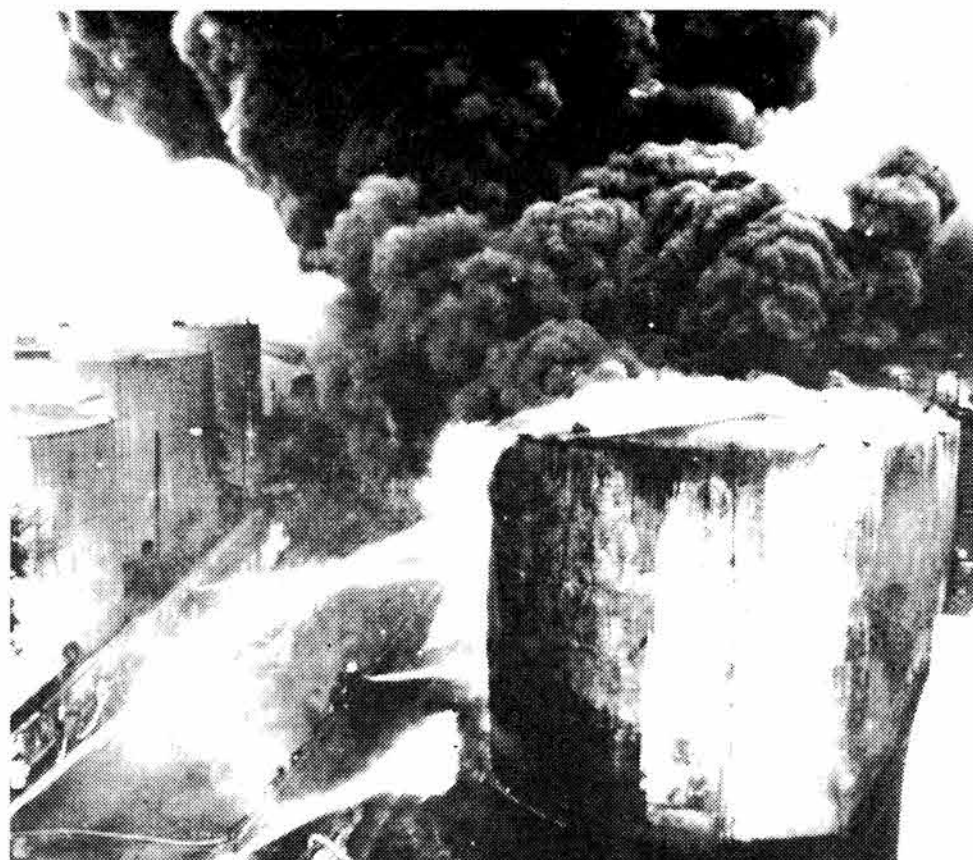
- The Central American Unionist Party (PUCA) also signed the joint statement, although it did not appear at the press conference and has no delegate in the assembly. The PUCA is a new formation, hostile to the FSLN, which calls for the election of a new National Assembly, the elimination of the Sandinista army, and the formation of a single nation in Central America.

The joint declaration of this class-collaborationist bloc was presented publicly by Erick Ramirez of the Social Christian Party (PSC) at a well-attended press conference in his party headquarters. The PSC is a member of the so-called Democratic Coordinating Committee, which collaborated with the CIA in an effort to discredit last November's elections. Flanked by leaders of the Communist and Socialist parties, this right-wing politician read the joint statement of the six parties.

Later, speaking in the name of the PSC alone, he answered a reporter's question with a remark that accurately — perhaps too bluntly for some — expressed the point of view of all the parties present. The main aggression against Nicaragua, he said, is not the U.S.-financed war. The main aggression against Nicaragua is the aggression by the FSLN — using the State of Emergency — against the people and their parties. This is precisely the line the White House took on the State of Emergency.

Bombast for the TV cameras

Although the war was consistently downplayed at the news conference, demagogic rhetoric was not. The FSLN was condemned for "selling out" to the United States by saying that the State of Emergency could be lifted when the aggression against Nicaragua ended. Nicaragua's diplomatic initiatives in Contadora



1983 attack on Nicaragua's main port in Corinto is one of many terrorist attacks by CIA-financed counterrevolutionaries (contras). Sandinista Army has dealt military blows to mercenary forces. National Assembly approved state of emergency measures aimed at stopping terrorist attacks.

and the United Nations were criticized as betrayals of the sovereignty of the nation.

The capitalist parties declared their concern for "the just demands of the working people." And the Communist Party, lauding itself as the true defender of the revolution, titillated reporters with tales of fierce "Sandinista repression" against opposition groups.

Two parties with representation in the National Assembly refused to participate in the joint opposition statement. The People's Social Christian Party (PPSC), the third procapitalist party in the assembly, opposed the statement, arguing that the debate should take place in the assembly.

But in the assembly, the PPSC echoed the position of the Conservatives, describing the State of Emergency as a "strait-jacket" on the political parties — exactly the same term the Democratic Conservative Party had used the day before.

The PPSC offered a motion opposing the State of Emergency. With the Liberals and Conservatives boycotting the session, it remained for the Socialist and Communist parties, following the lead of the capitalist parties again, to second this motion.

The People's Action Movement (MAP), another ultraleft sectarian group, also refused to participate in the joint statement. The MAP condemned the other parties for "playing imperialism's game" in their issuing of the joint statement against the State of Emergency.

In the assembly, however, the MAP refused to vote for the State of Emergency. It abstained in the balloting, voting neither

for the FSLN motion to endorse the State of Emergency, nor for the PPSC motion to oppose it.

The motion to approve the State of Emergency law as amended passed with 58 in favor, 2 opposed, and many of the parties abstaining. The motion to reject the State of Emergency, seconded by the Communist and Socialist parties, received nine votes.

'Nicaragua State of Emergency is just & necessary'

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Nicaragua's foreign minister, Miguel D'Escoto, sent a letter November 2 to foreign ministers of the Contadora group and its support group. The text was printed in the November 4 *Barricada*, daily newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

In his letter, D'Escoto took up President Reagan's October 24 speech at the United Nations in which Reagan claimed that the counterrevolutionary war against Nicaragua is the consequence "of an ideology imposed from without," referring to the Soviet Union.

"The government of Nicaragua rejects this conception," said D'Escoto. The Central American crisis has its origins, he said, first, "in decades of merciless exploitation of the natural resources of our countries, mainly by the North American multinationals, who have cast millions of Central Americans into poverty and onto the fringes of society."

Furthermore, D'Escoto continued, the crisis is caused by "the imposition of military dictatorships, which, backed by the United States, have denied the Central American peoples the right to democratic political expression."

D'Escoto said that the recent state of emergency measures adopted by the government of Nicaragua "could not be more just and necessary" given the context of Reagan's latest actions — his efforts to get more congressional aid for the mercenaries, his demand that Nicaragua negotiate with the contras, and the extension of the U.S. trade embargo. These measures give the revolutionary state the legal means to defend itself from actions inside the country that complement the U.S. war of aggression. Equally just and necessary are the measures Nicaragua is taking to strengthen the defensive capacities of its people.

"The government of Nicaragua calls on the government of the United States to cease its war of aggression against Nicaragua, to halt all forms of aid to the counterrevolutionary forces, to renew bilateral talks with Nicaragua, take the necessary steps for peace, and to permit Contadora to complete its negotiating efforts in the Central American region."

South African documents in 'IP'

Spurred by the current upsurge against the racist apartheid system, there is a renewed discussion and debate among political activists in South Africa over the program and character of that country's unfolding revolution.

The November 18 *Intercontinental Press* features six documents reflecting the two main counterposed perspectives in this discussion.

One perspective is advanced by the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), South Africa's vanguard liberation organization. It is also put forward by those groups that look toward the ANC for leadership, many of which belong to the United Democratic Front (UDF), the massive anti-apartheid coalition.

The ANC, and those groups that look to it, support the Freedom Charter, the program of South Africa's national, democratic revolution. In addition to reprinting the Freedom Charter, this issue of *IP* includes an interview with ANC leader Joe Slovo, an article from the

ANC's monthly *Sechaba*, and the founding declaration of the UDF.

A different view is put forward by the National Forum Committee, a smaller and less influential grouping. It presents as its program the Manifesto of the Azanian People, reprinted in this *IP* together with another document from this current.

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Nicaragua's Bluefields celebrates founding

In October, Managua Bureau correspondents Héctor Carrión and Cindy Jaquith spent a week in Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast port of Bluefields, interviewing activists in the autonomy project, trade unionists, young people, and members of the government and Sandinista National Liberation Front.

The following is the first in a series of reports and interviews based on their trip.

BY HÉCTOR CARRIÓN
AND CINDY JAQUITH

BLUEFIELDS, Nicaragua — The young people of this Atlantic Coast port town were out on the streets early on Sunday morning, October 6, putting the finishing touches on their floats for a festival celebrating the 82nd anniversary of the founding of Bluefields.

Each of the town's 16 neighborhoods, or *barrios*, was entering a float and a candidate for the queen of Bluefields.

Thousands turned out for the parade and rally that afternoon and stayed for the festivities late into the evening. The crowd was roughly half Creoles, Blacks whose native language is English, and half *mestizos*, who are Spanish-speaking.

Many Rama Indians also came in from nearby Rama Cay Island. Some Miskito Indians, many of them displaced by the war Nicaragua suffers at the hands of the U.S. government, were there. Creoles and Garífonas, a Black people with different origins than Creoles, also came in by boat from Pearl Lagoon, which is north of here.

Defense, production, autonomy

As the procession of floats went by, they captured the three themes of the celebration and the revolution as it is unfolding in Bluefields today: defense against U.S.-sponsored military aggression, increased production in the factories and fields, and the project to establish regional autonomy for the Atlantic Coast.

The autonomy plan projects establishing regional governments in Southern Zelaya province, where Bluefields is located, and in Northern Zelaya. Each racial group will have representation. The governments will be responsible for determining how the Sandinista revolution is carried out on the Atlantic Coast, taking into account the historical, cultural, racial, and language differences between *costeños* (residents of the Atlantic Coast) and Nicaraguans on the Pacific Coast, who are overwhelmingly *mestizos*.

One of the goals is to deepen the participation of *costeños* in the revolution by encouraging the free development of their cultures and traditions, which were suppressed under the U.S.-backed Somoza regime. This was also a theme of the festival here.

The Teodoro Martínez barrio entered a float symbolizing the kinds of work Bluefileños do. Several small children dressed as seafood processors were cutting up fish, while a boy on the side in uniform guarded against mercenary attacks. Fishing, fish and shellfish processing, and boatbuilding comprise the biggest industries here.

The Teodoro Martínez float also bore posters hailing the workers of the Camilo Ortega sugar refinery and the farm workers at the African palm project.

San Mateo Barrio's float was a rowboat filled with children, one of them brandishing a live turtle. Turtle shell jewelry is a major artisan industry here. Above the children flew the flags of Nicaragua and of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

"Autonomy equals progress and opportunity," read the sign on the float from the Old Bank Barrio, in English, Spanish, and Miskito. It displayed drawings of children in school, lobstermen, and lumber workers as symbols of what autonomy will defend and extend. "If anything has to be done for us, it must be done by us," another sign on the float declared.

Barrio Fatima's float was followed by a cheering contingent of young people. The float itself emphasized the banana industry and a multicolor sign with a quote from Augusto César Sandino, who drove the U.S. Marines out of Nicaragua half a century ago. When Nicaragua conquers its independence, the quote said, "the Indians,

Sumos, Miskitos, and Blacks will have the opportunity to become the managers of their own cooperatives."

One entry in the parade bore no identification from any barrio. It was a large army truck. On the truck bed stood a Sandinista soldier guarding a group of Miskito and Rama children in a boat.

Defense, production, and autonomy also influenced the contest for queen. One barrio even put out T-shirts to campaign for its candidate, with a pro-autonomy slogan on the front and the candidate's name on the back. In the final judging of all the candidates, each young woman was asked how she would personally advance the autonomy project. The winner came from Barrio Beholden, which is 99 percent Creole.

Visit by Obando y Bravo

The political themes of the festival and the enthusiasm of the crowd stood in contrast to an event that had taken place the day before — a visit to Bluefields by Nicaraguan Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo. Obando's trip was part of a nationwide tour he has been on, calling on Nicaraguans to treat the CIA-organized mercenaries invading their country as "brothers" and encouraging young people to refuse to join Nicaragua's Patriotic Military Service.

Sandinista officials did not prevent the cardinal from coming here, but they made sure their own festival was rescheduled for the next day to minimize the chances of a provocation that could be used by the Church hierarchy against the revolution.

Several thousand Bluefileños lined the streets when the cardinal arrived. Most



Militant/Héctor Carrión

October 6 festival in Bluefields celebrates 82nd anniversary of founding of Atlantic Coast port town.

came to get a look at him. They watched his motorcade go by and then went home. The Catholic Church organized several dozen adults and a larger number of preschool children to greet Obando with signs. Following the motorcade, about 500 people went to the cardinal's mass.

The dominant church in Bluefields is Moravian, not Catholic as it is on the Pacific Coast. But religion was not the reason thousands didn't stick around to hear Obando speak, as they did the next

day when Sandinista officials spoke at the anniversary rally.

Obando y Bravo represents the past, and more and more openly so as he becomes increasingly strident in his calls for "reconciliation" with the mercenaries led by Somoza's National Guard.

The autonomy project, which is bringing *costeños* as a whole, and Creoles, Garífonas, and Indians especially, into full participation in Nicaraguan society for the first time, represents the future.

Bilingual ed. program big success

BLUEFIELDS, Nicaragua — The revolutionary government has launched a bilingual-bicultural education program here which was so successful in its first semester that many Blacks and Miskitos are demanding it be expanded to reach more communities.

Ron Brooks, director of the program, told the *Militant* how it came about.

After the 1979 revolution, the new Nicaraguan government conducted a nationwide literacy drive, which was carried out here in Spanish, English, and Miskito. But the government did not have the resources to continue adult education in all three languages, only Spanish. Primary and secondary instruction was available only in Spanish, the official national language, as well.

Since Spanish is the dominant language here, virtually everyone speaks it. But the nearly half of the Bluefields population that is Black considers Creole, a form of English, as its mother tongue. Roughly the same percentage of the population is Spanish-speaking, or *mestizo*.

There are a small number of Miskito Indians in Bluefields who prefer the Miskito language to Spanish. The 800 Rama Indians tend to speak English, with only a few of the older tribal members fluent in the Rama tongue. Attempts are being made to try to revive the Rama language, as well as Garifono, the original language of the Garífona people, who are Blacks living for the most part north of Bluefields in Pearl Lagoon. Most Garífonas today speak English.

Brooks explained that the bilingual program was instituted after educators realized that despite the resources being poured into the schools by the revolutionary government, there was still a very high dropout rate among Creoles and Miskitos. They decided this was because of the Spanish-only instruction. It was also undermining cultural pride among Creoles and Miskitos, Brooks explained.

So in 1984 Atlantic Coast officials proposed to the national Ministry of Education that a pilot bilingual program in English be initiated. They got approval and started the project in early 1985.

Because of the shortage of trained English-speaking teachers and the mercenary war sponsored by Washington, the project had to be limited to six schools — four in Bluefields, one on Corn Island, which is off the coast, and one in Pearl Lagoon.

Seven hundred students — ranging from preschool to first grade — and 22 teachers took part in the first semester. Brooks explained that care was taken not to impose "standard English" on the students. If the children felt more comfortable speaking Creole, this was encouraged.

He explained that Creole uses some pronunciations and sentence structures that are different from standard English, as well as some Spanish intonations. In the past it has been treated as inferior to other forms of English, leading Creole children to feel ashamed of their culture.

Over time, the students are taught standard English, and Spanish instruction begins in the third grade.

After the first semester in the bilingual program was over, 94 percent of the children remained in school. Children in the bilingual program actually scored better on some tests than *mestizo* children, Brooks added.

As word spread about the achievements of the program, Brooks' office was deluged with requests from other Black

families and from Miskitos to have their children also receive bilingual classes. Next year, he said, the projection is to expand the English program to 1,700 students, which will require 55 to 60 teachers. The office is also working on the demand for a Miskito program.

The bicultural side of the program is also important, Brooks said. Before the revolution, those Blacks who succeeded in getting an education got it through the Moravian Church school since Somoza provided no real public education. But the church oriented the students toward high-paying jobs in other countries. Most Blacks who left Bluefields to study in the United States or the Caribbean never returned.

The bilingual-bicultural program is different, Brooks said. "We don't teach the children 'London Bridge is falling down.' We teach them their own culture and the history of the Atlantic Coast. We want our students to be proud to be *costeños* (residents of the Atlantic Coast). We want them to learn so they will stay here and use their education to help develop Bluefields."

— C.J.

Bluefields mayor tells of gains

BLUEFIELDS, Nicaragua — Johnny Hodgson is a 29-year-old Nicaraguan who is Black. For the last year, he has been mayor of Bluefields. He stepped down from the post in October to devote full time to coordinating the Southern Zelaya regional autonomy commission.

In an October 8 interview with the *Militant* conducted in both Spanish and English, Hodgson described how he became involved in the 1970s in the struggle to overthrow dictator Anastasio Somoza. Hodgson was one of the few Blacks from the Atlantic Coast who had the opportunity to go to the capital city of Managua — which is near the Pacific Coast — to study. He was an agronomy student.

"I began to get involved in politics in Managua, and I met other Bluefileños [residents of Bluefields] there," he said. "I joined a group called the Democratic Association of the Atlantic Coast. It was affiliated to the United People's Movement." The MPU was a broad-based coalition of forces opposed to Somoza.

Hodgson's participation in demonstrations against Somoza got him expelled

from the university. But that didn't stop him from political activity.

Shortly before Somoza was overthrown in July 1979, Hodgson was sent to Bluefields to try to establish contacts for the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). There had been an anti-Somoza demonstration of several thousand there about six months prior, commemorating the assassination of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, a newspaper editor and opponent of Somoza. The National Guard had attacked the demonstration.

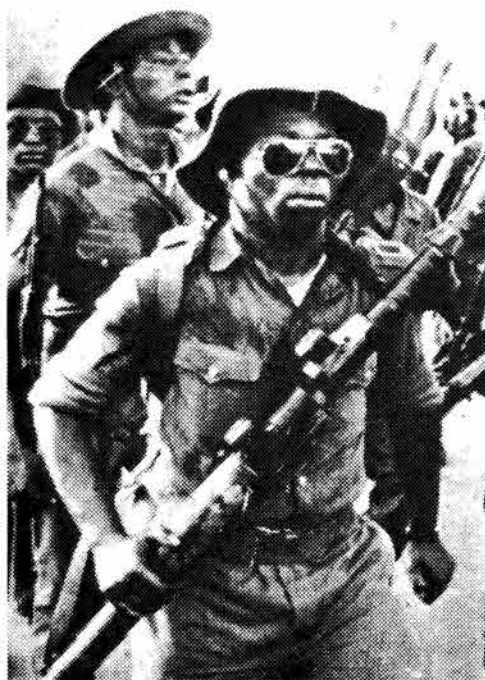
But, Hodgson said, his efforts to organize supporters in Bluefields were "not very fruitful. Few people came forward."

After the July 19, 1979, triumph of the revolution, Hodgson served in the Sandinista People's Army until 1981. Part of this time he was assigned to Bluefields, where he helped organize community projects in the Black neighborhood of Beholden.

Later he went to work on the agrarian reform, but found he needed more education. So he returned to Managua to the same

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U.S. and South Africa target Angola



Angolan troops have gained ground against rightist bands. U.S., South Africa have responded with new moves against Angola.

Continued from front page

impose a government in Angola that would follow orders from U.S. and South African banks and corporations.

The U.S. government shares these objectives. Support for the South African rulers as imperialist cops in southern Africa is a part of the policy — presently called “constructive engagement” — that has been followed by U.S. administrations for decades.

The U.S. government's support to the South African war against Angola dates from the first days of Angola's independence from Portugal. Before then, Washington had bankrolled the brutal colonial war waged by the Portuguese imperialists against the independence fighters.

When the Portuguese withdrew in November 1975, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) came to power. Washington and South Africa now backed UNITA and other rightists in an effort to topple the new government. The rightist ranks were honeycombed with racist white mercenaries recruited by the CIA. When it appeared that the MPLA was winning this battle, thousands of South African troops poured into Angola.

The mightiest military machine in Africa was moving to crush a newly independent country with few trained soldiers, an illiteracy rate of 85 percent, and an average per capita income of \$475.

John Stockwell, head of the CIA Angola Task Force during the war, admitted that Washington worked closely with the South African invaders at every step.

In an effort to save its hard won freedom, the Angolan government turned to Cuba for help. The Cubans responded with thousands of combat troops. The South African troops were forced to pull back.

Today, Reagan pretends that the Cuban presence is the reason for U.S. support to the apartheid regime against Angola. But U.S. complicity in the war against Angolan independence began before a single Cuban combat unit had arrived.

As Randall Robinson pointed out, “the Cubans, who've crossed no borders and serve as a rear guard to Angolan forces, are only in Angola to enable the government to survive constant South African invasions. Southern Africa's problems are not caused by Cuba. They are caused by South Africa.”

After pulling back from its 1975 invasion, the apartheid regime continued to launch raids deep into Angola, killing hundreds of Angolans and Namibian refugees. And they continued to massively support UNITA.

On September 16 South African forces invaded Angola again as Angolan troops were closing in on UNITA's headquarters at Jamba, located near the Namibian border in southern Angola.

According to Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos, massive South African air raids stalemated the offensive against UNITA. He reported that South African troops formed a line of defense at Mavinga, a town near the UNITA headquarters. At least one South African soldier was killed in the fighting.

Top South African diplomats went to Washington September 23 to appeal for more administration support against Angola.

In the aftermath, the U.S. government and big-business media campaign against Angola went into higher gear. It reached a peak when Reagan denounced Angola at the United Nations, while uttering not a word against apartheid.

Without a shred of supporting evidence, the propaganda campaign portrays Savimbi and UNITA as democratic. The MPLA is called totalitarian.

Since 1975 Savimbi has earned the praise of Washington and Pretoria by promising to accept South African and U.S. imperialist domination of southern Africa.

Like Reagan, Savimbi says he finds apartheid “repugnant.” But, he adds, “Those who seek revolution and bloodshed in South Africa are no friends of Africa. . . . The economy of southern Africa needs South Africa, the strongest regional power. We seek cooperation, not violence. I tell you only Russian imperialism would benefit from revolution in South Africa and only blacks would suffer.”

This “democrat” clearly prefers apartheid to the national, democratic revolution sought by South Africa's masses.

Within Congress and the administration there is opposition to more openly aiding UNITA and the apartheid regime's involvement in Angola. Secretary of State George Shultz who indicated he favors covert aid to UNITA, has opposed the proposals in Congress for public support.

Several members of Congress signed a letter to Reagan November 1 warning that openly aiding UNITA — either through legislation or the CIA — “would be perceived throughout Africa as a decision to consciously collaborate with the policies of South Africa.”

In an October 22 editorial, the *Washington Post* warned against open aid to UNITA at a time when “American politics is more seized of the issue of South Africa and the foreign-policy stakes in Africa are higher” than when Congress banned aid to UNITA in 1976, after the South African invaders were pushed back. The ban was repealed in July.

These politicians and editorialists fear that openly aiding UNITA will further expose Washington's alliance with the apartheid regime. They think it will make U.S. policy in southern Africa the target of worldwide outrage, including from the growing anti-apartheid movement in the United States. These fears are well-founded.

Randall Robinson said the proposed U.S. aid to UNITA “amounts to a supplement for South Africa's program of regional expansionism.”

S. African Black miners talk with UMWA strikers

BY HENRY SAMS

CHARLESTON, W.V. — Two leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers, which represents Black mine workers in South Africa, traveled to southern West Virginia in late October. The tour was part of the union's effort to learn about working conditions in the coalfields of the United States and Canada and to discuss the South African situation with working people here. The U.S. leg of the tour is being sponsored by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA).

In southern West Virginia, National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) President James Motlatsi and safety instructor Jeffrey Magida were able to meet with miners on strike against A.T. Massey Coal Company. The strike against Massey has lasted for over a year. The tour of these unionists received much coverage in the local press.

Motlatsi told the strikers the U.S. and South African miners face the same international conglomerates, pointing out that the owners of Massey — Royal Dutch Shell and Fluor — own mines in South Africa. “We're working for the same employer,” Motlatsi explained.

Though the South African economy is highly developed, with modern ports and manufacturing sites, the coal industry is not mechanized. It relies on more primitive methods of mining coal, gold, and diamonds — drilling, blasting, and hauling it away by hand. The racist apartheid system provides a large supply of cheap labor. Blacks are paid a tenth or less of what white miners make, and all skilled jobs are reserved for whites. Working under proba-

bly the most unsafe conditions in the world, over 600 miners die each year.

The NUM leaders explained the huge obstacles these workers face under apartheid. Most Black miners work under a one-year labor contract and are housed in concentration camp-type barracks next to the mine. “A miner can't go home until the contract is over, even if his wife or children are sick,” Motlatsi said. Often crowded 20 to a single room, miners are separated from their families. Travel is restricted by South Africa's pass law system. “The companies enjoy this system,” Motlatsi said, “because it means more and more profits for them.”

Magida recalled that last February a miner died at the Rietspruit Mine in Transvaal. “The other miners wanted to attend a prayer service for him. Management refused, and when workers took time to mourn, 86 were dismissed immediately.” Like Massey Coal, the Rietspruit Mine is owned by Royal Dutch Shell and Fluor Corporation.

The tour helped educate working people in the area on apartheid and the history of South Africa. “The history of South Africa is a history of dispossession from the land. When gold and diamonds were discovered, people were forcibly removed from the land where they traditionally raised cattle and crops,” remarked Magida.

“As the largest union in the country, the NUM is spearheading talks aimed at forming a new labor federation,” said Motlatsi. “We hope it directs the struggle of the working class in South Africa and helps give it shape.”

Massive London anti-apartheid action



100,000 people attended November 2 anti-apartheid march in London, England.

About 100,000 people in London participated in a November 2 march and rally against apartheid. It was the largest anti-apartheid protest ever held in Britain.

Waving placards with slogans like “Sanctions now!”, the protesters gathered for a rally in Trafalgar Square, near the South African embassy. The action, sponsored by the Anti-apartheid Movement, denounced the racist regime and called for the British government to impose strong economic sanctions against South Africa.

Police clashes with demonstrators resulted in at least 27 arrests.

The rally was addressed by Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress of South Africa. Labor union leaders and representatives of community groups also spoke.

The march was led by Rev. Jesse Jackson. He denounced the apartheid regime's ban on media coverage of protests. “Now the government wants to lock out the foreign press so it can do its murdering in the dark,” he said.

Dominican groups condemn FBI raid on Puerto Rican patriots

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

The campaign to free 13 Puerto Rican independence fighters framed up by the United States government has won some important international support.

In the Dominican Republic, a broad gathering of labor and farm organizations issued a statement condemning the August 30 raid on Puerto Rico by 200 “marshals and FBI agents, who, under the cover of darkness, proceeded to invade the homes of” dozens of independence supporters.

A resolution passed by the Second Conference of Union, Peasant, and People's Organizations, held in the Dominican capital on September 8, explained: “As a result of this raid, several patriots were seized and taken illegally to U.S. territory.” The U.S. government is currently putting the 13 activists on trial in Hartford, Connecticut, on phony charges of “terrorism.”

The statement points to the real motivations of the U.S. government, which, in its efforts to crack down on the Puerto Rican independence movement, “has responded with indiscriminate repression — kidnapping, attacking, and jailing” people “who identify with Puerto Rican independence.”

The resolution concludes: “We stand in solidarity with the Puerto Rican people's struggle for their independence and welfare, and we demand the return of those kidnapped to their relatives, as well as the freeing of all patriots jailed and ‘convicted’ by U.S. grand juries.”

Besides the 13, there are about 40 Puerto Rican political activists currently jailed in the United States on frame-up charges of

“terrorism.” Like the latest 13 victims, their only crime is to support independence for their country.

The conference in the Dominican Republic brought together 1,000 delegates representing five trade union and peasant federations and dozens of nationwide unions and farm groups, as well as 700 local labor, peasant, youth, neighborhood, women's, and religious organizations. The meeting was held to launch a National Coordinating Committee of People's Organizations to fight against the foreign debt and austerity measures imposed by imperialist banks on the Dominican Republic.

NEW JERSEY

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Music, including Sun City, and slideshow on revolution in Nicaragua. Food served.

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Argentina declares 60-day state of siege

Generals on trial for murder of thousands as anger mounts over wage freeze

BY NORTON SANDLER

"For once, a defensible state of siege," read the headline on the *New York Times* editorial. That newspaper was giving quick backing to the 60-day state of siege declared by Argentina's President Raúl Alfonsín October 25.

Under provisions of Alfonsín's decree, the government of Argentina can detain individuals without bringing them to trial, conduct searches of homes and offices without warrants, and restrict public gatherings and rallies.

The action came in response to a judge granting the release of a dozen right-wingers the day before, including six top military officers, who are accused by the government of leading a campaign of bombings throughout the country in recent months.

In justifying Alfonsín's action, the *Times* editors claim that the state of siege only suspends the rights "of 12 persons." But a look at what is unfolding in the political situation in Argentina makes it clear that in addition to a few right-wing political figures, unionists, members of working-class political parties, and human rights activists will soon feel the impact of the government's action.

Alfonsín was elected president in 1983 following seven years of brutal rule by the country's military. During the years of the military dictatorship, 30,000 Argentines were kidnapped and murdered. The return to civilian rule came after protests against inflation and unemployment, and against the military's handling of the war with Britain over the Malvinas Islands in 1982, began to grow.

With the end of the military dictatorship, Argentines have been pressing forward with demands on the government.

A major demand is to bring to justice the 1,700 officers and soldiers who are responsible for the disappearances and deaths during the years of military rule.

Responding to growing pressure, in April the government began the trials of nine former top military leaders, including three former presidents of Argentina.

The fact that the generals and admirals are on trial is a victory for the Argentine people. But it is clear that the trials of the nine will not satisfy popular support for bringing those responsible for the deaths to justice.

On the trial's first day, 150,000 people demonstrated, demanding that all responsible for the crimes be tried. On September 6 tens of thousands again rallied, raising the

same demand. When the prosecutor finished his summation in the case against the nine on September 18, the packed courtroom burst into applause and chanted "murderers" at the defendants.

The military hierarchy, which has been a powerful political force in that country for years, is outraged by what is going on.

Leading capitalist figures are also anxious to see amnesty granted to the rest of the military. A lawyer who represents banking interests told the *Washington Post*, "I think they should convict those on trial now, then stop the whole thing."

The trials take place in the context of Argentina's working people suffering severe economic hardships. The hardships in large measure stem from the demands placed on Argentina for repayment of the massive debt owed to banks in the United States. Last June, in consultation with the International Monetary Fund and the United States Federal Reserve Bank, Alfonsín restructured Argentina's currency and launched a wage and price freeze.

The results of those measures have taken an awesome toll, resulting in an immediate drop of 30 percent in the standard of living of the Argentine people. Public works programs for railroad and highway construction have been curtailed. Argentine industry is currently operating at only 40 percent capacity and unemployment is at a 10-year high.

On August 29, 200,000 workers protested against the austerity measures of the government. The workers demanded cancellation of all debt payments and a complete break in relations with the International Monetary Fund.

In the United States, Alfonsín's measures have met with considerable praise from the big-business media. They see his resolve in forcing hardship upon the working people in Argentina as an important example and a counter to the demand raised by the Cuban government and supported throughout Latin America to cancel debt payments to the imperialist banks. On October 23, unionists in Argentina joined others throughout Latin America in protests calling for cancellation of the debts owed by their governments.

With the economic situation deteriorating, the pressure is building inside the unions and throughout Argentina for action to end the wage freeze.

By mid-October, the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) called on its central leadership to go before the Ministry of Labor to protest the erosion of wages and

bers. Many strikers are beginning to suffer serious hardships, but the union is making every effort it can to help those in need.

On October 14 Hormel met with union negotiators for the first time since the strike began. The session lasted less than half an hour.

A few days later, the National Labor Relations Board, responding to Hormel's wishes, again ruled that the union's campaign against First Bank Systems of Minneapolis constituted an illegal secondary boycott of the bank. The bank is a major stockholder in Hormel. In September Local P-9 won a court decision reversing a similar NLRB ruling. But the NLRB simply disregarded the court.

At the rally Dave Foster, grievance chairman of United Steelworkers Local 7263 in the Twin Cities, said, "If we give up the right to stand on the street and pass out fliers or picket, what kind of labor movement will we leave our kids?"

"Struggle will break down the barriers to solidarity" Local P-9 President Jim Guyette told the crowd.

"Wherever people have been on strike, the Region has been ready to help," added UFCW Region 13 Director Joe Hansen.

"Having our friends here means an awful lot. The essence of solidarity is having friends there in time of need," Guyette declared at the rally's end. Participants then went to the union hall to unload the food, talk with one another, and enjoy what one P-9 member called "solidarity soup."



Banner at protest says, "Yes to wage increases, no to International Monetary Fund." Gen. Galtieri (inset), one of nine generals and admirals on trial for murders.

demand a return to collective bargaining, which Alfonsín refuses to grant.

Then, a week before November 3 Congressional elections, Alfonsín warned on nationwide television that small groups were trying to destabilize the government. This led to the state of siege.

With Alfonsín's ruling Radical Party maintaining its majority in Congress, a

new round of stiffer austerity measures is expected. As the working people of Argentina continue pressing for relief, the measures of the state of siege will surely be used to hamper their ability to organize against the capitalist rulers of that country, who are committed to meeting the payments requested by the bankers in the United States.

U.S. pressures Marcos

Continued from Page 3

marches and rallies in the capital city of Manila and in the major provincial centers. The actions were organized by the opposition May First Movement (KMU) union federation. The KMU has over 500,000 members, the second largest trade union federation in the country. This federation has gained ground despite the murder of organizers. In 1984, according to government figures, strikes were at a record peak.

This despite the fact that cops and army thugs have not hesitated to shoot down strikers, as well as use tanks and tear gas against them.

The long developing rebellion in the Philippines, including guerrilla warfare in the countryside over the decades, erupted into an explosive new stage following the assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aquino in 1983. As TV cameras rolled, Aquino was gunned down while stepping from a plane on his return from exile.

A massive outpouring of protest forced the reluctant Marcos regime to conduct an inquiry and trial, with the evidence pointing to army chief of staff Gen. Fabian Ver, who is particularly tight with Marcos. A total of 26 men are on trial in the Aquino case.

With the rising mass opposition to the ruling Marcos clique, various capitalist politicians have emerged as contenders to provide a "viable" alternative to Marcos. Among those regularly mentioned are two prominent ruling-class figures, Salvador Laurel and Corazon Aquino, widow of Benigno Aquino. They favor Washington's current prescription for curbing the worst excesses associated with Marcos — the naked repression and wholesale thievery.

Meanwhile, the mass-based democratic forces in the country have gained solid ground since the events surrounding the Aquino assassination.

There is the New People's Army, an increasingly strong guerrilla force, and the National Democratic Front, a broad-based opposition coalition embracing labor, church, and community groups.

Of a population of 54 million, the New Democratic Front claims a membership of a million and the support of 10 million. It advocates an independent foreign policy for the Philippines, including the dismantling of the U.S. Clark Air Base and Subic

Bay naval base. It also wants an end to the U.S. corporate role in the Philippine economy. It supports the struggle of the New People's Army.

In the NPA, the leading political force is the Communist Party of the Philippines. The party was formed at the end of 1968 by a small split off from the Philippines Communist Party. The guerrilla movement was founded in early 1969.

Originally pro-Maoist in orientation, the Communist Party of the Philippines broke with Peking in 1975 when China established diplomatic relations with the Marcos government.

In the November 3 issue of the *New York Times* Sunday magazine, correspondent Steve Lohr offered this information on the strength of the guerrilla force:

"Today, the New People's Army is active in nearly all the country's 73 provinces. Western analysts estimate that the NPA effectively controls 20 percent or more of the villages, or *barrios*, in the Philippines.

"The Marcos Government claims such estimates are exaggerated. But barrio residents, businessmen, and hacienda managers in some areas of NPA strength report that the percentage is far higher, with Communist shadow governments, called Barrio Revolutionary Councils, controlling as much as 50 percent of the barrios in many towns."

Lohr reports that the guerrilla fighters are young, 19 and 20 on the average, and mostly sons and daughters of impoverished tenant farmers.

And the poverty is real. Many of the landlords are absentee, leaving supervision to managers while they live comfortably in Manila. Most tenant farmers live in dirt-floor shacks with no plumbing and little or no electricity.

Traditionally, the landlord's share of the crop is two-thirds, with a third to the tenant.

Under the agrarian reform carried out in areas under guerrilla control, this proportion is reversed.

Initially limited to hit-and-run operations, the guerrillas are now capable of combat on a battalion-sized scale against fortified government installations.

Much of their arms are won from the Marcos forces and are stamped "Property of the U.S. government."

Minn. rally backs UFCW strike

BY JIM ALTENBERG

AUSTIN, Minn. — A car caravan more than three miles long wound its way through this company town in a boisterous demonstration of solidarity with United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9. This local of meatpackers is on strike against the George A. Hormel Company.

The October 19 caravan was sponsored by Northern Plains Region 13 of the UFCW. It was endorsed by the Minnesota and Iowa state AFL-CIOs as well as many central labor councils and union locals in these and other states.

The caravan ended at the Austin baseball field where 700 people rallied in support of the strike. The same day another UFCW caravan went to Sioux Falls, South Dakota, to bring food and show solidarity with striking packinghouse workers at the John Morrell Company.

The caravan and rally were an important show of strength and unity at a time when Hormel is stepping up its pressure on the workers. "At this time," read a message from P-9 Business Agent Pete Winkels, "the members of this union are under siege. The company has seen fit to starve, freeze, and break this membership."

Strike benefits had to be reduced to \$40 per week from \$65. Health insurance has been cut off. Area social service agencies, whose funds have come in large part from Hormel through United Way and other charities, have refused to serve P-9 mem-

Pres. of UAW 1200 talks about GD strike

BY JOANNE MURPHY

DETROIT — The 5,000 United Auto Workers members who work for General Dynamics Corp. Land Systems Division making army tanks have been out on strike since September 18. They are trying to reverse the pattern of concessions they have been forced to accept since 1979.

In an interview after the Chrysler auto contract settlement, United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1200 President Jim Coakley said the economic package agreed to by Chrysler workers will "make people more adamant, that's what they want" from General Dynamics.

Local 1200 organizes 1,600 workers at the government tank plant GD operates in Warren, Michigan, near here. GD has owned the plant since 1982. Chrysler was its previous owner.

Coakley pointed out that General Dynamics never had the excuse of rocky finances, since its profits are guaranteed under military contracts with the government.

"In 1979 one company, for reasons of bankruptcy, asked concessions of its workers," he said. "In the next six years, almost every contract in every union that's been negotiated since, there's been concessions."

Jim Coakley has worked at the GD tank plant in Warren since 1977. He was elected local president in 1981 and reelected in 1984. The company fired him in April 1983. But after 15 months, the union won his job back.

"Back in 1982 the UAW did a history on General Dynamics," Coakley recalled. "They found out that General Dynamics was one of the biggest union-busting companies around today."

"Marc [Stepp, UAW vice-president] said at that time it might be necessary for every local to form a Flying Squadron."

Local 1200 moved on the suggestion. More than 300 members are organized into a Flying Squadron and have helped out on picket lines for a number of strikes.

But GD bosses were able to impose deep concessions in their first contract with the five UAW locals in GD's tank-building division.

The company got agreement to hire new workers at 60 percent of full wages and it takes three years to get to the top wage. Wages, working conditions, and benefits were all pushed back behind those at Chrysler.

Coakley explained that coordination between the five UAW locals involved was

not close enough in 1982 to beat the company. Union solidarity on a broad scale was also missing.

"When you're dealing with companies like General Dynamics that have strike contingency plans that they put into effect each and every time they go into a strike, yet none of our national unions have such a strike contingency plan, it's ridiculous," Coakley said.

"The concepts are very simple and should be put into place. We have a Flying Squadron here. It's the same type of flying squadron that was needed in the formation of this union."

Without such a plan on a unionwide scale, Coakley observed, "local unions are getting the hell kicked out of them every month and every damn year and there's no plan where they can pick up the telephone and get anybody there."

"It's a shame we have a union of 1.2 million members and we have no call out procedure to help anybody in need."

Communication and cooperation between Local 1200 and Local 2075, organizing 2,400 workers at the Lima, Ohio, GD tank plant, has taken big steps forward in the current contract battle. Local presidents have spoken at the sister local's membership meetings, and strike support committees have been exchanging ideas.

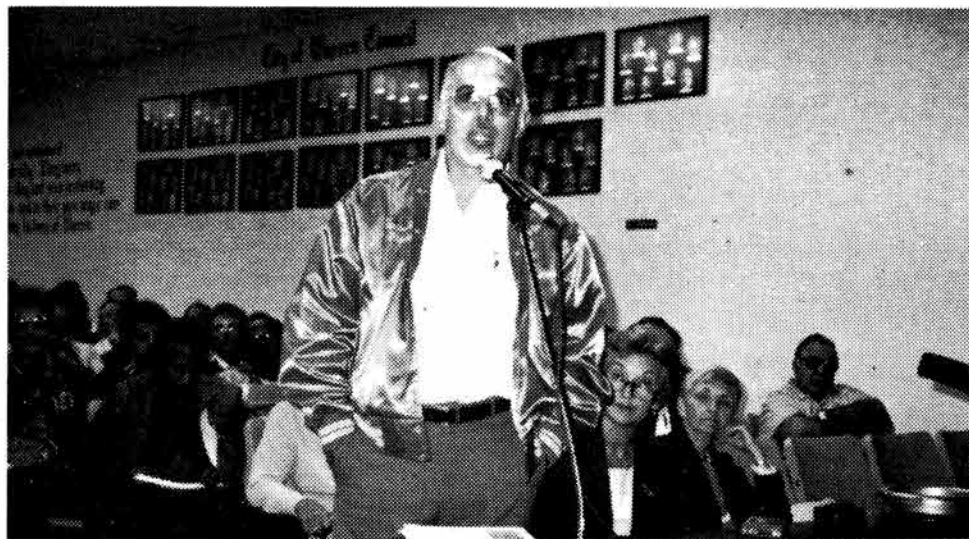
"The membership there is attuned to different issues than we are up here. Here the issue is parity with Chrysler. In Lima they are very much dug in on the wage progression," Coakley reported.

"They have at least 700 workers under that wage progression system and that accounts for the militancy that is there. Young people in their 20s with one or two kids. They're not willing to accept doing the same amount of work and earning less money than the so-called union brother or sister next to them. It's a very hot issue down there."

"It's an issue up here too," Coakley added. "We've tried to educate that this is just not a right thing."

Meeting the challenge of the strike is transforming the Local 1200 membership, Coakley said. "They're more together and they feel more united" than in 1982.

"We have probably close to a couple hundred people involved in leadership positions. Now that they're going out on their own, speaking and taking contingents with them, they come back like a kid that just opened a Christmas present. They feel all excited — something they're feeling for the first time. They'll never forget it."



Militant/Morrie Dietrich

Jim Coakley is president of UAW Local 1200, which has been on strike against General Dynamics since September. UAW is demanding wage increases and end to two-tier contracts.

"We've met with warmth, whether the numbers are 15 like we spoke to today [at American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 457 in Detroit], or a couple hundred people [at giant locals like UAW 735 in Ypsilanti, which voted \$1,000 to the strikers]."

Coakley spoke briefly at a Labor Committee for Free South Africa rally October 26. A group of strikers who attended were enthusiastic about the rally.

"Outreach is a means by which our members here are going to become much better union members, become much broader on what unionism is about," Coakley said.

"What is going to win our strike is the economics of our membership, the admanancy they have for the issues, how long they can stand out," Coakley said. "I find that once members go through a certain point and they've lost so much already, they dig in even more on the issues and they're not willing to surrender and give in at that point. It becomes a strike of principle at that time instead of a strike of economics."

The GD workers' strike, he said, "is solely a rank-and-file strike. It's not a strike that was requested by the leadership from the local or international level, but both got run over by the membership."

Activities help build Dec. 6 NBIPP conference

BY MARCEL BLACK

CLEVELAND — When the national conference on "The Fight Against Racism in the '80s from the United States to South Africa — A Call for Unity" opens in Washington, D.C., on December 6 there will be activists there from this area.

Local activists from the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), which is sponsoring the national gathering, are organizing to bring as many Black activists to the conference as possible.

The national meeting will discuss building solidarity with the liberation struggles in South Africa and elsewhere around the world, as well as taking up the fight for Black freedom in the United States.

Cleveland NBIPP has centered its work this fall on the fight against U.S. support to apartheid, helping to build this city's successful October 11 rally against apartheid. NBIPP members are currently helping to build a November 16 coalition meeting to plan future anti-apartheid activity. In the course of this work NBIPP members have met a number of activists interested in attending the December 6 national gathering.

One indication of the response here to NBIPP is that at the group's first public activity this fall — a showing of a video tape on the South African Black trade union movement — everyone present who wasn't already a member of NBIPP decided to join the party. Cleveland NBIPP is currently building a November 23 forum on police brutality.

In addition to their anti-apartheid activity and public forum, NBIPP members here have sold nearly 100 copies of the current issue of the *NBIPP Newsletter*. They are now laying plans for an intensive campaign to build the national conference in the month remaining before it convenes.

UAW demands no victimization of GD pickets

BY JOANNE MURPHY

DETROIT — After refusing to negotiate for six weeks, General Dynamics Corp. (GD) came up with a contract offer October 30 for its tank plant workers. It refused to include amnesty for 101 unionists it plans to discipline for alleged picketing transgressions.

The 35-member United Auto Workers (UAW) GD council voted to reject the tentative agreement November 2 and to continue the strike by 5,000 UAW members at five facilities in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Michigan.

The rejected agreement included a ratification bonus, two base-rate increases in the hourly base wage, and a lump sum payment patterned after the Chrysler contract.

The five-person negotiating committee had voted October 30 to accept the agreement. Only Local 1200 President Jim Coakley voted against it.

Coakley pointed out that the agreement did not come "anywhere close" to wage parity with wages paid by Chrysler, which owned the tank operation until 1982. Up until that time, wages in the plant were the same as those at other Chrysler operations.

Production workers at GD are now more than \$1.50-an-hour behind UAW members at Chrysler. In addition new hires start at 60 percent of regular wages and don't catch up for three years.

"We were X number of dollars behind [Chrysler] when we started negotiating. There has been no improvement," Coakley told the Detroit daily papers.

"It's become apparent to the membership that we don't have parity," Bob

Brown, a Local 1200 member, told the *Militant*. "I believe we'll vote to continue the strike until we get some economic justice on it," he said.

The company constantly videotaped pickets and has gotten court injunctions against three of the four locals that limit the size of picket lines.

Between the time of the negotiating committee agreement and the council vote, the company backed off threats to fire nine strikers. However, it continued to insist that it would discipline workers who

walked out of the Lima, Ohio, plant before the strike officially began and those Michigan workers they claim carried out picketing violations. The disciplinary measures could include layoffs of up to nine months.

"GD wants us to buy this agreement and leave these guys out to dry," Brown said. "We can't let anybody hang out there in the cold while we go back into work. We are just not going to do it."

"Instead of just those 101," he continued, "it could be added to any time at the whim of the company after we go back to work."

St. Louis auto workers on strike over plant work rules

BY DEAN ELDER

FENTON, Mo. — The 2,800 members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 110 are on strike at Chrysler Corp. assembly plant No. 2 here for the second time in a month. The first walkout was as part of the nationwide strike over a new contract.

The union struck at midnight November 3, this time in an effort to win a decent local agreement. The workers have been without a local contract since September 12.

The main issues in the strike are job classifications, seniority rights, vacation scheduling, and overtime notification.

Plant No. 2 was once a truck plant, which Chrysler closed in 1980. The company reopened it in 1983 to build large, rear wheel drive cars. As part of the reopening, Chrysler imposed what it called the "new concept" or "team concept."

In fact, there is nothing new involved.

Chrysler would simply like to return to the days when workers had no rights at all regarding work assignments — that is, when there was no union.

Using this system, the company has cut the number of job classifications from more than 80 down to 17.

The bosses regularly add on work assignments and combine jobs. All this means fewer jobs.

In addition, the bosses can move workers from job to job at will, regardless of seniority. They use this to try to create divisions in the work force and weaken the union.

About half of the 2,800 union members worked in the old plant. And quite a few others moved here after Chrysler shut down plants in Detroit. Those who worked in Chrysler plants before No. 2 reopened are among the most vocal about getting rid of the "new concept."

The company claims it needs a system like this to be "efficient" and "competitive." In a statement issued the first day of the strike, Chrysler said the "strike flies in the face of the reality of what is happening throughout the auto industry." The statement then threatened that the strikers' jobs are in jeopardy if they don't knuckle under.

But the reality is that Chrysler, like the other auto companies, is continuing its drive against auto workers' jobs and working conditions to maximize company profits. Chrysler has had its "new concept" in place at plant No. 2 and wants to keep it. The company would like to put similar plans into effect everywhere.

The workers of UAW Local 110 have seen the "new concept" in practice and are saying, "enough."

Dean Elder is a member of Local 110 at the Chrysler assembly plant No. 2.

International Socialist Review

Supplement to the Militant November 1985

Why Chicago's big-business owners are backing up Mayor Harold Washington

A socialist appraisal of the Washington administration

BY JIM LITTLE

CHICAGO — Two and a half years ago Harold Washington was elected here as the city's first mayor who is Black. A long-time Democratic Party politician from the segregated Black South Side, Washington surprised the city's rulers and almost everyone else with his victory in the February 1983 Democratic Party primary and, two months later, in the April election. In the April vote he defeated Republican Bernard Epton, who had run a racist campaign against him.

What was called Washington's historic victory was a major blow to the old Democratic Party machine that opposed his nomination and openly mobilized the apparatus of the Democratic Party in support of Epton's campaign. It had been 50 years since a Republican mounted a serious challenge for the mayor's office.

Washington's electoral victory has changed this city's image. Once widely advertised by big business as the "city that works," it is now known as the city of the "Council Wars" between the Council 29 and the mayor's supporters in the City Council.¹

These wars reflect a serious power struggle within the Democratic Party apparatus. The old machine is fighting to retain control of the Democratic Party structure and regain the mayor's office. The Washington-led forces are serious about taking command.

While the interests of the city's working people are not taken up in such factional battles, these wars do reflect shifts in how the capitalists are ruling the city.

After 30 months in office, the city's rulers are supporting Harold Washington's dismantling of the machine as the most effective way to rule and also to thwart independent political action by Blacks and labor.

The old machine politicians, however, are not pleased with this shift. While it is unclear whether Alderman Edward Vrdolyak and his backers will campaign for the mayor's office in 1987, they are dead opposed to a second term for Washington.

Other capitalist politicians are also hopeful that the rulers will recognize the value of the old ways. Jane Byrne, mayor from 1979 to 1983, has announced her bid for the 1987 Democratic Party mayoral nomination.

Richard M. Daley — Cook County prosecutor and son of the legendary "Boss" Mayor Richard J. Daley² — is also considering another run for the city's top office. He and Byrne ran unsuccessfully in the 1983 Democratic Party primary.

While Washington hasn't officially announced, he has let it be known that he expects to be mayor for 20 years.

Many changes since 1983

There is reason for Washington's optimism. Capitalist politics has changed in this city of nearly 3 million people.

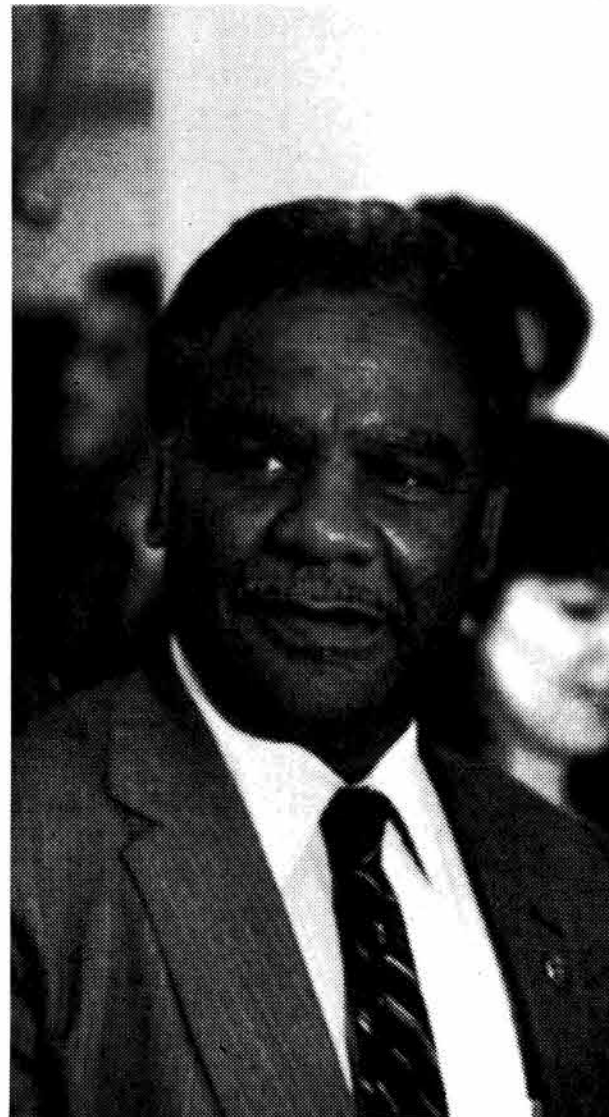
Pre-1983 capitalist politics in Chicago was based on ruling the city like it was before the rise of the mass civil rights movement of the 1960s, which smashed the Jim Crow segregation system in the South and fundamentally altered class and social relations in the United States.

Eventually, however, the patronage system of Boss Daley ceased to be the most viable way to run a major city. In particular, capitalist politicians who are Black needed to be incorporated into the government apparatus.

According to the 1980 Census, Blacks are more than 40 percent of the city; Latinos, 13 percent.

The city rulers, however, were in no hurry to make such a change. Chicago, they felt, could continue as it

1. The Council 29 is led by Cook County Democratic Party chairman and alderman, Edward "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak. The 29 refers to the number of Vrdolyak's supporters on the 50-member City Council. Washington has the support of 21 aldermen. The Council 29 are attempting to use their position to undermine Washington's authority and prepare for the 1987 mayoral elections. The two sides have almost come to blows at council meetings in what have come to be called the Council Wars.



Chicago's rulers support Harold Washington's administration dismantling of old racist machine as most effective way to rule. They recognize that old patronage system of former "Boss" Richard Daley — which was how city was ruled for decades, including after victories of civil rights movement of 1960s — is no longer viable.

had for the last 100 years.

But Washington and his backers in the Democratic Party believed a change in how Chicago is ruled was inevitable. Washington says he first began planning for his 1983 mayoral run in 1980.

In 1982 some 100,000 new voters were registered, almost all in the Black community. The *Daily Defender*, the Black daily, ran a "plebiscite" which showed Washington was the community's choice for mayor.

The old machine — and the city fathers — failed to take this challenge seriously.

But a genuine movement based in the Black community to elect a Black mayor developed. Everywhere Blacks wore the blue button of the Washington campaign. Some wore buttons that said, "I'm Black and I'm proud — Vote Washington."

The result was the February Democratic Party primary and April election victories — and shock on the faces of white television newscasters and the ultrarightists in the city.

Racist campaign fails

Despite attempts by the big-business media, the machine, and ultrarightist forces to pitch the election as Black versus white, it in fact reflected the class divisions and political differentiations in society. It reflected in a distorted way the real relationship of class forces. That's why the rightist campaign failed.

Washington's electoral victory, furthermore, was a combination of the desire in the Black community for a Black in the city's top office and of the forging of an alliance of Blacks, Latinos, and a layer of whites against the racist machine.

This included top officials in the labor movement supporting Washington's election. A rally of 13,000 unionists for Washington was organized by the AFL-CIO. It was addressed by the federation's president, Lane Kirkland. They weren't simply rallying around the Democratic Party ticket, but against the racism and antilabor forces who were supporting Epton's campaign. They felt threatened.

Washington presented a more progressive-sounding social program than Epton — a program that a majority of working people felt they could identify with. That's also proof of the changes in the working class and the consciousness of the labor movement over the last decade or so. Working people as a whole are more antiracist and pro-civil rights. This reflects the gains won since the smashing of Jim Crow segregation.

2. "Boss" Richard J. Daley was first elected mayor in 1955. He ran the city and Democratic Party machine until his death in 1976. The old machine was the main tool through which big business ran Chicago. Under the personal control of Boss Daley, the machine operated through a system of patronage and ward fiefdoms. The mayor's office even had a person assigned to oversee patronage — widely known as the Patronage Chief.

There are 50 wards in Chicago. The ward alderman (City Council member) and Democratic Party committeemen in each ward dispensed jobs, services, contracts, and favors under the control of the mayor's office.

Virtually all city jobs were under the control of the Democratic Party. This included the Chicago Housing Authority, Chicago Transit Authority, Streets and Sanitation and the Parks District, and the police and fire departments. If you weren't plugged into the machine — a Republican, for example — you had a difficult time getting basic city services.

The system was inherently unfair, corrupt, and racist. Few jobs, services, and favors went into the Black wards. Even in the South Side wards, where Black power broker William Dawson held influence for years, jobs and projects were controlled directly by Chicago City Hall. They were not allocated to the ward bosses as was done in the white wards. Black ward heelers were expected to keep quiet about civil rights or face the loss of even the meager handouts.

This racist, anti-working class patronage system benefited the rich bankers and industrialists and the bosses' machine. Working people were left out in the cold.

One of Washington's strongest appeals in the 1983 elections was his pledge to abolish this patronage system.

Continued on next page

Socialist appraisal of Washington administration

Continued from previous page

What happened between February and April 1983 was not the eruption of some kind of Black-white race war. The racist attacks against Washington reflected a decaying capitalist system. Behind the turmoil was a deepening class polarization and a stage of radicalization.

The crisis of the Chicago machine reflected the breakdown of a part of the Democratic Party. It came faster than big-business families anticipated. The ultrarightists of the racist old machine simply tried to keep themselves in the mayor's office. But the mobilization of the Black community backed by labor and others pushed them back.

Rulers shift

The election victory shook up the big-business rulers of the city. Today while the Council Wars continue and racist attacks against Washington's administration go unabated, big business and the capitalist news media have made a shift. They are growing impatient with the old machine politicians who are trying to block the reorganization of capitalist rule in the city. The ruling class has adjusted to a mayor who is Black administering the city.

An editorial in the April 7 *Chicago Tribune* this year indicated this shift by the employing class: "Chicago has had a black mayor for almost two years and the river has not changed its course. The lake is still there. . . . And contrary to the predictions of Ald. Edward Vrdolyak and his pals, Mayor Harold Washington has not bused little white children into mean black neighborhoods. . . .

"The city is not worse off, but neither has it made much progress. . . .

"The opposition 29, led by Mr. Vrdolyak and Ald. Edward Burke deserve much of the blame for that. They shot down the mayor's early attempts to lay off excess city workers . . . and finance long-delayed physical improvements in industrial areas.

"Chicago's civic and business leaders must share the blame for the shortcomings of Harold Washington at midterm. They have been timid about giving him solid, unconditional support when he deserved it. . . ."

The change in heart of the employing class toward Washington is not for moral reasons. As he said he would do, Washington is doing a good job for their class.

Progressive image

He has done so, moreover, while maintaining a well-manicured image of being a progressive social reformer — one who's standing firm against a racist machine that continues to attack his administration.

For example, while attending a rally at the offices of Local 65 of the United Steelworkers on the city's South Side last spring, Washington told the audience of mostly Black, laid-off steelworkers that he would try to bring more jobs to Chicago and stop the shutdowns of big steel mills. But, he added, "I won't promise to open up Wisconsin Steel [closed several years ago]. I never promised you that I could. Mayor Jane Byrne promised you that she'd open up Wisconsin Steel and it's still shut down. I won't B.S. you. I'll never B.S. you."

Washington has repeatedly spoken in favor of affirmative action, women's rights, and against the U.S. government's reactionary policies in Central America and southern Africa.

He also blames President Reagan for cuts in city services.

These get a good response.

Working people here are seeking some relief. Since 1969, more than 2,000 factories have closed shop. Since 1972, about 248,000 jobs have been lost. According to official figures, 857,000 Chicagoans live below the poverty level; others say it is as high as 1.2 million.

Some modest reforms

Washington has carried out some real, though modest, reforms. There have been marginal improvements in the city's housing projects, where 84 percent of the residents are Black. Under the old machine-run administrations, the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) rarely even spent the money allocated to it for repairs.

Washington's administration has led a fight to redistrict the city's ward map to allow more Blacks and Latinos on the City Council.

The city has established quotas for awarding contracts to firms run by Blacks, Latinos, and women.

These steps have all been roundly condemned by the racist Council 29.

But the heart of Washington's reforms has been directed at the old machine as a way to consolidate his control over City Hall, gain more leverage in the Democratic Party, and, most importantly, to carry out the cuts in city services demanded by the employers.

The old machine was not adequate to take such steps. Forty thousand jobs tied to ward committeemen in an elaborate patronage system did not lend itself to a drastic cut in city services.



Washington administration has laid off thousands of city workers and attacked unions. Above, 1983 Chicago teachers' strike. Washington backed school board against teachers' union in 1983, 1984, and 1985 strikes. He backed demands by Chicago Transit Authority that transit workers accept concessions, and opposed "prevailing wage" arrangement for city workers.

Washington's antimachine stance and modest reforms have given him the support to make such cuts. The two-year upturn in the business cycle and consequent decline in unemployment also strengthened Washington's political position.

In this situation Washington could tighten the city's belt at the expense of working people. His administration has laid off thousands of city workers and evicted families who can't pay their rent.

Attacks start in 1983

These attacks began soon after he took office in 1983.

That year Washington opposed a prevailing wage arrangement for city trades' workers. This is a policy where city workers in certain crafts get the same pay scale as their counterparts in private industry.

While publicly silent, Washington privately backed the school board against the teachers' union in the 1983, 1984, and 1985 school strikes.

Washington openly backed demands by the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) that transit workers accept wage and benefit cuts and concessions. The campaign against the majority Black and Latino transit workers was particularly virulent. It was orchestrated by the big-business media. They blamed the "lazy, highly paid" workers for the financial troubles of the CTA. No one blamed the banks for the huge interest they charged the CTA for loans.

The transit authority threatened 2,000 layoffs and massive cuts in service if the union did not accept big concessions. A chart of the "forecasted" service cuts was published on the front page of the dailies. Many stations would be closed, all-night service ended, and weekend service cut off.

Not only did Washington not object to this antiunion drive, but he pitched in personally with an appearance at a union meeting. The TV news showed Washington at the podium at a union local meeting trying to convince workers to take pension cuts without a fight.

One angry Puerto Rican worker shouted that he thought the cuts were racist because most CTA workers are Black and Latino. To that Washington shouted back, "Don't give me that B.S. I've been Black as long as you've been Puerto Rican."

All Chicago City News, edited by well-known community activist Slim Coleman, printed Washington's 10 challenges to the City Council that he issued in his State of the City speech last May. Under Point 7 Washington called on the council to help him reduce the city's personnel. Coleman's paper hailed that proposal and Washington's plan to cut the size of city garbage collection crews from four to three. It praised Washington's layoffs of some 4,000 city workers since taking office.

Coleman and his group also joined with Operation PUSH and other Black community organizations to denounce the teachers' union during the 1983 strike. It was argued that the 55-percent-Black teachers' union was hurting the school children, a majority of whom are Black. But in fact it was only the teachers' union during all three of the strikes that did anything to defend the public schools against cuts. Besides fighting for decent pay and working conditions for teachers, the union also fought to stop an increase in class size.

What really motivated PUSH, Coleman, and other forces to mobilize against the teachers' strikes was not concern for Black children. It was loyalty to Harold Washington. Everybody knew that the mayor was "neu-

tral" in favor of his school board. The community groups' antiunion position is based on the false argument that if you oppose the racist attacks against Washington, then you must also support him politically.

Preparing for 1987 elections

All opponents of racism must, of course, fight the racist attacks against Washington. But there are other questions for working people and the oppressed to consider in evaluating Washington's administration and in preparing for the 1987 mayor's race.

For working people, the Black community, and all those who are looking for genuine progressive change, the strategy of supporting Washington has been no advance.

Not because there aren't more Blacks in city government. There are. Or a few more progressive reforms. There are.

But these few advances have mainly benefited a small layer of the city, particularly the middle class — Black, Latino, and white — and the wealthy. Meanwhile, the problems of working people continue to increase.

In 1983 Ed Warren ran for mayor of Chicago on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. His campaign collected more than 35,000 signatures to get on the ballot. He campaigned at plant gates and in the communities of the oppressed across the city.

One of the points Warren made during his campaign was that "the employers have two political parties — the Democrats and Republicans — who defend their interests. Their candidates — Black, Latino, and white — all support the profit system. What working people need is an independent party to fight for our interests. We need city and federal governments representing 'working people, where human needs come before profits.'"

Washington's administration has served the needs of big business. It could not strengthen the unity among the oppressed and exploited. It could not lead to an advance in the independent organization of working people.

There is not more unity among Blacks and Latinos. There is not even more unity among Blacks.

Chicago in 1985 is different than 1983. The city rulers have a Black Democratic mayor — like the rulers have in Los Angeles, Detroit, Philadelphia, and many other cities. Washington administers Chicago like his Democratic and Republican Party counterparts do in other cities.

The old racist machine is alive but losing its authority. Its time has passed.

After 30 months of Mayor Harold Washington's administration, the city rulers don't have too much to complain about. But working people do.

A Socialist View of the Chicago Election

by Jon Hillson, Malik Miah, and Mac Warren

Pamphlet includes reprints of 1983 *Militant* articles analyzing the Chicago mayoral election in April of that year in which Democratic Party candidate Harold Washington was elected.

75 cents. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St, New York, N.Y. 10014

Historical rights and multiracial character of Nicaragua

Speech by Commander of Revolution Tomás Borge

Introduction

The Nicaraguan people are currently engaged in a national discussion on a proposal to establish regional government autonomy for the country's Atlantic Coast where most Indians and Blacks live. The proposal is aimed at unifying Nicaragua as a multiracial, multilingual, and multicultural nation; strengthening its defense against imperialist-backed aggression; and deepening the participation of all the nation's working people in the revolutionary process.

As a result of Nicaragua's colonial legacy, the Atlantic Coast population today is distinctly different in its racial composition, language, and culture from the Pacific. Pacific Nicaraguans are predominantly *mestizos*, people of Spanish and Indian descent. In Nicaragua, the term *mestizo* is also used to mean Spanish-speaking. On the Atlantic Coast, however, there are six separate racial groups, each with its own history and traditions. Since Spanish is the dominant language, virtually everyone speaks it.

There are three groups of Indians: Miskitos, Sumos, and Ramas. Each has its own language.

There are two groups whose ancestors were African slaves: Creoles or Blacks, most of whom speak Creole (a form of English) as well as Spanish; and Garifonos, most of whom speak English, but who also have a separate language, Garifono.

About half of the Coast people are *mestizos*.

The Spanish, British, and then U.S. colonizers kept all of Nicaragua in a state of backwardness and national oppression. But the Atlantic Coast was kept severely undeveloped. Its peoples were subjected to special forms of race discrimination, particularly the suppression of their native languages, cultures, and traditions.

Under the regime of Anastasio Somoza, whose family was put in power in Nicaragua by the U.S. government in the 1930s, the Atlantic Coast peoples were forcibly isolated from those on the Pacific and denied the right to participate in national political life.

With the triumph of the Sandinista People's Revolution in 1979, the Atlantic Coast, like the Pacific Coast, made major advances in literacy, health care, democratic rights, and land reform.

Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) members who were sent into the Atlantic Coast from the Pacific, however, made some errors due to their lack of knowledge of the region and its culture. U.S. imperialism quickly seized on the errors to try to convince Miskitos in particular that the revolutionaries were out to destroy their rights and way of life. A significant layer of Miskitos joined the CIA-organized and financed mercenary army set up in 1981 by Washington to try to overthrow the revolutionary government.

The government established an autonomy commission in late 1984 to come up with the current proposal for regional government autonomy for the Atlantic Coast. FSLN leader and Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge is the head of the commission.

We are reprinting major excerpts from a speech by Commander Borge at the Fourth Nicaraguan Social Sciences Congress, which was held in the capital city of Managua on August 31. It is reprinted from the September 26 issue of the English-language *Barricada Internacional*, the international weekly of the FSLN.

Tomás Borge

The Revolution inherited a nation both backward and economically dependent, with a society traumatized by class struggle. Due to the unequal development of the regions and the mistreatment of the ethnic communities — neglected and scorned, never knowing anything but the anguish of marginalization and extreme poverty — the people of the Atlantic Coast developed a deep distrust of their clumsy colonizers from the Pacific.

The old dominant classes created a state which was national in name only; the state apparatus became a weapon of repression, an instrument of scorn and denial — denial even of the homeland itself — a cruel and deadly claw to guarantee capitalist accumulation. These historical origins led to cultural separation and an ethnic-national division, under a singular system which exploited all Nicaraguans.

The indigenous people and ethnic communities of our marginalized Atlantic Coast have waited half a century to be able, for the first time with an advantage, to fight for their historic rights, to elect their own local and regional



Militant
FSLN leader and Nicaraguan minister of the interior, Tomás Borge. Borge heads government commission set up to study proposals for establishment of regional government autonomy for peoples of the Atlantic Coast.

authorities, to attain the rights to the sun, the earth, the subsoil, and national culture, while adding their own distinct culture to the mighty river of Nicaraguan culture.

Our revolutionary triumph burst into Nicaragua with the force of a hurricane, whose epicenter is rooted in historical reality.

The Revolution understood that it had to fuel itself with the struggles, just demands, and hopes of its people and communities.

The inhabitants of the Atlantic Coast also found that there was a political space for them in the Revolution: seats in the Council of State; the reactivation and founding of indigenous organizations; literacy campaigns conducted in Miskito, Sumo, and Creole English; social and economic development projects; and agrarian reform.

It is true that in the initial stage, after the revolutionary victory, these things were still enveloped in shadows. A lack of knowledge on the part of the leaders and members of the Sandinista National Liberation Front forced us to grope our way along. But the new popular, anti-imperialist project signifies the recovery of the country for the people and the space to include the unique aspects of ethnic and cultural groups as a fundamental part of the process of creating the new nation. This has permitted us to find the paths previously hidden by our blindness, our ignorance.

Nevertheless, the Revolution was still dazzled by the splendor of the victory. Vague shadows created not by darkness but from intense light, obscured the vision of reality which we needed to find.

Educated within the ideological framework of ranchers and coffee and cotton harvesters, who trained us in the art of removing *tórsalos* (subcutaneous larva) and in the use of pesticides, who taught us that Nicaraguans descend from Spaniards and that some Indians still needed to be civilized, our notion of culture was limited to the "Macho Ratón" and the colorful folklore of the Pacific Coast.

I remember once in my childhood talking to a relative and telling him, a little innocently, that I had Indian and possibly Black blood. He said to me, "You may have Indian or Black blood, but I don't have a single drop of it!" I replied, "Yes, I get my Indian and Black blood from my paternal grandfather," who happened to be this relative's own father.

People felt ashamed of having Black or Indian blood, and they couldn't even stand hearing the words Miskito or Sumo or Rama or Garifono. It was like being part of a race of demons.

This ethnocentric, unilateral vision did not allow us to understand then the historic needs of our people and communities on the Atlantic Coast. Six years of revolution, with their limitations, contradictions, and errors, have taught us that the first thing we must acknowledge is that an ethnic issue exists on the Atlantic Coast. That is, there are indigenous people and communities, with their own identities and differences among themselves and with the rest of the country, that are demanding respect and consideration. They need to be able to develop their languages, traditions, religions, customs, and their cultures. They demand a material base for development and better living conditions, as well as genuine equality with the rest of the nation.

We should all hold our heads high when we call ourselves Nicaraguan Miskitos, Nicaraguan Sumos, Nicaraguan Creoles, Nicaraguan Garifonos, Nicaraguan Ramas, Nicaraguan *Mestizos*, who demand the right to take part in the fundamental decisions that affect our lives and futures, the right to have our own organizations, to develop and project our own culture. We demand the right to carry out the Revolution in accordance with the unique aspects of each region and each ethnic group, while making sure we build the Revolution in the context of our common denominators — that is, our unbending revolutionary principles.

Impossibilities

These demands are popular and just; they are the same rights that these people and communities have been demanding since the year one that could not be resolved under the previous regime. I don't refer only to the Somoza regime, but to all the earlier regimes that existed before the revolutionary victory.

The colonial, oligarchic, bourgeois, and imperialist regimes never had the sensitivity nor the historic possibility to resolve anything. They were abominable colonizers and never even had the perversity to create a different or efficient system of exploitation. They were a bourgeoisie of the worst taste ever produced on this continent. They didn't construct buildings or factories: they hung paintings on the walls that were in the worst possible taste: paintings of enormous red and green apples. They didn't even hang paintings of the forbidden fruit.

After a good cotton harvest, they would go to Europe and visit the Moulin Rouge; occasionally they would hear someone mention the Louvre. Of course, they never read the European classics; they were content to learn about Europe strolling down the Champs Élysées in Paris or sightseeing in any European city and keeping up on world events through *Reader's Digest*.

It was a bourgeoisie that really wasn't worth keeping around, not because it was the bourgeoisie, but because it was such an inept bourgeoisie, so backward, so much the enemy of good taste, humanity, and reason.

What sense could one make then of these demands? How can one safeguard the land and natural resources and insure the earnings from their exploitation for Nicaraguans, if the land is in foreign hands and profits go to fill the vaults of the Metropolis? These people wondered why they should develop their culture and language — which the dominant classes called a "dialect" and repeatedly tried to eliminate because it was "useless and primitive." How could that society based on inequality guarantee equality? How could wealth be put into Nicaraguan hands if it was already in the hands of foreigners? How could power to decide on their own affairs be turned over to the people when that power didn't represent the people but was exercised against them? It took a revolution just to get a sense of the proportions, to drive off the hateful foreign hands that enslaved us, to get a sense of equality and to comprehend the meaning of our nation. We now know what our homeland is.

In Europe they accuse us of being dependent on the Soviet Union. If we wanted to be dependent, we would be better off as dependents of the United States; it would be much more comfortable, and less dangerous. If we were dependents of the United States, I'm sure the Soviet

Continued on next page

A Nicaraguan soap opera — love and revolution

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Imagine a TV show in which the hero is a detective and a revolutionary. This past September and October, such a TV drama was broadcast here under the title, "In the Daily Struggle of the People Against the Hidden Aggressors . . . Love Is Also Important."

Produced by Nicaragua's Ministry of the Interior (MINT), the three-part series dealt with the personal problems and pressures experienced by the Nicaraguan

tionaries smuggling young men out of the country to avoid the draft. The smugglers turn the unsuspecting youth over to U.S.-backed mercenaries, who then force the boys to fight in their army.

Mauricio's wife, Graciela, is an internationalist from another country who has come to Nicaragua to work as a volunteer doctor. The couple is going through a sharp personal crisis.

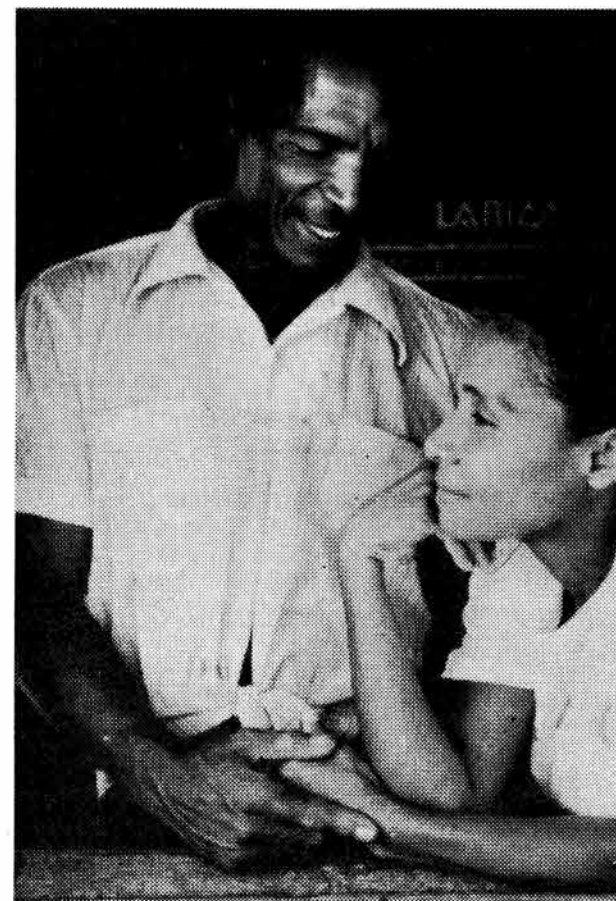
Mauricio's superior officer at the MINT takes a dim view of his relationship with Graciela. He has ordered Mauricio to transfer to another part of the country, leaving his wife, who is pregnant, behind. Graciela is a supporter of the revolution, but she is bitter about the transfer and the prejudice against her because she is not Nicaraguan.

A subplot in the show involves a middle-class, teenage couple — also going through a crisis. The young man has decided to sneak out of the country so he won't get drafted. His girlfriend is furious with him.

The second subplot involves a peasant, Julián, played by an actor who in real life is a textile worker at the Fanatex plant here in Managua. Julián has gotten tangled up with draft smugglers, more for the money than out of political conviction. He ferries draft evaders out to the counterrevolutionaries.

Julián's young daughter has figured out what is going on and opposes her father's involvement. She pleads with him to go to the Sandinista authorities and turn himself in. He argues that there's no way to back out of this deal with the mercenaries; they'll kill him.

The series ends in a shoot-out with the counterrevolutionaries. Does the MINT transfer Mauricio after all? Does the teenager duck the draft? Does Julián break with the mercenaries? We leave these to the reader's imagination — or better yet — a visit to Nicaragua where hopefully this series will be shown again.



Association of Nicaraguan Women
Couple in Nicaragua. TV drama produced by Ministry of Interior — "Love Is Also Important" — deals with personal pressures and problems experienced by Nicaraguan people in course of defending their country against U.S.-organized war.

TELEVISION REVIEW

people in the course of defending their country from U.S.-sponsored aggression.

The program was unusual for Nicaraguan television, although the MINT has produced several similar films in the past. Generally speaking, outside of the Sandinista nightly news show and feature broadcasts of speeches, concerts, and political meetings, most programs on television here are not Nicaraguan. They are foreign documentaries, Hollywood-type movies, or soap operas from other Latin American countries. The latter, while popular, have plots that are somewhat remote from the personal experiences of Nicaraguans today.

The TV stations have little choice in the matter, since the U.S.-backed war and the suppression of popular culture under the Somoza regime mean that Nicaraguan film making is at a very initial stage.

"Love Is Also Important" was produced by the MINT with Nicaraguan directors and actors, Nicaraguan music, and a story line that rang true to many sectors of society here.

The main plot involves Mauricio, a MINT officer whose assignment is to break up a ring of counterrevolu-

Historical rights and multiracial character of Nicaragua

Continued from preceding page

Union wouldn't carry out military maneuvers aimed at intimidating us, nor promote the counterrevolution. I am sure that we wouldn't have the problems and headaches that we have now. But besides that, objectively speaking and for obvious reasons of geographical distance and political will — which is most important — we are not, nor can we ever be, dependent on anyone. We can be, and we are, friends with the Soviet Union and we don't deny it or hide it. And we are friends with many other countries in the world.

A popular revolution has no hesitations about recognizing and guaranteeing the rights demanded by many brothers and sisters of the Atlantic Coast. We have the conviction that national liberation cannot be complete as long as there are sectors and communities that do not enjoy their full rights, as long as Miskitos and Creoles cannot educate their children in the language of their parents and grandparents, as long as Ramas and Sumos must worry about the survival of their small communities. Some political sectors inside as well as outside the country are afraid of separatism and mistakenly think the solution is to destroy the ethnic identity of the Atlantic Coast communities and forcefully integrate them into mainstream society.

We reject that solution as unjust, cruel, and stupid. On the other hand, there is a sector working with U.S. plans that wants to advance a segregationist-separatist project. There are other sectors that want to hand over not just part of the country, but all of it.

Steadman Fagoth [leader of MISURA, armed counter-revolutionary Miskito group] wants to separate part of Nicaragua and hand it over to the United States, but others want to separate Nicaragua from Nicaraguans. I need not say who they are, because everyone here knows.

But we're convinced that they are a minority, and that the road they have taken can only lead to a historic defeat.

The mere fact that the enemy manipulates a principle or a right should not lead revolutionaries to deny that principle or right. If the enemy manipulates the principle of autonomy, that doesn't mean we should deny it. Principles are not formulas to solve problems nor prescriptions for getting out of a situation. They are not actions designed to ingratiate oneself with any particular nation. Rather, they are conditions to rise up to the highest standards human beings are capable of in a superior society.

Revolutionaries must struggle so that, through this awareness, we may consolidate a new national conscience that only the Revolution is capable of solidifying.

We favor an autonomous system that guarantees a just and revolutionary solution for the ethnic problems within the boundaries allowed by conditions in Nicaragua. This system will create autonomous regions that constitute a space within, but not in contradiction with, the space of the nation; a space in which the five ethnic groups living there can exercise their rights, including the right to autonomy, as defined by law.

These autonomous regions are an integral part of Nicaragua, yet, at the same time, the ethnic groups shall be able to govern their own specific situations. We're talking about equal conditions of autonomy for all ethnic groups, with special privileges for none. The results of the consultations now under way are still unknown, but up to now the majority opinion on the organizational aspect is that every ethnic group or community will be able to elect their own representatives to a Regional Assembly that will uphold these rights within the autonomous regions.

According to the results of the consultation, the Regional Assembly will elect a Regional Executive who will be the representative of the central government. The autonomy statutes will precisely establish the powers of that assembly and of the autonomous government.

Through this government, the indigenous peoples and the communities of the Atlantic Coast will have political power to decide on the issues that affect them — on administrative, economic, social, and cultural affairs. This autonomous government will guarantee, for the first time, the effective and necessary participation of the indigenous people and the ethnic communities within the nation.

The autonomous administrative system will also guarantee the rights and duties of Atlantic Coast inhabitants as Nicaraguan citizens.

This autonomy project has its roots in the struggle of the indigenous people and the communities of the Atlantic Coast, and is an integral part of the struggle of all Nicaraguans.

Through the autonomy project, our people can begin to reconcile themselves through face-to-face contact between regions and communities — campesinos along the Río Coco, agricultural workers from the coffee and cotton fields, miners in Siuna and Chontales, shrimp and tortoise fishermen, campesinos, artisans, and all working people.

Progress

The autonomy project now under way has enemies who are attempting to hinder and eliminate it. But even in

the midst of these perils, we can assure our people that the Revolution will uphold autonomy as a victorious battle standard.

The six-member commission established on Dec. 5, 1984, has now grown to over 80 members, who represent all the people and communities of the Atlantic Coast. All are united by a document of principles which is the basis of the popular consultation.

In addition, zonal committees have been elected in popular assemblies in Zelaya Norte to take the lead in mobilizing and organizing the people's participation in the autonomy project. A peace commission has been chosen to dialogue with the armed opposition that is also taking part in the popular consultation. Small victories have already been won, such as the return to the Río Coco and the reunification of the Miskito and Sumo peoples along the river in both Nicaragua and Honduras.

We can say with confidence that the autonomy process has been accepted by the peoples of the Atlantic Coast, and that distrust fades with each passing day. Soon, it will be only an unpleasant memory.

The Atlantic Coast is in insurrection, peopled with fighters for autonomy who go from workplace to workplace, community to community, bringing their people the good word of autonomy. These activists are at work in Puerto Cabezas, Prinzapolka, along the banks of the Río Coco, in Bonanza, Siuna, Rosita, Corn Island, Río Grande, Rama Cay, Bluefields and Abisinia. We hope that in the coming days we will gain the support of the campesinos and all people of the Pacific, as well as the solidarity of America, Europe, Asia, and Africa. We want this autonomy project to be an archetype, a bright light that will wipe out racial discrimination, cruelty, and misguided policies toward ethnic groups. We hope this project will begin a contagious healing process, spearheading the search for solutions to indigenous problems on this continent.

In the next few months, the activists in the autonomy project will return, bringing us their people's concerns, their communities' opinions, and concrete answers, so that the autonomy commission can integrate them into its statute. It will then be presented before the National Assembly for inclusion into the Constitution of the Republic of Nicaragua. It will be the first true autonomy law on this continent.

We are confident that early next year our nation and the world will be witness to the establishment of the first autonomous regional government in America. Thus, autonomy, national unity, and revolution will be three victories in a true revolutionary process.

Brooklyn meeting celebrates legacy of Grenada revolution

BY MEL MASON

NEW YORK — An all-Black, mostly Grenadian, crowd gathered at Brooklyn's Fort Green Senior Center on October 20 to commemorate the Grenada revolution and pay tribute to the lives of slain Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and the other New Jewel Movement leaders who were killed in the bloody coup of October 1983. The meeting was sponsored by the Grenada Foundation.

The meeting opened with the showing of the film *Maurice*. The image of Bishop in



Dessima Williams, former Grenadian ambassador, spoke at Brooklyn event.

the film evoked much emotion from the crowd. Some cried. The film ended with Bishop's strong voice calling for unity among all Grenadians. Nearly everyone in the room rose in clenched fist salutes as Bishop chanted the slogan of the Grenadian revolution, "Forward ever, Backward never!"

The meeting was opened by Dessima Williams, executive director of the foundation and former Grenadian ambassador to the Organization of American States.

Williams noted that the Grenada revolution left a bright and glorious legacy due to "its material gains of hope, democracy, and independence." Williams added that the "illegal occupation of Grenada, led by the United States, has reversed Caribbean unity and democracy inside the country."

The meeting was chaired by Wilton Decoteau of the foundation. Decoteau recalled his boyhood friendship with Bishop, noting Bishop's early commitment to the struggle of the Grenadian people against the Eric Gairy dictatorship. Decoteau recounted how Malcolm X inspired young people in Grenada to struggle for their freedom.

Safiya Bandle of the Medgar Evers College Women's Development Center talked about the need to build a solidarity movement with the people of Grenada. "The Grenada revolution was a shining example for all of us," stated Bandle. "We took that revolution for our own because somewhere on earth Black people were standing up." Bandle noted that the

Women's Development Center offers scholarships to students at Medgar Evers in the name of Jacqueline Creft, one of the Grenadian leaders slain in the counterrevolutionary coup, which was led by former Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard.

Noru Muhammad, a poet from Brooklyn, read a poem commemorating the Grenada revolution, entitled, "I Shall Remember Grenada, the Land of Spice."

Joachim Mark, noted Grenadian historian and professor, talked about the reversal of all the gains made by the Grenada revolution since the country's occupation by foreign troops. "This destruction clearly serves the interests of the United States," said Mark.

Mark also noted that five Grenadians have been killed by foreign forces and that a recent demonstration called by the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement to protest attempts to extradite trade union leader Chester Humphrey was violently put down by 275 armed police.

Noting that Grenada is now inundated with prostitution, 45 percent unemployment, drunkenness, and dope addiction, Mark stated, "Grenada is now a colony of the United States. The goal now is to put the country into the hands of private enterprise."

Archie Singham, author, professor, and longtime political activist, said, "Maurice Bishop was dangerous because he was a man of color who spoke English and had the ability to link up with Black people in the U.S. and beyond."



Wayne Carter
Grenada's Maurice Bishop, who was assassinated on October 19 two years ago at time of overthrow of revolution.

Bluefields mayor tells of gains

Continued from Page 7

school that had expelled him under Somoza. After he graduated, he returned here and was nominated to become mayor.

Two of the big challenges for the local government here are the economy and health care. The *Militant* asked Hodgson about a frequent complaint here that there are too few consumer goods in the stores. Sometimes that is coupled with the idea that before the revolution there was much more to be bought.

"Yes, there used to be a lot of fancy things in the stores under Somoza, but most people couldn't afford them," Hodgson said. "When I was a child, there were lots of toys in the stores. I would point out to my parents which one I wanted for Christmas. We would come by the store the next week, and the toy would still be there. My parents saved up to December 24 to buy that toy."

Before U.S. companies moved into Bluefields toward the end of the last century, the area's population was mainly farmers. To help convince the farmers to leave their land and become workers in the U.S.-run sawmills and fish-processing plants, the U.S. capitalists imported consumer goods not otherwise available. "We got accustomed to eating tinned goods from America," Hodgson explained.

"But it's not true that these consumer goods ended because of the Sandinistas," he added. About six months before the revolution triumphed, the Chinese and Turkish merchants, who ran most of the stores, pulled out, seeing that the end was near. A number of U.S. companies had departed even earlier.

Today, the revolutionary government in Managua gives special priority to distribution of goods to Bluefields and the rest of the Atlantic Coast. But there are shortages, which Hodgson said are primarily a result of the U.S.-organized war. CIA-run mercenaries have forced many Coast peasants, especially Miskitos, off their land and out of production.

Health problems in Bluefields remain "critical," Hodgson said. The town has no running water or sewage system, leading to a high incidence of disease. The funds are not available, he explained, to put in the sewer system that is needed.

But, he pointed out, "we have a brand new hospital. We've carried out a campaign to build latrines. We've established the first municipal garbage collection in the history of Bluefields." Although malaria still exists, he is proud of the fact that there have been no cases of polio now for three years.

"People have a right to complain about the lack of things in the stores, or anything else," Hodgson said. "We don't think this is a problem, because when the people have to choose between the revolution and the past, they choose the revolution and the FSLN. They don't agree with the FSLN on all things, but they see it as the only party that is guaranteeing the revolution, that is bringing autonomy, that is organizing them to confront the problems they have."

— H.C.

Uranium workers strike over health, safety

BY KATHLEEN DENNY AND MICHAEL ITALIE

CINCINNATI — A strike by 650 union members over health and safety halted production at the Feed Materials Production Center in Fernald, Ohio, for more than two weeks. Operations were shut down October 5-22.

The facility, 18 miles northwest of here, is owned by the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE). Uranium is reshaped and molded into ingots for use in nuclear weapons and reactors. The plant is the only facility of its kind in the country. This is the first strike at Fernald since 1969.

NLO Inc. has operated the Fernald plant under contracts with the DOE for 32 years. NLO did not bid to renew its contract, which expires April 1, 1986, after the union revealed a series of uranium leaks last December. Union and public outcry forced an investigation that revealed a 32-year history of air, water, and soil pollution. (See the Feb. 15, 1985, *Militant*.)

Westinghouse Electric is scheduled to assume operation of the plant when NLO's contract expires.

Workers are exposed to uranium dust and other hazards in the plant. A 1983 study of Fernald workers' health records going back 31 years revealed that they are 2.5 to 5 times more likely to suffer from lung diseases than other workers. Another

study showed a 12 percent excess rate from stomach and colon cancer at Fernald.

John Neumann, a Fernald electrician, told the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, "We're working with toxic chemicals, toxic waste, heavy metals, and high voltage, and they keep saying, 'Everything's okay, just wear your respirator.'"

The Fernald Atomic Trades and Labor Council, the coalition that represents the 15 unions in the plant, has proposed a health and safety package which includes specific limits on maximum radiation exposures for different areas of the body, considerably lower than the present DOE limits; radiation monitoring guidelines inside the plant; early-detection plans for exposures and work-related diseases; and increased worker participation in policing their own exposures.

Gene Branham, president of the trades and labor council, explained at the beginning of the strike, "We have a difference of opinion with the DOE on exposure limits to ensure a normal life expectancy. Workers should not have to incur abnormal diseases and prolonged illnesses. To accept anything less would be criminal."

A sign posted on the door at strike headquarters read: "They know the risk and do nothing. We take the risk and get nothing."

"They don't really know how much uranium they lose," explained a chemical

operator walking the picket line. "You know they don't catch it all in the dust collector."

"Those dust collectors are so old any-ways they can't be working right," added another picket. "All they've done in 30 years is repaint and rework them."

Concern was also expressed about pregnant women being forced to work in uranium production areas.

NLO management had publicly stated that it wouldn't budge on the question of radiation exposure limits.

"Our position is based on life and health," said union President Branham. "The Department of Energy's is based on economics. They've said so at the table."

Bob Warren, a welder at Fernald and a member of the union negotiating committee, expressed the outrage felt by many of his coworkers. In a letter written to NLO management after contract negotiations had gone nowhere, he said, "I look at your [NLO negotiating] committee and I see some faces that... have been instrumental in the execution of these atrocities. From where I sit it's sickening. I can't understand how you can sleep at night."

Demands raised by the strikers won widespread community support. Maggie Merritt, a resident of a mobile home park near Fernald, told the *Militant*, "I back them 100 percent in what they are doing. It's time people in this country took a stand and let companies know they can't go on policing themselves and contaminating the workers with standards they themselves set."

Support for the striking workers came from many local area merchants who donated space for a union headquarters and provided food, soft drinks, and household supplies. The food donations were organized by a spouses' committee, and area farmers donated apples.

The determination of the strikers, support from the community, and the prospect of further depletions in the DOE's supply of uranium ingots forced the NLO to end its stalling at the bargaining table.

On October 23 union members ended the strike by voting 363 to 146 to accept a three-year contract. Westinghouse will be party to the new contract.

Under the pact workers will be exposed to less radiation than was previously allowed. They can refuse without reprisal any job that they deem to be unsafe.

Unionists build Nov. 9 N.J. march

Continued from back page

Another replied that getting guns was not so easy. "Half the people you see getting whipped on television are just schoolchildren who've had it up to here," he said.

Some men said they would have marched if it had been any other day, but not on a big Saturday of the deer season in

New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Momentum for the demonstration is strong in the post office bulk-mail center and other mail-handling centers. Thousands of buttons have been sold by the mailhandlers and letter carriers.

The statewide anti-apartheid coalition in New Jersey has issued 40,000 buttons. Some cities have their own coalitions. The city government in Newark is participating. It has printed up 100,000 leaflets, most of which are on the street now.

It's hard to say how many people will turn out for the march. No matter what the number, a giant step forward has been taken by several unions in actively supporting the freedom struggle of our African brothers and sisters.

Eloise Linger is a member of UAW 1035 at General Dynamics.

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AFL-CIO backs S. Africa 'freedom letter'

BY SAM MANUEL

ANAHEIM, Calif. — "Free South Africa" was a theme struck by many of the keynote speakers and delegates meeting here at the 16th Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, held the last week of October.

On Sunday, October 27, a reception for African and Latin American trade unionists attending the convention was held. It was sponsored by the A. Phillip Randolph Institute, African-American Labor Center, and the Latin American Labor Center of the AFL-CIO.

Some 20 trade unionists from over a dozen African countries were in attendance. They included representatives from Chad, Mali, Senegal, Mauritius, Botswana, Lesotho, Togo, Zimbabwe, and South Africa.

The delegation from South Africa included Nelson Mthonbeni, president of the National Union of Textile Workers. Mthonbeni recently toured textile mills in Georgia. The tour was sponsored by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU). Mthonbeni told the *Militant*, "The international solidarity that we have received, especially from the trade union movement in the United States, has been very important to our struggle. Just as in South Africa, the workers in the United States play an important role in the struggle."

The National Union of Textile Workers is affiliated with the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU). It is one of several union federations currently involved in efforts to establish a single trade union federation of non-racial trade unions in South Africa.

Also in attendance was Agnes Molese, general secretary of the South Africa Laundry, Drycleaning and Dye workers union. Molese is also a member of the national executive committee of the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA). Molese told the *Militant* that CUSA has 12 trade union affiliates and claims a membership of 150,000. It is affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and is supported by the AFL-CIO.

Sipho Radebe, who works for the legal department of CUSA, explained that the help received from international unions is "not only politically important to us, but helps to insure our day-to-day functioning. For example, it costs us about 10,000 rands (\$300) to litigate a single defense case for our members."

Joyce Sedibe, an organizer for CUSA, told of some of the problems faced by women workers under the apartheid regime. CUSA recently established a women's department. "Many women work as domestic servants. They are not represented by unions and are not covered by the limited and unenforced provisions of the Industrial Relations Act. They are totally at the mercy of the employers," said Sedibe.

Speaking before the convention on behalf of the African trade unions, Nangbog Barnabo, general secretary of the Togo National Federation of Labor stated, "The entire African working class is grateful to the American people for the measures they have taken lately against apartheid. We trust that the present convention will act to exert pressure at all levels in your country... so that the struggle against apartheid can be intensified."

Similar themes were struck by others who addressed the convention. Richard Trumka, president of the United Mine Workers of America, explained that his union is entering its second year of a strike against A.T. Massey Coal Co., a subsidiary of Royal Dutch Shell and Fluor corporations.

Royal Dutch Shell operates extensive facilities in South Africa. Trumka explained, "Royal Dutch Shell claims that it operates worldwide for the economic and social benefits of the citizens in the 103 countries where it does business. Well I am here to tell you that Royal Dutch Shell seeks to eventually enjoy the same employee-employer relationship here in the United States as it does in South Africa."

William Sirs, representing the British Trades Union Congress, stated, "The outstanding example of our friends and colleagues in FOSATU, CUSA, and the other independent organizations in South Africa shows that trade unions can defend their



Militant/Sam Manuel

Some of the 20 trade unionists from more than a dozen African countries appearing on the speakers' platform at the AFL-CIO convention.

members even when the most wicked and ruthless tyranny holds sway."

Benjamin Hooks, president of the NAACP, denounced the South African military attacks on Angola and its illegal occupation of Namibia. He called upon the unions to "fight on until South Africa and all of Africa is free."

The resolution on South Africa, passed unanimously by the convention, read, in

part: "The AFL-CIO calls on its own government and that of other industrial democracies to ban new investments in South Africa; end all investment guarantees, export credits, and trade promotions with South Africa; stop new IMF [International Monetary Fund] and other bank loans; halt the sale of Krugerrands and the purchase of South African coal; punish violators of the UN oil embargo of South Africa; embargo

the sale of arms to South Africa; compel disinvestment by multinational companies in the energy and high technology sectors; and force disinvestment of multinational companies that have been identified by the independent Black trade union movement as being in violation of internationally accepted labor standards."

An amendment to the resolution was also passed. It stated, "The AFL-CIO supports the non-violent fight against apartheid organized by Bishop Desmond Tutu and urges members of organized labor to sign the freedom letter to Bishop Tutu to let him and our Black brother and sister trade unionists in South Africa know that Jerry Falwell does not speak for America. The AFL-CIO requests all affiliates to endorse the freedom letter campaign and to reproduce the freedom letter petition and distribute it to their locals and councils in support of this campaign."

The convention also featured the showing of a new video film on South Africa produced by the AFL-CIO. It was available for viewing by the delegates throughout the convention. The film is a piece of educational material on the conditions faced by Black workers in South Africa and on the positions and actions taken by the AFL-CIO and U.S. unions. Information about obtaining the video can be gotten by writing to Labor Institute for Public Affairs (LIPA), AFL-CIO, 815 16th St., Washington, D.C. 20006.

Int'l questions debated in AFL-CIO

Continued from front page

tioned in the original resolution. Based on discussions with a number of delegates it became clear, however, that a behind-the-scenes debate occurred on whether to alter this section of the resolution. The executive council was divided. It finally decided to submit an amendment to prevent a split vote on the convention floor.

This amendment added Nicaragua to the Central America section, such that it called for a negotiated settlement for both El Salvador and Nicaragua. This amended resolution was more acceptable to delegates who opposed the U.S. government giving aid to the contras. The final resolution, however, still leaves open the question of union aid to the contras. This was at the heart of the debate that came out on the convention floor, even though most delegates voted for the resolution.

It was noteworthy that nearly all of the more than a dozen delegates who spoke in the two-hour discussion had visited Central America. Some had gone on tours organized by the Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, some on independent trade union tours, and some on tours sponsored by the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) that returned just before the convention.

'No aid to contras'

Nita Brueggeman, a regional leader of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) and a delegate from Oregon's Clackamas County Labor Council, said the executive council resolution did not address the Central America issues contained in resolutions submitted by other union bodies. "All of those resolutions," she said, "talk about a little different Nicaragua than we are talking about today."

"I'm concerned when we haven't taken a clear position against support for the contras, when I know Adolph Coors is one of their major benefactors, the same Coors that spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in Oregon to bring scab beer and antiunion activities and policies."

"I'm concerned when the Reagan administration is in opposition to a government of a country that's smaller than the state of Oregon. I'm not going to trust Coors Beer to 'save' workers in Nicaragua when they would do anything to abolish the rights of workers in this country. It's with a great deal of reluctance that I support this resolution, and it is my hope that we come out with a much clearer and stronger position with regard to opposition to aid to the contras in Nicaragua."

Leon Lynch, an international vice-president of the United Steelworkers union, said he had recently returned from an AIFLD sponsored tour to Central America. He said he had met with leaders of CUS (the small anti-Sandinista union that is supported by AIFLD) and with members of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), which supports Nicaragua's workers' and farmers' government.

He strongly urged support for the amended resolution, saying it accurately reflected the facts as he saw them during his short stay in Nicaragua. He expressed criticism of the Sandinista-led government and said it was their actions that "forced the growth" of the contras in that country.

Two weaknesses of the Central America resolution most referred to by critics were the fact that it did not oppose aid to the contras, and secondly, that the AIFLD was harmful to labor because it put the AFL-CIO in the position of collaborating with enemies of the trade union movement. AIFLD receives most of its funding from U.S. government sources, including the National Endowment for Democracy, a fund started by Sen. Orrin Hatch.

Informal discussions with convention delegates showed many were enthusiastic about the results of this historic debate and especially the fact that it could occur at a national AFL-CIO convention. The *Militant* also learned that some delegates were going on at least two new tours of Central America. One was leaving the day after the convention adjourned, with visits planned in El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Guatemala.

Others pointed to the significance of the convention's adopting a constitutional amendment that, they felt, relieved union members of having to toe the line in following official AFL-CIO policies, especially in world affairs. The amendment strengthened the right to autonomy by national and international unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO and stressed that they were not bound by official AFL-CIO policies.

Some delegates thought this was important because four national and international unions had submitted resolutions to the convention that strongly opposed aid to the contras. They were the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; United Auto Workers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and the International Association of Machinists. In addition, a total of 19 presidents of AFL-CIO affiliated unions are listed as sponsors of the Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador.

The autonomy question was also raised in the Central America discussion by AFT

President Albert Shanker, a strong AIFLD supporter. His interpretation of the resolution was that AFL-CIO affiliated unions were free to continue what they have been doing regarding Central America.

Another educational eye-opener for many delegates was the revelations on the AFL-CIO's policies in Asia through the Asian-American Free Labor Institute. Most U.S. unionists are not aware of how deeply involved AFL-CIO leaders are in that area of the world.

One country that the institute has been very active in since 1983 is the Philippines, where it is working with the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP). Ernesto Herrera, general secretary of the TUCP, spoke just prior to the debate on Central America. He denounced the dictatorship of Philippines President Ferdinand Marcos and charged him with the murder of TUCP members. But he also red-baited the Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU) — the May First Movement — a new union federation in the Philippines. He accused its members of attacking TUCP members. The KMU has gained a membership of 500,000 since being formed in 1980. It is the fastest growing Philippine union federation and is active in strikes and political demonstrations against the Marcos regime. Representatives of the KMU are currently touring the United States seeking labor solidarity with their struggle.

Domestic questions

On domestic questions there was general agreement on the perspectives for U.S. labor laid out in Lane Kirkland's keynote speech opening the convention.

As reported in last week's *Militant*, the AFL-CIO will continue to support capitalist candidates of the Democratic Party. It adopted a resolution to continue the policy of early endorsement of candidates in election campaigns.

The convention also projected an organizing drive for associate union members on jobs not covered by union contracts. Incentives offered to associate members include participation in union-sponsored benefit programs.

A third high priority was the projection for making wider use of the mass news media and communications, both to improve labor's image and to help in organizing campaigns.

The convention also passed a resolution supporting a boycott of nonunion table grapes called by the United Farm Workers. This followed a speech by farm workers President César Chávez in which he pointed out that farm workers are continuing to face violent attacks from the growers.

Two union officials discuss U.S. policy in Central America

The following are major excerpts from the contributions of Ed Asner and Kenneth Blaylock to the AFL-CIO convention's discussion on Central America.

Asner is former president of the Screen Actors Guild and Blaylock is president of the American Federation of Government Employees.

Blaylock is also a member of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador. In February he visited El Salvador and Nicaragua as part of a trade union delegation.

Bracketed material is by the Militant.

Ed Asner

I'm gratified to note that the resolution before us specifies diplomatic rather than military solutions to the myriad and complex problems we face in Latin America. One of my predecessors, while Screen Actors Guild president — perhaps you have heard of him, Ronald Reagan [president 1947-52 and again in 1959] — decried, decried in the strongest terms the use of American force in overthrowing foreign governments. Boy, how soon he forgot.

But I think that in those distant days when he still believed in unionism, he still was somewhat sane on matters of foreign policy.

Well, I still believe that other nations have some rights to self-determination, and that we do not have the right to dictate how a Nicaragua or an El Salvador should be governed, that the support of the Nicaragua *contras* [counterrevolutionaries] is unforgivable, and that labor support of brutally repressive regimes is incomprehensible. Certainly I am deeply concerned about the State of Emergency and the restrictions on some forms of free expression in Nicaragua.

As an artist I treasure and fight for free speech everywhere, even in Anaheim.

But where was our voice when our government destroyed the only oil depot in Nicaragua or mined their harbor? Where were our voices of outrage then? And where are our voices raised against the continuing assault against trade unionists and other civilians in El Salvador, where 332 teachers have been killed and another 150 disappeared since 1979? Eight have been murdered in 1985 so far.

Where are our raised voices speaking out with equal vigor against censorship in El Salvador, where the situation there for journalists has actually worsened since [President] Duarte's election in 1984? According to a recent Newspaper Guild report, 19 journalists have been murdered and more disappeared; where the report calls freedom of the press nonexistent in anything but name.

Where are our voices when the AIFLD [American Institute for Free Labor Development] suddenly decides that even the pro-Duarte unions they supported only months before are suddenly too liberal, too uncontrollable? How far to the right are we willing to travel in the name of free, democratic trade unions? [AIFLD helped arrange a "social pact" between Duarte and the Popular Democratic Unity (UPD), a coalition of unions which supported Duarte in the 1984 elections. When UPD later protested Duarte's failure to implement land reform measures, and continue talks with the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, AIFLD dropped its support for the UPD and set up another rival union coalition — the Democratic Workers' Confederation — to continue supporting Duarte.]

Where are our voices when the investigating committees established by President Duarte in 1984 have brought us no closer to justice in the murder of our two [AIFLD] representatives, Hammer and Pearlman?

The death toll to civilians in Nicaragua has, according to Amnesty International, been 500. In El Salvador the death toll from death squads alone has been 50,000. The human destruction in El Salvador has been 100 times greater than that in Nicaragua.

And yet our institute's rhetoric offers no reflection of this truth, no reflection of this great contrast, even when the victims include our fellow trade unionists abroad, and yes, even our own people.

The past four years I have had the honor of meeting many of you, walked picket lines together, worked on behalf of justice and dignity and empowerment for working people. This has made me proud. You have made me proud to be part of you. But it does not make me proud to read in the current edition of *Business Week* that the AFL-CIO is spending almost as much on what I am forced to conclude are misguided and ill-conceived foreign programs as on what we spend on domestic programs — thus making our federation, as the *Business Week* headline says, "Global vigilantes." [The November 4 *Business Week* reported that "through affiliate institutes, the AFL-CIO is active in 83 countries. Its 1985 budget for these operations is \$43 million, 90% of which comes from U.S. government sources."]

It does not make me proud to see us bolstering the foreign policies of those whose stated goals include the destruction of our own labor movement, like [Utah Senator] Orrin Hatch and Ronald Reagan. I do know which side I'm on, and it's not theirs.

I don't want the labor movement used to do the dirty work of President Reagan or our large multinational corporations. And I don't want any of Hatch's National Endowment for Democracy money to do it either.

When Senator Hatch is ready to endow true democracy and trade unionism here at home, then maybe I'll talk to him about Central America.

I would hope that in the future — though I support what I consider this weak resolution — we would speak out with clear conviction and greater independence against the indignities that I have cited. I don't want to see [the labor movement] sullied by any foreign policy that belies our highest ideals.

Kenneth Blaylock

Mr. Chairman, I rise not to speak against the resolution, but to speak of its shortcomings, first in El Salvador. As we condition our support for military aid in El Salvador

BY CLARE FRAENZL

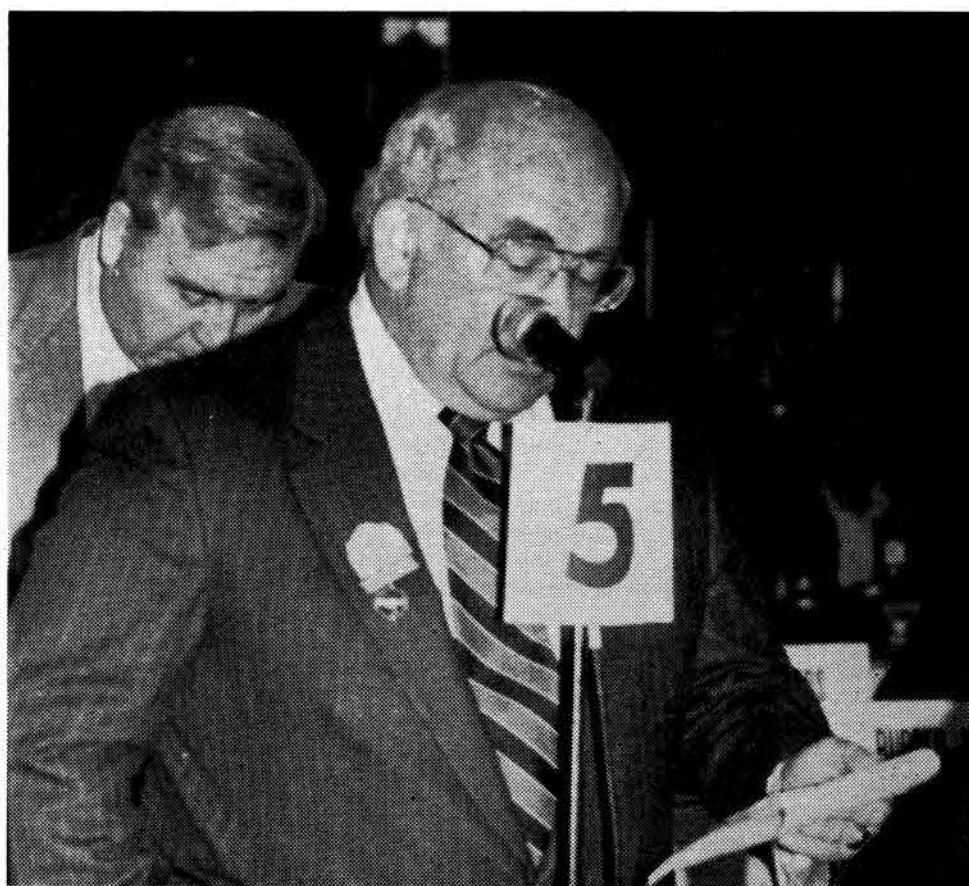
ANAHEIM, Calif. — The Coalition of Labor Union Women — CLUW — has announced the beginning of a national campaign to focus attention on the concerns of working women.

The announcement, made at an October 29 press breakfast, was made during the AFL-CIO national convention here. Joyce Miller, president of CLUW and an AFL-CIO international vice-president, said CLUW is "the voice for the 7 million women who are union members and the 50 million women working for this nation's employers. These women are today faced with one of the most difficult battles they have faced in some time."

Miller pointed out that two out of three women are still concentrated in low-paying, dead-end service jobs. Women continue to earn only 65 cents for every dollar earned by men. For Black and Latino women, those figures are dramatically lower — 59 and 52 cents.

Miller attacked administration policies that are driving women workers deeper into poverty. "Women maintain 13 percent of all U.S. families," she said. "These families accounted for 48 percent of all poor families in 1984. Fifty-two percent of Black female-headed households lived at or below the poverty level."

"Affirmative action laws are under siege," Miller continued. "Despite significant gains women and minorities have made at companies subject to affirmative



Militant/Sam Manuel

Ed Asner, then president of the Screen Actors Guild, speaking from convention floor.

in this resolution, we fail to mention that the activities and the campaign of terror by the death squads has been replaced by military action planned, supported, and connived by the military advisers in El Salvador and in our embassy in El Salvador.

As I sat in a military commander's office last February, he glibly told us that, "We will have this little war wrapped up in six months, because we have adapted a policy and a strategy of sanitization."

Now for those of you who do not know what — in military terms — sanitization means, it means with foot soldiers, with artillery, and with aircraft you completely run all of the people out of an area.

As I sat in a church late one night and listened to mothers who had come down from the areas tell about the atrocities being perpetuated against them and their families by this technique of military operations, it would literally bring tears to your eyes. When we traveled through areas and we saw not just maybe houses destroyed where people maybe did support the rebel forces, but square mile and mile and mile of homes and farms destroyed, it makes you wonder what our government is all about.

In Nicaragua I totally support the resolution and its statement against the anti-human rights, antilabor rights, the suppression of the press. We are dead on target.

But Mr. Chairman, we fail to mention the *contras* who are perpetuating not a war against military targets in Nicaragua, but a war of terror against the people of that country.

As I visited the coffee plantations and the farms up close to the border of Honduras, we talked with Miskito Indians, we talked with campesinos who do not fear the Sandinistas. They are carrying weapons from sticks to rifles to protect themselves against the *contras*. When I have a young farmer tell me about an attack on his farm where his wife was raped and then killed. He lost two children not from the Sandinistas, but from the *contras*.

Now, I don't know about the rest of you people here, but when I look at Iran, I look at Vietnam, I look at Nicaragua, I look at El Salvador, Guatemala, I would like for one time for my government to be on the side of the people, not on the side of rich dictators living behind high walls.

Now it seems to me, Mr. Chairman, and delegates to this convention, that when our Congress — pardon my French — finally got the balls to stand up and cut off military aid to Nicaragua, acceding to the popular opinion of over 80 percent of the people of this country, it seems to me like the American

Continued on Page 21

CLUW announces new nat'l campaign

action requirements under Executive Order 11246, Attorney General Edwin Meese would amend it to eliminate the use of goals and timetables, to bar the use of statistical evidence in proving discrimination, and to limit discrimination suits to instances of direct, intentional discrimination. This type of justice is a cruel hoax for all working women, but especially for minority women, who feel the double-edged blade of both race and sex discrimination."

Miller also attacked the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's "ignorance and contempt for pay equity by referring to it as 'looney tunes.'"

CLUW has 75 chapters in 39 cities and a membership of 18,000. Members belong to 59 national or international unions. Local chapters will begin organizing for a national Working Women's Awareness Week, May 4-11, 1986.

Miller reported, "We will be developing special media events around the issues of pay equity, child and dependent care needs, affirmative action, and other issues of concern faced by a new generation of workers — women." Programs within the union movement and special community programs coordinated between unions and women's and civil rights organizations will be held during this week.

Through these activities CLUW hopes to increase its membership to 50,000. Miller announced that the United Steelworkers of America has already contributed 5,000 brochures for the membership drive.

Over 300 delegates to the AFL-CIO convention, including dozens of international union presidents and AFL-CIO Executive Board members, attended a CLUW-sponsored luncheon later in the day. Lane Kirkland, national AFL-CIO president, spoke briefly about the importance of women's participation in the labor movement. He said, "There are more women delegates at this convention than at any other in the history of the AFL-CIO."

Later the convention passed resolutions on civil rights and on women workers that reaffirmed the labor organization's commitment to affirmative action. It also reaffirmed its support to pay equity, child care, and the Equal Rights Amendment. It did not, however, mention abortion rights.

Although CLUW has a strong position in support of abortion rights, it was not posed on the AFL-CIO convention floor or at CLUW's luncheon.

The civil rights resolution urged AFL-CIO affiliates who have not yet done so to "appoint officers or staff as civil rights and women's rights designees, and move ahead forcefully with programs to eliminate discrimination and guarantee civil rights for all Americans."

The resolution on women workers states, "We urge women trade unionists to participate in all union activities and in the Coalition of Labor Union Women."

Women who are interested in joining CLUW can write to 15 Union Square, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Student conference plans spring action against apartheid

Continued from front page

The weeks include the April 4 National Protest Day in Commemoration of Martin Luther King.

The link between the fight against Washington's support to racism in South Africa and the fight against attacks on Black rights here at home was a central theme of the conference.

At regional caucus meetings, plans were made to have both northeastern and southern regional student conferences in the next few months. A Midwest Student Conference Against Apartheid and Racism had already been planned for the University of Chicago November 16-17.

Among the dozens of campuses represented at the conference were: the University of Vermont, Brown, Northwestern, University of the District of Columbia, University of Illinois Circle Campus, Arizona State University, University of Miami, University of Michigan, University of Texas, Vassar, Boston University, Yale, University of Colorado, Georgetown, State University of New York at Purchase, Harvard, Temple, and several CUNY schools.

A few high school students also attended. Some trade union activists participated and shared their successful experiences of involving their unions on a local and national level in anti-apartheid activities.

About one-fifth of the participants were Black. Students who had been exiled from South Africa were also present.

Europe, Canada, Australia represented

Anti-apartheid activists also came from Belgium, Australia, and Norway. A dozen students from McGill University in Montreal attended.

They told the *Militant* that all classes on their campus are taught in English, even though 40 percent of the students speak French and it's in the middle of the French-speaking province of Quebec. Anti-apar-

theid activists explain the links between the fight against apartheid in South Africa and the struggle against the oppression of the French-speaking people of Quebec.

Melinda Wittstock, the editor of the school newspaper at McGill, said that the conference will help Canadian students to expose not only the U.S. role in South Africa, but also Canada's role in backing the apartheid regime.

A representative of the Isolate South Africa Committee, a group based in Sweden, told the conference that he came to learn from the U.S. movement and to strengthen the ties between the movements in both countries. On the October 11 National Anti-apartheid Protest Day — which was marked in this country by actions on more than 100 campuses and more than 30 cities — there was a demonstration of 5,000 in Stockholm.

The conference also received a written message of solidarity from the National Union of South African Students. The message explained that Washington refused to give visas to members of the group who wanted to attend the conference.

'Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua'

Many of the anti-apartheid fighters who came to Hunter were also supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution and active opponents of the U.S.-sponsored war in Central America.

The featured speakers at the Friday night rally that opened the conference were three youths who had just finished a U.S. speaking tour. The theme of the tour was "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua."

Claire Mohapi of the Youth Section of the African National Congress (ANC), Monica Nashandi of the Youth League of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and Roger Urite, head of the international section of the National Union of Nicaraguan Students, all explained how inspired they were by the reception they've gotten from the students



Militant photos by Mike Alewitz

Student conference on S. Africa at Hunter College in New York City demanded "Divest Now" and planned spring anti-apartheid actions. At right, Hinyangerwa Asheeke, deputy representative of SWAPO at the UN, addresses conference.

and youth they've spoken to in this country.

Mohapi said she was glad to see that the people of the United States don't back Reagan's "constructive engagement" policy of support to the racist regime in South Africa. Reagan lies when he says the ANC is a terrorist organization, she said. "Reagan is the terrorist."

Mohapi called for the implementation of the Freedom Charter, the program for liberation adopted by the ANC and a broad layer of other opponents of apartheid in South Africa. The charter calls for South Africa to belong "to all who live in it" and calls for one person, one vote. But the charter can only be implemented, she said, in a new, "democratic, nonracial" society.

The fight is on, Mohapi concluded, for severing all relations between the U.S. government and U.S. companies and the racist South African regime. The people of the United States are "an important force for facilitating the struggle for liberation of South Africa and Namibia."

Namibia

Nashandi from SWAPO talked about the importance of protesting the Reagan administration's proposal to give open backing to the armed South African-supported terrorists of UNITA, who are waging war against the government of Angola.

South Africa is carrying out a massive military buildup in Namibia, Nashandi explained. More than 100,000 South African troops occupy the country — that's one soldier for every 10 Namibians. Schools and hospitals are militarized, apartheid reigns, and a curfew and heavy censorship are in effect, she reported.

Nicaragua won against racism

Chants of "No pasaran!" (They shall not pass!) greeted Roger Urite as he approached the podium. It is necessary, Urite said, to increase our solidarity with the people of South Africa and Namibia. The racist regime "is a shame for all of humankind," he declared.

Nicaragua, he said, gave the world a good example of a struggle against a U.S.-backed dictatorship which finally put an end to racist domination and began to construct a democratic, popular system.

Other speakers included Dumisani Kumalo of the American Committee on Africa, New York State Assemblyman Roger Green, and Diane Dwyer and Norma Francis, anti-apartheid movement leaders from Hunter College.

Response to protests

Throughout the course of the conference, participants made reference to an article that appeared in the October 30 New York weekly, the *Village Voice*. It reported on a meeting in Washington, D.C., of attorneys and administrators from Columbia, Cornell, and the University of California, along with the first secretary of the South African embassy, a representative of the

State Department's African Bureau, and an official of Mobil Oil, a major supplier of oil to South Africa.

"According to observers," the *Voice* reported, topics discussed included: "how to control protests by changing the time, place, and manner of restrictions under which they are held; using internal procedures for discipline because courts are unreliable . . . and the use of videotapes and files to collect evidence on student demonstrators."

To date, 30 colleges and universities have partially or totally divested since the April protests began, five of them doing so in the month of October alone. On Saturday morning a panel of student leaders discussed the divestment struggles they have been involved in.

An activist from the University of California at Berkeley described the mobilizations of thousands of students demanding divestment. The campus board of regents, however, has refused to budge on the issue. Instead the administration has stepped up disciplinary actions and restrictions on students' rights. Despite this, 1,000 students turned out on October 11.

The Berkeley student also talked about the support anti-apartheid activists have given the largely Chicano and Mexican cannery plant workers who are on strike in Watsonville, California.

Columbia: unions, community key

The militant struggle by Columbia University students last spring inspired anti-apartheid fighters everywhere, Keith Jennings from Atlanta University explained. He emphasized the breadth of the anti-apartheid movement, which involves almost all sectors of society. It's important for students to reach out to workers and farmers, Jennings stressed.

Tannaquil Jones explained that the key to the success in forcing Columbia to divest was the backing the students received from the Black community and the unions. New York's labor movement, led by District 65 of the United Auto Workers and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), has played a central role in organizing anti-apartheid activities in this city, including a march of 30,000 people in August. The New York Anti-apartheid Coordinating Council, which District 65 and the CBTU are leaders of, sent out a mailing that pointed to the student conference as an important activity.

Josh Nessen, student coordinator for the American Committee on Africa and a central organizer of the conference, along with a number of campus leaders, also spoke.

Damu Smith, legislative director for the Washington Office on Africa and the national coordinator of last spring's April Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice, gave an educational talk on U.S. government backing for Pretoria's aggression in southern Africa and sounded the alarm about Washington's proposal to aid anti-Angola terrorists.

Continued on Page 21

Do you know someone who reads Spanish?

Ortega's UN speech in 'PM'

"If the country that is now attacking us had to suffer today a proportional number of casualties, it would have a total of 723,000 dead, or almost three times as many U.S. casualties as during World War II; or losses equivalent to the whole population of Boston. It would also face 373,000 wounded and 17,550,000 displaced people, equal to the entire population of the state of New York. Nine thousand women and 15,000 children under 12 would also have been murdered."

This is how Daniel Ortega, the president of Nicaragua, described the effects of the U.S.-organized war against the Nicaraguan people in his October 21 speech before the 40th General Assembly of the United Nations.

The new issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* carries the full text of Ortega's speech. It also carries an article from our Managua bureau on a speech by Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge, who explains how the state of emergency recently decreed in Nicaragua strengthens the hand of the workers and farmers against the U.S. aggression.

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Big setbacks in UTU contract

BY LOUISE GOODMAN

OAKLAND, Calif. — The United Transportation Union (UTU), one of the largest rail unions, ratified a major takeback contract, setting the pattern for the 12 other unions still negotiating with the rail carriers.

The 90,000-member union, representing operating employees, reached a new national agreement with 60 of the nation's major railroads effective October 31.

While union members won a modest wage gain of 10 and a half percent over 44 months, the carriers imposed substantial takebacks in job eliminations and work rule changes. Through promotion, resignation, and retirement, the contract will eliminate 8,000 firemen's and hostlers' jobs.

The rail bosses claim technology has made these jobs obsolete with the end of coal-burning steam locomotives. In fact, today's locomotive firemen play an extremely important role in the safe handling of trains by having another qualified engine service employee in the cab in case the engineer becomes incapacitated.

Today's trains are often over a mile long, carrying everything from nuclear waste to toxic chemicals. Having a full crew is essential to safety.

The 3,000 hostlers who are to be phased out move locomotives around the yard — a job that will still have to be done. Even before the contract was ratified, railroads like the Southern Pacific were forcing workers without proper training to do these jobs.

As in many recent takeback contracts, new workers are hit the hardest. A severe

two-tier wage structure puts new hires at 75 percent for the first year, taking five years to catch up.

Since work on the railroad is often seasonal, it is common to be laid off during the winter months. And since new employees must perform 80 tours of duty in a given year to qualify as having worked for a year, it is possible for it to take much longer than five years to get parity in hourly wages.

No arbitrators for new hires

A big part of rail workers' paychecks comes through arbitrators — money paid for the performance of specific jobs beyond the hourly wage. New employees will no longer qualify for these special allowances that other workers get. This will deepen the two-tier wage structure even more, creating permanent divisions even after five years are up.

In addition, employees with less than three years' seniority may now be terminated if furloughed for 365 days or more.

While modest wage gains were included for hourly workers, this contract marks a real cut in pay for the over-the-road workers because of the elimination of many arbitrators and doing away with the 100-mile day.

By June 1988, the basic day will go from 100 miles to 108 miles. The basic daily rates in road service were established on a mileage basis because the railroads charged their shippers on a mileage basis. The 100-mile day, which approximates the eight-hour day, was won in the early 1900s. Increasing the basic day beyond

100 miles means paying rail workers less for more work. Like every other industry where concession contracts have been imposed by the employers, this is just another form of speedup.

The new agreement allows road crews to do yard work without additional pay. It also allows engine service employees to do ground service employees' work and vice versa. This will give the carriers the flexibility to eliminate even more jobs. Within 24 hours of the contract going into effect, Southern Pacific abolished all the herder jobs done by the switchmen. (Herders are switchmen who give signals to incoming and outgoing trains.)

Not only did UTU members lose, but other rail workers did too. Operating crews will now be expected to do the work of other crafts, such as inspecting cars and supplying engines and cabooses.

With the drastic work rule changes and longer interdivisional runs allowed, the over-the-road crews will be taking a substantial pay cut.

In the 1982 contract, an agreement was reached to eliminate 25 percent of the cabooses. This contract calls for 100 percent elimination on unit trains, such as those that haul grain or coal. (Unit trains are those that carry only one product.) Not only does this wipe out more jobs, but it also poses a major safety question for the communities these trains go through.

The agreement establishes a special committee to study and make recommendations on cost-sharing of health and welfare benefits. This could mean that railroad



New contract means big concessions for United Transportation Union members, sets pattern for other rail unions.

workers will soon be paying for their medical coverage.

After working since June 1984 with their wages frozen, there will be no back pay. Instead of the several thousand dollars most workers would have normally gotten, a \$565 lump sum payment is being offered. Only workers who put in 2,150 hours will get the whole amount.

Members of the UTU don't have the right to vote on their contract. Each local chairman gets to cast a vote. Last July, after polling their members, the local chairmen voted down a similar contract. The only change in the new agreement was to offer the existing firemen and hostlers some protection by providing that their jobs will be eliminated through attrition.

The vote approving the contract was 268 in favor, 101 against, and 78 not voting. Those not voting are counted as "yes" votes by the International union.

The reaction to the new agreement has been mixed. Many are just relieved that it is finally settled, and a strike has been avoided. Because of the legal red tape and government intervention imposed by the Railway Labor Act, the bargaining process can drag on for months or even years. After a hard-sell campaign by UTU President Fred Hardin, many members believed we would get stuck with a much worse agreement if the government stepped in. A presidential study commission was set up in 1982 after the engineers went on strike. Its recommendations would have imposed even more drastic work rule changes, including raising the basic day to 160 miles.

The contract that was accepted by the UTU represents a big setback for all rail workers. This agreement will set the patterns for the other unions still negotiating with the carriers. Even though this contract is finally settled, the discussion isn't. If the rail bosses move to implement the work rule changes they won in the contract, UTU members will continue to discuss how to defend themselves against further attacks.

Louise Goodman is a hostler and member of UTU Local 100 in Oakland, California.

Alabama abortion rights actions set

BY BETH FINNEAS

MOBILE, Ala. — One hundred thirty members and supporters of the National Organization for Women met here October 26 and 27 for the 1985 state conference of Alabama NOW.

The conference called for statewide actions in defense of abortion rights on January 22, the anniversary of the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

In two days of workshops and plenary sessions, participants mapped out action campaigns to defend abortion rights and to participate in the anti-apartheid movement.

Conference organizers made a special effort to encourage participation from Mobile's Black community. The weekend was opened with a keynote speech by Rosa Parks, a long-time civil rights activist from Montgomery. Parks initiated the Montgomery bus boycott against Jim Crow segregation in 1955 when she refused to give up her seat on a city bus to a white passenger.

Parks pointed to the common aims of the Black and women's rights movements, and compared the U.S. civil rights movement to the freedom struggle in South Africa today.

Feminist and Black activist Flo Kennedy was also a guest speaker at the conference.

Participants included representatives from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of Mobile and the Coalition of 100 Black Women.

Workshops at the conference covered a wide range of subjects, including reproductive rights, South Africa, women and poverty, pay equity, lesbian rights, and violence against women.

In the reproductive rights workshop participants exchanged experiences on organizing to defend abortion clinics against government-supported right-wing terrorist attacks. NOW chapters throughout the state have been involved in escort programs to support patients entering the clinics that are confronted by antiabortion pickets.

Kelley Hall described the success greater Birmingham NOW has had involving people beyond its membership in the weekly clinic defense. "We have a pool of more than 50 people who participate every month in the Birmingham clinic escorts," she explained.

The plenary session discussed and approved a resolution condemning a parental notification bill, which would make legal abortions even less accessible to young women in the state. The bill passed the state House in the recent special legislative

session, but the legislature adjourned before the Senate took action on the bill. It is scheduled to come up again when the legislature convenes its regular session in January.

In addition to the call for abortion-rights action throughout Alabama, Sammie Roberts, the state reproductive rights chairperson, also announced efforts to plan a regional demonstration in Pensacola, Florida, on December 28. Pensacola was the site of one of the clinic bombings by right-wing terrorists more than a year ago.

A lively discussion on South Africa was a part of many conference workshops. NOW chapters statewide have been involved in local anti-apartheid activities and coalitions, including the boycott of Winn-Dixie supermarkets. The Winn-Dixie boycott was initiated by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference because of the chain's sales of South African products and its racist hiring and promotion practices.

The conference passed a resolution condemning apartheid and calling on NOW chapters to work in coalition with other organizations opposed to apartheid, participate in rallies, organize educational forums, and encourage NOW members to boycott South African products.

The resolution also calls for economic sanctions, including a trade embargo



Civil rights leader Rosa Parks told recent Alabama NOW conference that Blacks and women have common aims. Conference mapped abortion rights, anti-apartheid activities.

against South Africa, corporate divestment, and withdrawal of U.S. military and economic aid. Alabama NOW expressed support for Winnie Mandela and demanded unconditional freedom for Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress.

Watsonville strikers reject 'final offer'

BY TOM MARGRAVE

WATSONVILLE, Calif. — In a strong show of unity, striking members of Local 912 of the Teamsters union voted 800 to 1 on October 28 to reject the so-called final offer from the Watsonville Cannery Co.

The strikers are opposing 42 company takeaways, which include: wage cuts of 28 to 45 percent; a two-tier wage system; elimination of seniority rights; unsafe and unsanitary working conditions; and reduced pension, health, and welfare benefits. A similar vote is expected soon at Richard Shaw, Inc., the other struck cannery in Watsonville.

On Sunday, November 3, 2,000 strikers and their supporters marched two hours through Watsonville to a rally in support of the strike. Six busloads of supporters from northern California, including 200 students and campus workers from the University of California at Berkeley, were greeted in Spanish by cheers of "Workers and students united in the struggle."

The colors red and black could be seen throughout the crowd. The strikers said these are the colors of struggle and strike in Latin America.

Police officers and sheriff's deputies, including two riot squad units, lined the march route in a calculated display of force designed to be intimidating. Cops were armed with guns and flaunted long billy clubs.

The rally included speakers from strike support committees in San Francisco, Berkeley, and San Jose. A striker explained that they are receiving significant material support from other members of their local who are working at unstripped frozen food packing plants. These workers are donating \$5 a week each to the striking workers. He pointed out that wages and working conditions in the huge frozen food industry in the whole state of California will be affected by what happens in Watsonville.

A member of Local 2 of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Interna-

tional Union, on strike for 52 months against the swanky Commercial Club restaurant in San Francisco, gave a stirring message of solidarity from the predominantly Chinese workers there. His message, given in Chinese, was translated first to English and then to Spanish.

Solidarity is growing for the strike, now in its ninth week. The Teamsters have rented a warehouse for daily deliveries of an outpouring of food donations coming in from around the state.

There will be a major strike support march and rally Sunday, November 10, called by Teamsters Local 912 and Teamsters Joint Council 7, with support from the northern California labor movement.

Donations and food contributions can be sent to Local 912, Box 591, Watsonville, Calif. 95076. According to Elsie Villalpando, cochair of the local's food committee, turkeys for Thanksgiving will be especially appreciated.

—THE GREAT SOCIETY—

Our heart bleeds — "With people being killed in the streets down there and anti-apartheid



Harry Ring

demonstrators marching all over the world, it's hard to be very eager about appearing to bail out the South African government on its debt problems." — A London banker.

Seers at work — Despite a dollar devaluation designed to spur U.S. exports, the September trade deficit was the biggest yet, leading analysts to explain that "past currency devaluations show that trade deficits generally worsen before improving." And maybe vice versa?

The Bayer syndrome — Some 73 percent of the population suffers occasional headaches, with income and stress being contributing factors. Those with incomes over \$50,000 were more likely to suffer muscle pain (the rump muscle?). While advertising execs, despite their income, were 11 percent above average on headaches. We trust that includes those who

bring us the aspirin ads.

Declining American Way of Death — "People made more of a funeral. All the big, beautiful processions, all the widows in black. People used to have much more respect for death. Expense-wise, they just don't do it like they used to." — Julia Taylor, of Cypress Lawn in the dying funeral town of Colma, California.

Pay-tritism — The War Department said that 461,000 new helmets, more than half the amount ordered, were defective. Officials said the \$82 helmets were improperly made and included material not specified in the contract, jeopardizing the lives

of those who use them in battle.

"Executive Turn-on"? — An Oklahoma company is offering a mattress stuffed with shredded money.

What the hell, it's only our money — The Pentagon wants a Congressional OK to turn in Air Force One — actually two planes — for new ones. The present ones have logged 14 percent of normal retirement mileage. The first replacement would be delivered just in time to fly Ron and Nancy home at the end of their term. The new planes would normally carry up to 400 passengers. The total tab, about \$400 million.

Next, McMaggot's? — According to a complaint by the Center for Science in the Public Interest, those McDonald McNuggets, advertised as "only delicious chunks of juicy breast and thigh meat," aren't. The researchers found the nuggets are also laced with fatty chicken skin, beef fat from frying oil, and sodium phosphate.

Trying to get closer to God? — The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Episcopal bishop of New York, told the city landmark commission it would be interfering with religion if it refused to permit one of his churches to build a skyscraper on its Park Avenue property. Without the office tower, he said, the church might go broke.

—CALENDAR—

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

What's Happening In Nicaragua. Film, *Target Nicaragua*. Sat., Nov. 16, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Divest Now! Defend the Student Anti-apartheid Fighters on Trial. Speakers: Lisa January and Alan Maass, Northwestern University; Bob Cotter and others, University of Illinois, Chicago campus; Sahotra Sarkar, University of Chicago; representative of the Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 9, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and YSA. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

The Fight Against Apartheid: A Report Back From the National Conference on South Africa and Namibia. Speaker: Joe Buckner, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Nov. 10, 7:30 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

The Fight for Freedom in the Philippines. Speaker: representative of Philippines Study Group in Minnesota. Sun., Nov. 10, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Minnesota Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Socialist Publication Fund Rally. Featured speaker: Andrea González, *Militant* staff writer; chair, August Nimtz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Minneapolis. Sun., Nov. 17, Reception, 3 p.m.; rally, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Publication Fund. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

The Chrysler Contract: Its Meaning for Working People. Speaker: Dean Elder, Chrysler worker and member of United Auto Workers Local 110 and Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 10, 7 p.m. 4715 Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

Socialist Publication Fund Rally. Speakers:

Margaret Jayko, managing editor, *Militant*; Perry Wilson, Sr., leader of Missouri Groundswell; representative of Kansas City Anti-apartheid Network. Sun., Nov. 17, 7 p.m. Unitarian Church, 4500 Warwick. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Publication Fund. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Benefit for the Militant, Perspectiva Mundial, and Other Socialist Publications. Speakers: Michael Hajduk, member Garwood Board of Education and Society to Educate People, who visited Nicaragua in May; Andrew Smith, student leader at Seton Hall University and member of Young Socialist Alliance; representative of Burkina Faso; representative of African National Congress. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 16, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. (corner of Raymond). Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Socialist Publication Fund. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Albany

Women's Rights Under Attack: How to Fight Back. Speakers: Carol Reichert, National Organization for Women; Louise Haberbush, Socialist Workers Party; representative from the Feminist Alliance at the State University of New York. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Nov. 15, 8 p.m. 352 Central Ave., 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

Benefit for the Socialist Publication Fund. Speakers to be announced. Sun., Nov. 17, 4 p.m. 479 State St. Ausp: Socialist Publication Fund. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

Manhattan

South Africa: The Unfolding Revolution. Speaker: Shuping Coats, representative of African National Congress. Fri., Nov. 8, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

OHIO

Cincinnati

The Reagan-Gorbachev Summit: Who is Responsible for the Arms Race? Speakers: Marvin Berlowitz, Education Department, UC; Steve Schumacher, Cincinnati Peace Education Center; Devin Oldendick, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Nov. 17, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

The Truth Behind the AIDS Hysteria.

Speaker: Shane Que Hee, University Medical Center; Ronn Rucker, president, Cincinnati Gay Mental Health Professionals; Carol Lippmann, vice-president, UC Gay and Lesbian Alliance; Lorraine Starsky, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 24, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

OREGON

Portland

U.S. Workers and Farmers in Solidarity: The Fight for Justice from South Africa to Central America. A Socialist Publication Fund rally. Speakers: Betsey Stone, National Committee member, Socialist Workers Party, former managing editor of Pathfinder Press and editor of *Women and the Cuban Revolution*; Dave Worthington, president of painters union Local 724 and Salem Committee on Latin America; Grace Grantham, Labor Committee on Central America and Caribbean; Ray Hanson, farmer from eastern Oregon; Jorge Jackson, member Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Nov. 17, Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Publication Fund. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

Women's Liberation: a Marxist Perspective. Speaker: Betsey Stone, National Committee member, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 17, 1 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Socialist Publication Fund Rally. Speakers: Harry Ring, founding member of the Socialist Workers Party, long-time *Militant* staff writer and former editor; Sonia Sanchez, noted poet and activist, currently teaching at Temple University; Kathy Jones, Philadelphia Federation of Teachers and anti-war activist. Sun., Nov. 10, Refreshments, 2 p.m.; rally, 3 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

TEXAS

Dallas

Do Imports Cause Layoffs? Speaker: Greg Preston, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 9, 7:30 p.m. 132 N Beckley. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 943-5195.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Socialist Publication Fund Rally. Grand opening of Socialist Books. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Nov. 16, Reception: 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State, 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Publication Fund. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

An Evening in Solidarity With Central American Trade Unionists. Speaker: Dennis Meléndez, representative of Sandinista Workers Federation. Dancing, music, poetry to follow. Sat., Nov. 16, 7:30 p.m. International Association of Machinists Hall, 1300 Connecticut Ave. NW. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Washington Area Labor Committee on Central America and Caribbean.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

The Fight for Freedom from South Africa to Central America: U.S. Youth Join the Battle. Speaker: Mark Curtis, National Organization Secretary, Young Socialist Alliance. Wed., Nov. 13, 4:30 p.m. West Virginia University Laurel Room, Mountain Lair. Ausp: YSA of WVU. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

War and Crisis in the Americas. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, member National Committee Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 16, 7:30 p.m. Refreshments to follow. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2, proceeds to go to Socialist Publication Fund. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Democracy and the Nicaraguan Revolution: an Answer to Reagan's Lies. Speakers: Charlie Dee, Central America Solidarity Coalition; Tony Prince, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 16, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

The Soviet Union Today: Myth and Reality. Slideshow and presentation by Ardenne Bunde, member of U.S.-USSR Friendship Society and Socialist Party, visited Soviet Union in 1985; Dave Morrow, Socialist Workers Party; and Nicholas Topping, member Labor and Farm Party, toured Soviet Union in 1985. Sat., Nov. 23, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

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

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

Dallas: SWP, YSA, 132 N. Beckley Ave., Zip: 75203. Tel: (214) 943-5195. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

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

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

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 611A Tennessee. Zip: 25302. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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

Georgia UAW involved in anti-apartheid movement

BY JEFF ROGERS AND MACEO DIXON

Members of the 5,500-strong United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 10 at the General Motors Doraville plant near Atlanta are learning that they can involve their union in the growing movement against racist South Africa.

During the past few months, activists and their co-workers have managed to involve our local in two important anti-apartheid activities: the September 28 NAACP-sponsored march and rally in downtown Atlanta and a showing at the October union membership meetings of

UNION TALK

the ABC documentary on the Black trade union movement in South Africa, "Adapt or Die."

It all started in September, when several union militants decided to put into action the concern for the situation in South Africa being expressed by many workers on the job. Several of us saw a taped copy of the documentary at one of the workers' homes, and we agreed that as many union members as possible should see it. Some were skeptical of the possibility of local officials agree-

ing to show it, but several others — both Black and white — were eager to try.

This growing core of anti-apartheid unionists was more encouraged after the local president also liked "Adapt or Die" and arranged a meeting between the activists and the Executive Board to discuss South Africa.

The meeting came off, and the leadership could see that there was real interest in the plant. An article from the UAW's *Solidarity* magazine, which outlined other examples of the union's actions against apartheid nationwide, was also passed around. With the president's encouragement, it was agreed the tape would be shown at the October membership meetings for all three shifts, and the showings would be publicized through union notices and publications.

At the September membership meetings, activists suggested that the local find a way to become involved in the September 28 action being planned by a number of groups and being led by the NAACP.

After that meeting, other union members became active in building the anti-apartheid movement in the plant. Discussions really began picking up on the assembly line. Many workers were surprised to learn that General Motors has been a big investor in South Africa since 1926 and still only pays its Black workers less than \$3 an hour. From their own experiences, many already understand

that GM is anything but positive for Blacks and that workers here and there have a lot in common.

Activists distributed over 1,000 leaflets on the September 28 demonstration throughout the plant. And the local sent Vice-president Claude Gilstrap to a press conference the NAACP was holding to publicize the action.

At least 10 workers marched with the local's banner. Hundreds more who couldn't make it know that their union is on record against apartheid.

Over 40 buttons proclaiming "Apartheid must go!" were sold in the plant leading up to the October 8 union meetings where "Adapt or Die" was shown. In spite of the difficulties of attending meetings (the second shift membership meeting, for example, began at 2:30 a.m.), 20 to 30 workers saw the videotape.

The message was loud and clear: Black workers in South Africa are being oppressed by a brutal system that requires big investments from overseas banks and multinationals to survive. In many cases these are the same companies trying to weaken our unions and our rights as workers here at home. Workers in both countries have a common enemy we must unite to defend ourselves from.

Jeff Rogers and Maceo Dixon are members of UAW Local 10.

Kanak freedom fighter addresses Harlem meeting

BY LOUISE ARMSTRONG

NEW YORK — "Since I was a child, I dreamed of coming to your Harlem. I am proud to be here," Susanna Ounei told a Harlem meeting organized by the Patrice Lumumba Coalition and the Unity in Action Network.

Ounei is an official representative of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front. FLNKS is the national proindependence coalition of Kanaks, the oppressed people of the French-ruled South Pacific island of New Caledonia. Ounei toured New York City and Newark, New Jersey, October 15-20. The Harlem meeting climaxed her visit to the area.

Greeted by a standing ovation, she explained that during her U.S. tour of 20 cities she had learned a lot about the conditions of Black Americans and other oppressed people in the United States.

"Like in my home and in South Africa, you too face an apartheid," she said. "You too suffer from racism in housing, jobs, and health care, and suffer police brutality. And Native Americans live on reservations. We have a common struggle."

Ounei described the effort of the native Melanesian people of New Caledonia, the Kanaks, to win their political and economic independence from French colonial rule.

Elombe Brath, who heads the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, moderated the Harlem program. He spoke of the international context of the Kanak movement and its parallels with national liberation movements in Africa.

Ounei's first engagement in the New York-Newark tour was a luncheon organized by the United Methodist Church Office of the United Nations. Attending were representatives from the World Council of Churches, Church Women United, the Quakers UN Office, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Mobilization for Survival, and other groups opposed to nuclear arms.

Of special interest in the discussion was the FLNKS' opposition to nuclear testing in the South Pacific, currently being carried out by France.

Asked about the strategic position of New Caledonia, Ounei stated that the French government maintains a military base there. "The growing opposition to Marcos in the Philippines and New Zealand's official opposition to nuclear arms make our islands, which are near these countries, more important to the French and U.S. governments," she explained.

Ounei was also the featured speaker at a luncheon forum organized by the Center for Women's Development at Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn. The forum marked the anniversary of the Oct. 19, 1983, assassination of Grenadian revolutionary Maurice Bishop.

Forty-five young Black women and men at the luncheon heard solidarity messages by Safiya Bandele; Bill Reviere, director of Caribbean Studies; and Andrée-Nichole McLaughlin; among others. A director of the Grenada Foundation, Valerie Mullings, linked the revolutionary struggle of the

Grenadian people with the fight for Kanak freedom.

"The situation at home is very tense," Ounei told the rapt audience. "Mitterrand said he supported our independence but his government has sent in thousands of troops to kill and torture our people."

Asked about her leadership of the Kanak women's organization, Ounei was warmly applauded when she said, "Our purpose is to bring women into the political struggle for independence. It is not only for men; it is for the women, too. We are both colonized."

At the Newark, New Jersey, campus of Rutgers University, Wendell Jeanpierre chaired a meeting of 40 people who came to hear Ounei. Sponsored by the Afro-American and African Studies Department and the Black Students Association, the event raised more than \$50 in a collection to help pay Ounei's travel expenses.

One highlight of Ounei's tour was a pri-

vate meeting with the United Nations ambassador from Burkina, the West African nation that recently rid itself of a neocolonial regime tied to France, the former colonial power there.

After the meeting, Ounei told the *Militant*, "We understand each other. We have both fought for our national liberation from French imperialism. The FLNKS can learn from their experiences and successes."

Thousands of people learned about the Kanak struggle through media coverage. Ounei appeared on Gary Bird's WLIR radio talk show and on WBAI radio. Articles featuring the FLNKS national liberation movement and Ounei's tour appeared in Black community newspapers in Manhattan and Brooklyn: the *New York Amsterdam News*, *City Sun*, *Daily Challenge*, and *Big Red*. She was also interviewed by *Haiti Progrès/Response*, the national Methodist women's magazine; and the Women's International Resource Exchange magazine.



Susanna Ounei, representative of Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front.

Student conference plans anti-apartheid action

Continued from Page 18

After Smith's presentation, there was a brief question-and-answer period. One participant asked about the Israeli government's support for the South African regime. When Smith affirmed that Israel indeed gives military and political support to the apartheid government, one student yelled out, "Not true!" He was helping to distribute a new, slick pamphlet at the conference that was published by the Jewish organization B'nai B'rith. Titled *Jews, Zionism and South Africa*, it purports to tell the truth about Israel's relations with South Africa and how "the Arabs fuel apartheid" and "why Zionism and Israel are opposed to racism of all kinds."

SWAPO's deputy minister to the United Nations took the microphone to explain some facts on Israel's ties to South Africa. He also expressed support for the struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their homeland. Tannaquil Jones rejected the charge that being a critic of Israel means you're anti-Semitic.

A series of workshops took place on Saturday. Topics included: linking South African and Central American solidarity activities, building links with community struggles, women and South African material aid to the liberation movements in southern Africa, U.S. policy in the region, and divestment organizing.

Workshops

There was a variety of views expressed in workshops about what students should do next to build the fight against apartheid. Some expressed impatience with their inability to win quick divestment and thought that there should be more of a focus on civil disobedience-type activities. Other participants, however, felt that what was needed was more educational activities — both on and off the campuses — to answer the gov-

ernment's lies and educate people about the real situation in southern Africa.

One action proposal that was discussed in some of the workshops was circulating the Freedom Letter of support for Bishop Desmond Tutu. The Free South Africa Movement is carrying out a campaign to get 1 million signatures on it by November 27 and to send a U.S. delegation to deliver the letter on December 16. During the discussion, Marea Himelgrin, representing the April Actions Coalition in St. Louis, pointed out that the United Mine Workers of America had distributed the letter to all its locals. The UMW also recently sponsored a tour of South African miners.

A variety of political organizations participated in the conference. They included: Committee in Solidarity with the People of

El Salvador, National Black Independent Political Party, Mobilization for Survival, Black Student Communications Organizing Network, Communist Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Democratic Socialists of America, People's Anti-War Mobilization, and the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Other speakers at the conference included Georgia State Sen. Julian Bond and ANC member David Ndaba, who is currently a student at Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia. "Participants have addressed the struggle of South Africa as their struggle," Ndaba told the closing session. "We will send the message back to our people that we have allies." U.S. youth, he said, are charged with the duty of helping to end "all forms of U.S. support to apartheid."

Two unionists on Central America

Continued from Page 17

ican labor movement ought to hear that message too.

I would close by saying that when we talk about the antiunion activities in these countries, there are three delegates in this hall today, Moe Biller of the Postal Workers, Vince Sombrotto of the Letter Carriers, and myself who are currently under prosecution from our government, our employer, because we simply advocate that 2.5 million workers ought to be involved in the political process of this country. [The three union presidents face 60-day suspensions from their government jobs for violating the Hatch Act during the 1984 elections.]

Now we saw the results in El Salvador. The union leaders down there are, as you noticed this morning — the leaders from that country are very young. [Two Salvadorans were among 24 Latin American

and Caribbean unionists introduced from the convention platform.] There are no old leaders left. The old ones have all been killed.

Here they harass Vinnie, Moe, and myself, but the message is the same. When we talk about union-busting, this government, this President Reagan and his henchmen and the people he represents, destroyed a union in this country simply because they advocated collective bargaining over pay and working conditions. That was all. But PATCO [air traffic controllers union] was destroyed.

So every fiber in my body that triggers my reflexes and my basic instincts says to me, if Ronald Reagan supports these efforts and if friends like the Coors family — who responded after Congress cut off money to the contras, then the Coors family and others started raising private funds — if these two people are for it, we damn well better be against it. Thank you.

South Africa muzzles media

The apartheid regime in South Africa wants to make certain that its mass murder of Blacks takes place in secret.

That is why it announced sweeping restrictions on South African and foreign journalists November 2. The measures bar television crews, photographers, and radio journalists from covering protests in areas covered by the state of emergency.

The new regulations require newspaper journalists to report to the local cops before entering an area covered by the emergency and to follow police instructions. They could be expelled from the area if they refuse a police escort.

Reporters who violate these restrictions face up to 10 years in prison and a maximum fine of \$10,000.

Reporters are already barred entirely from Soweto, the largest Black township in South Africa.

The government has also granted nationwide immunity from prosecution to cops and soldiers. Previously, immunity was formally granted only in areas covered by the emergency decree.

According to Bishop Desmond Tutu, 1,000 Blacks have been killed since the upsurge against apartheid began.

The *Sunday Tribune*, published in Durban, said November 3 that the army and police will now "be able to use all the awesome powers they have available without fear that any misuse will be unarguably captured by the camera."

The apartheid regime hopes that stifling news coverage will weaken the international anti-apartheid movement. In the United States, that movement has targeted the close political and military alliance between the U.S. government and the white racist regime.

Most of the U.S. big-business media present in South

Africa appear willing at this point to go along with the new censorship regulations.

Not all of the South African capitalist media are being so cooperative. On November 4 the *Cape Times* of Cape Town published a 3,600-word interview with Oliver Tambo, the president of the banned African National Congress. The ANC was outlawed in 1961 but has gained massive support among Blacks.

The interview, obtained in London, was the first full statement of ANC views to appear in the legal South African media in nearly 25 years.

"The *Cape Times* publishes the full interview as a contribution to peaceful solutions in South Africa," wrote editor Anthony Heard. Heard criticized the portrayal of the ANC as a "communist, terrorist-type organization, almost presented to the public as demons."

Publication of the interview was in defiance of South Africa's repressive laws.

Louis le Grange, minister of law and order, called for prosecution of Heard. And police informed him November 5 that he was subject to arrest for publishing the interview. Readers of the *Cape Times* "flooded the liberal Cape Town newspaper with congratulatory messages," reported the November 6 *Washington Post*.

The incident highlighted the deep divisions in the ruling circles of South Africa, and in the white population as a whole, in the face of the Black fight for freedom.

The murderous apartheid regime is trying to seal the Black freedom fighters off from the solidarity of democratic-minded people around the world, including democratic-minded South African whites.

The outrageous decision of the big-business media to cooperate with the censors makes it all the more important to continue the work of getting out the truth and mobilizing solidarity.

Cannon: Russian revolution changed the world

Following are excerpts from a speech given by James P. Cannon on November 8, 1942, to a meeting celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Bolshevik-led Russian revolution of November 7, 1917. Cannon spoke in defense of the Soviet Union, which was fighting a counterrevolutionary invasion by German imperialism during World War II.

Cannon was a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party who died in 1974. The speech is reprinted from *Speeches for Socialism*, which is available from Pathfinder Press for \$8.95, plus 75 cents for postage and handling.

The outbreak of the First World War in August 1914 demonstrated that capitalism, as an economic and social

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

system, had exhausted its progressive historic mission. The Russian revolution of November 1917 served notice that a more powerful class than the class of capitalists had come to maturity. The modern proletariat . . . took the offensive in the class battle that can only end in worldwide victory.

I can remember the dark days of the First World War, 1914-1918. Then as now, all the hopes for humanity's progress seemed to be drowned in the blood of war.

But the Russian revolution of November 7 changed all that overnight. At one blow, the revolution lifted the proletariat of Europe to its feet again. It stirred the hundreds of millions of colonial slaves. . . .

Here in the United States, the progressive sections of the socialist and labor movements were reinvigorated by the Russian revolution. For the first time we learned, from the example and teachings of Lenin and Trotsky and the leaders of the Russian revolution, the real meaning of a revolutionary party. . . .

The capitalist world surrounded and isolated the Soviet Union. For three years, 1918 to 1920, the revolution had to fight for its life in the civil war financed and supported by the world imperialists, and against the interventionist attempts in which the great majority of the capitalist powers participated. The economy of Russia, terribly backward when the war began, . . . was almost completely ruined in the war and the civil war which followed. Hunger and famine ravished the whole land, but the first workers' state survived all of that.

The revolution survived, but not without terrible cost. On the basis of the hunger and the scarcity and the backwardness and the isolation arose the reactionary, privileged bureaucracy, personified by Stalin. The crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy are known to everyone present here. They debased the theory which had guided the revolution. They destroyed the party that had made the revolution. They destroyed the soviets and the trade unions as self-acting organisms of the workers. They assassinated a whole generation of the leaders of the revolution.

But they haven't, in spite of all that, been able to kill the revolution. We know the full extent of the degeneration, but we also know the limits of the degeneration. We know that the basic conquests of the revolution, the nationalized industry and the planned production, remain at the base of the Soviet state.

The vitality of the revolution is demonstrated in every test. The Russian revolution proved for all time, in spite of bureaucratic mismanagement, the superiority of the Soviet system of planned economy over the capitalist system of private property and anarchy in production. The superiority of Soviet economy was first demonstrated . . . in that very period, after 1929, of the worldwide crisis of the capitalist nations. When capitalist economy was plunging down to unheard of depths of stagnation and demoralization . . . the Soviet revolution showed its power in a tremendous advance and development of industry.

That economic strength of the Soviet regime, and the strength of the revolutionary tradition, are being reflected now in the military field. The whole world has been surprised and astounded by the military prowess of the Red Army.

We know that the fate of the Soviet Union hangs in the balance, that it depends now, more than ever, on the world revolution of the proletariat and the colonial masses. But we have faith in the world revolution, and because of that, we retain our hope in the ultimate regeneration of the Soviet Union. We keep undimmed our faith that the world revolution will release humanity from this terrible vise of war and open up a new stage of progress on the way to the communist future. Because of that, here on the occasion of the 25th anniversary, as we celebrate the living revolution, we can still express the confident hope that the funeral of the Russian revolution, which so many renegades and traitors are announcing, will not merely be postponed, but will never take place.

Washington's Philippines game

Sen. Paul Laxalt's mission to the Philippines on behalf of Reagan last month was the subject of an October 16 *Washington Post* editorial. It pretty well summed up the prevailing view at the White House and on Capitol Hill in relation to the crisis of the Marcos dictatorship.

"The models of Iran and Nicaragua," the editorial said, "are much on the American mind: in those places a belated and uncertain American effort to steer a friendly authoritarian regime toward reform was overwhelmed by revolution with a bitter anti-American flavor."

The editorial tersely concluded: "No one — least of all Mr. Marcos — should be in the slightest doubt that President Reagan is determined to see democracy and the American connection endure."

The point about ensuring that "democracy" will endure is a sheer crock. But the point about "the American connection" summarizes Washington's real concern with total precision.

To even speak of preserving democracy in the Philippines is a shameless hoax. The token democracy that exists there is a thin cover for a brutally repressive and corrupt regime — one that Washington has supported from the outset.

Similarly with Iran and Nicaragua. Certainly Washington was deeply concerned with thwarting the revolutionary process in both countries but, again, not out of any concern for democracy. The dictatorship of the shah and Somoza were authentic U.S. products.

The "mistake" attributed to then President James Carter was that he failed to recognize soon enough that the shah and Somoza were finished.

But Carter's problem wasn't a lack of vision. It was a lack of a proimperialist political force in either Iran or Nicaragua that could be effectively counterposed to the powerful mass-based revolutionary forces that developed in those countries.

Washington's current counterrevolutionary strategy for saving its domination over the Filipino people faces the same big problem.

They realize the Marcos regime is living on borrowed time. If they believed he could ride out — and finally crush — the rising struggles of workers and peasants and the guerrilla war in large sections of the country, they would back him all the way. But seeing how chancy that is, they're busily looking for an alternative, some grouping of capitalist politicians capable of competing with the revolutionary forces for the allegiance of the Filipino people.

The brazen openness with which Washington is attempting to dictate the next moves in Philippine political life underscores its total contempt for the rights of the Filipino people. As far as Washington is concerned they have no right to determine their own destiny.

Nor is this simply a matter of racist, imperialist arrogance. They know full well that, if the Filipino workers and peasants succeed in winning self-determination, that means the end of U.S. domination.

In this country, everyone concerned with freedom, justice, and social progress should join in demanding an end to U.S. intervention in the Philippines. The military bases should be dismantled and Washington and Wall Street should get out.

'Blind justice' for Vietnamese

It was such a gross example of the racism that permeates this society that it earned a few columns in the capitalist media.

For two days, in Gainesville, Georgia, a Vietnamese stood trial for a murder that another Vietnamese had been charged with.

Two witnesses testified under oath that he was the killer. He was identified from the stand by the cop who had taken the other man's statement.

The court-appointed lawyer in the case had already offered to plead him guilty of a lesser charge when someone stumbled onto the fact that they had the wrong person in the dock.

Hen Van Nguyen, 21, had been sitting in the county jail since June on a theft charge when he was hauled into court October 23 to be tried on the murder charge brought against Nguyen Ngoc Tieu, who has also been held for four months.

During the trial, Sheriff Richard Mecum recalled, Nguyen kept pleading, "No, no, not me, not me." But, the sheriff added philosophically, "people say that all the time."

"We've got several fail-safe systems," he added, "and they all broke down."

Apparently the "fail-safe" systems don't operate too well when Asians, Blacks, or Latinos are involved. "It's like the colored race — most of them look exactly alike," said Jeff Wayne, who was district attorney for 33 years. "I've seen this happen before," he added.

How did the mistake occur? The two Vietnamese "looked alike" to all the whites concerned — cops, prosecutors, witnesses. And also the "defense" lawyer. He explained he had talked to his actual client — facing a murder charge — but once, six weeks prior to the trial. "There wasn't a whole lot to talk about," the lawyer said.

A mistrial was declared. Later this month, Tieu will face the murder trial and Nguyen, a theft trial.

Blacks, Latinos, Asians, and other oppressed minorities occupy death row cells across the country in numbers heavily disproportionate to their numbers in the population.

How many of them are there because "they look alike"?

'Kiss of Spider Woman' — provocative and enjoyable

BY HARRY RING

Kiss of the Spider Woman. Starring William Hurt and Raul Julia. Directed by Hector Babenco. From the novel by Manuel Puig. Made in English and shot on location in Brazil.

Really good movies tend to create controversy, and *Kiss of the Spider Woman* is that kind of movie.

In New York, it's been playing to capacity crowds, and most people seem to like it very much. But one friend told me it was anticommunist. Another said it was anti-gay.

I don't think it's either of these things. While hasten-

FILM REVIEW

ing to concede that, like many things in this world, it's not perfect, I do think it's an exceptionally good movie.

It's about two men in jail. One is a revolutionary, the other a homosexual.

Raul Julia plays Valentín, the revolutionary, and William Hurt plays Molina, the homosexual.

Julia provides a very good performance as the revolutionary, but he's overshadowed by Hurt's spectacular performance as the homosexual.

Spider Woman is the story of the complex relationship that develops between these two very different cellmates — different not simply in the sense that one is gay and the other straight, but in their makeup and personalities.

Molina can be silly and petty. But he's a very sensitive, creative person who relies heavily on a rich imagination to survive the blows he suffers as a gay in a repressive, homophobic society.

Valentín is a strong, resolute person, committed to his comrades of the underground.

(Actually, there's room for speculation as to whether he's a revolutionary in the fullest sense of the word or, rather, if he found himself involved with revolutionaries as a result of an act of human solidarity on behalf of a leader of the underground.)

Molina seeks refuge from the harshness of life in the make-believe world of film.

Valentín scolds Molina for his escapism, but finally succumbs to his marvelous skill as a storyteller and actor.

Simply indicating the two differing personalities suggests what I saw as the film's principal flaw.

Valentín, as the revolutionary, emerges as something of a stereotype.

He is an honest, dedicated person with a good mind. In addition, he has a not unreasonable quota of inhibitions and repressed emotions. He has a companion in the underground, but is torn by guilt because he continues to love a wealthy, beautiful woman with whom he had a relationship.

His initial negative response to Molina's imaginative storytelling and his attempts to repress his inner conflicts are developed in a way that suggests the stereotypical revolutionary. It contributes to the false notion that revolutionaries, by definition, are people who achieve their commitment at the expense of their capacity to give rein to their emotions and imagination.

Certainly, there are revolutionaries with Valentín's hang-ups and more. But that's a problem of the society we live in.

Alienation and the warping of human personalities is one of the most endemic features of capitalist society. Obviously, revolutionaries are not immune to this. But then, neither are nonrevolutionaries. If anything, it could be argued that with their generally greater understanding of the society we live in, revolutionaries are in a bit better position to cope with the problems that beset all of us.

The filmmaker is, of course, entitled to his view of revolutionaries. But the tendency to stereotype flaws the movie's artistic merit.

Molina's character is much more successfully drawn. The audience is attracted to him as a very complex but immensely human person. His sometimes affected mannerisms — perhaps the basis of the criticism that the film is antigay — are simply that, mannerisms.

Because Molina is so uniquely individual, I doubt that many leave the theater thinking, "That's the way

homosexuals are." But the depiction of Valentín could leave people with the idea, "That's the way revolutionaries are."

Members of the audience will have differing responses to particular things about Molina. Almost provocatively, he insists on recreating for Valentín a combat movie romance about a woman in the World War II French underground who lures a Nazi officer into an affair only to fall in love with him and decide he's really a noble person.

Early in the telling, Valentín spots this piece of tripe as a Nazi propaganda film and angrily berates Molina. Doesn't he know what the Nazis did to homosexuals?

With a flash of equal anger, Molina responds, "Of course I do!"

But Molina insists on enjoying the film as pure camp. Or, perhaps more precisely, enjoying his obviously superior recreation of it. He insists on the right to indulge his imagination without restraint.

Valentín finally gets him onto another film, "The Kiss of the Spider Woman." (To try to explain the meaning of the title could mean divulging the plot and, with its effectively developed suspense, that would be unfair to those who haven't seen it.)

Regarding the argument that the film is anticommunist, and putting aside the fact that I don't believe it is, I would offer one strongly held opinion. That is, simply, in terms of a film's artistic merit, the point of view of the filmmaker is beside the point. The only valid criterion for a creative work is the extent to which it succeeds in capturing and conveying an aspect of reality. That's without regard to form and without regard to the artist's opinion of that reality — be it a correct opinion or an incorrect one.

To insist otherwise about films with social themes would lead to the idea that only Marxists can create such works. I know that's reducing it to the proverbial absurdity, and that no one would argue for such a notion, but I do think that is the logic of it.

Meanwhile, I warmly recommend *Kiss of the Spider Woman*. I enjoyed it immensely, and it provided me with a lot of food for thought. These days that adds up to a pretty good movie.

LETTERS

Minn. SWP campaign

The September elections were described in the daily paper here in St. Paul, Minnesota, as "a primary contest that failed to generate voter interest." In Minneapolis it was called a "nonelection." The Twin Cities had a record low voter turnout — 6 percent for Minneapolis and 8 percent here.

One reason for this was that most candidates refused to discuss issues of concern to working people.

The Socialist Workers Party campaigns *did* address the serious problems facing Minnesotans. August Nimtz, the SWP candidate for mayor of Minneapolis, received 236 votes or 1.1 percent. Maggie McCraw received 318 votes or 3.1 percent of the vote for mayor of St. Paul. Due to undemocratic laws neither candidate will be on the ballot in the November general election.

Both candidates and their supporters were active in the movement against apartheid in South Africa. A number of those who participate in the anti-apartheid movement attended socialist election campaign rallies, and a representative of the African National Congress of South Africa youth organization shared the platform with the candidates at these rallies.

Nimtz and McCraw also campaigned for solidarity with striking Hormel packinghouse workers in Austin, Minnesota.

Jim Altenberg
St. Paul, Minnesota

Anti-apartheid

Two hundred anti-apartheid protesters picketed and rallied at the Federal Building in downtown Milwaukee on October 11. The action, sponsored by the Free South Africa Coalition, received broad endorsement and was the largest anti-apartheid protest to take place here so far this year.

Mayor Henry Maier issued a proclamation declaring October 11 Anti-apartheid Protest Day in Milwaukee. Similar resolutions were passed by the Milwaukee

Common Council and the County Board of Supervisors.

A featured speaker was Dr. Sibusiso Bengu, a Black South African minister who is secretary for social research and action for the Lutheran World Federation.

Other speakers included Congressman Jim Moody, Mary Hurrell from the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and Joan Zeiger, president of Milwaukee National Organization for Women.

The action capped off a successful week of anti-apartheid activities in the area. Three hundred people heard TransAfrica leader Randall Robinson debate a representative from the South Africa Foundation on October 7 at Marquette University. The debate was part of a week of activities on that campus. The South Africa Coalition there, which drew 150 students to its second organizational meeting, recently conducted a successful referendum on divestment in which 75 percent of the student body voted that Marquette should divest.

Following up on this successful week of anti-apartheid protests, 400 people rallied to protest a visit by Reagan to Milwaukee on October 15.

Sandi Sherman
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Nikki Giovanni

I read with great interest the recent "By Any Means Necessary" column on Black poet Nikki Giovanni's support of U.S. economic and political ties to South Africa.

Militant readers may be interested to know that, in response to many Blacks' outrage over her position on U.S. involvement in South Africa, Giovanni has recently — and defiantly — taken to wearing a Krugerrand on a watch her mother gave her. Giovanni wears this hated coin because "I'm not going to be intimidated in my views, and I wanted to make a statement."

What kind of statement is Giovanni making by wearing a

coin that symbolizes the oppression of South African Blacks?

U.S. sales of this hated coin contribute over \$180 million toward the maintenance of the South African racist regime.

As Charles Cobb of the United Church of Christ's Commission For Racial Justice points out, "Ms. Giovanni is not involving herself in informed dissent. She is engaging in an insolence that affects a situation which has caused the death of over 750 Blacks in just the past few months." This "insolence" gives support to a government that has repeatedly stated that it will remove some 42,000 Blacks to barren "homelands" against their will. Her "insolence" gives continued support to a government that recently hanged Benjamin Moloise, Black poet and freedom fighter. This "insolence" is a slap in the face to brothers and sisters in South Africa, who, in their vast majority, call for the breaking of all U.S. ties to the South African government.

Nikki's "insolence" is pro-imperialist and counterrevolutionary. What else can one call those that denounce those of us in the United States who organize support for the cause of freedom in South Africa?

What else can one call an "insolence" that tells Blacks in the United States to stop mounting protests against the South African government?

She bemoans the fact that she is being picketed and boycotted by many Blacks in this country. Well, Sis, you've earned it. I agree with Mr. Cobb when he says, "We are sure that if Winnie Mandela were no longer banned and banished, and could speak to Ms. Giovanni directly, she would echo this sentiment even more strongly."

Right on, Brother Cobb!
Mel Mason
New York, New York

González on Puerto Rico

I recently heard Andrea González, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York,



Militant/Bill Gretter

Correction. The caption on page 7 of last week's *Militant* incorrectly identified this photo from Nicaragua. It is a picture of a Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) news conference in Managua on October 17 explaining the unions' support for the government's state of emergency decree. From left to right are: Alberto Sequiera, representative of FETSALUD, the health workers' union; Edgardo García, general secretary of the Rural Workers Association; and Lucio Jiménez, general secretary of the CST.

speak out against FBI terrorism in Puerto Rico at a Militant Labor forum here. She explained that Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States and that Puerto Ricans have no say about how their island is run.

She exposed the role of the U.S. Navy, Army, and Air Force on the island and how they've used Puerto Rico to practice invasions of Grenada, Cuba, and Nicaragua. González outlined the problems that U.S. imperialism caused the island's agriculture, driving small farmers to the U.S. as migrant farm workers at the same time that Puerto Rico has to import food. She counterposed this to what the Nicaraguan government has done to help farmers get land and produce.

Halkett Allen
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

October 11

Universities in Oregon broadly participated in the October 11 week of anti-apartheid activities. Campus speakers included local

activists as well as Angela Davis and Bobby Seale.

The Friday, October 11 edition of the Portland State University newspaper, *The Vanguard*, printed front-page coverage of the activities. The article also invited students to the Oct. 12 anti-apartheid demonstration in downtown Portland.

However, PSU students never saw that newspaper. Although the printers dropped off 10,000 copies at the usual pick up point, the university staff announced that all of the papers had been stolen.

Student leaders at PSU told local media that the theft could have been politically motivated.

Janet Post
Portland, Oregon

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.

N.Y. cops face homicide charges

Trial shows extensive cover-up of Michael Stewart's murder

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

NEW YORK — The cover-up of the racist cop murder of Michael Stewart is unraveling in a courtroom here. As the trial of six transit cops charged with criminally negligent homicide, assault, and perjury enters its eighth week, the extent of the cover-up — reaching beyond the cops to the district attorney, the chief medical examiner, and possibly the mayor — is being demonstrated.

Stewart, a Black man, 25, was arrested by transit cops in September 1983 for allegedly drawing graffiti on a subway station wall. After his arrest, Stewart was taken from the subway to a nearby street and beaten by the cops. He was then taken to Bellevue Hospital. By the time he arrived there, he had stopped breathing. He was revived in the emergency room, but died 13 days later without ever regaining consciousness.

The trial of six cops that began in New York State Superior Court in July is the result of a two-year fight by the Stewart family and civil rights activists for justice in this case.

The cover-up began within hours of the murder when Chief Medical Examiner Elliot Gross issued an autopsy report that claimed Stewart had died of spontaneous cardiac arrest. Gross claimed, at the time, that there was no evidence of physical injury that could have caused death.

Protests by the Stewart family and others compelled Gross to issue a new autopsy report. This time he stated that a spinal cord injury had led to the cardiac arrest. Gross has now admitted that due to the "sensitive" nature of the case, he had consulted with District Attorney Robert Morgenthau and Mayor Edward Koch before performing the autopsy.

Medical Examiner Gross is currently under investigation by the state and the city on charges of misconduct stemming from the cover-up of the Michael Stewart case.

In light of the second autopsy report and the publicity surrounding it, the district attorney's office was forced to convene a grand jury to investigate the murder. In October 1984, three of the cops involved were indicted for manslaughter.

One member of this grand jury, Ronald Fields, charged that the district attorney was "covering up" for the cops. He carried out his own investigation of the murder, which was critical to winning the indictment on manslaughter charges. The courts, however, seized on Fields' independent investigation to dismiss the indictments against the cops. They crookedly contended Fields had gone beyond his duty as a grand juror.

Under continuing pressure, the district attorney convened a second grand jury in February of this year. This grand jury indicted three cops on the lesser charges of criminally negligent homicide and assault. Three other cops were indicted for perjury in the case.

District Attorney Morgenthau has been accused by Black rights activists of consciously seeking less serious charges against the cops. Louis Clayton Jones, an attorney for the Stewart family, characterized these indictments as a "charade." He told the press that "Michael Stewart was murdered. Nobody has been charged with his murder."

The district attorney's role in the cover-up was revealed once again during the trial. One witness to the cop beating of Stewart, Robert Rodriguez, testified that he had been told by a prosecutor "to take a vacation until this whole thing blows over."

In the course of the trial, numerous witnesses have come forward to testify to the brutal cop beating of Stewart. They have told the court that they saw the cops kick Stewart and heard him cry out for help and beg the cops to stop beating him.

One such witness was Dr. Annmarie Crocetti. She told the court that she saw two cops kick Stewart in the midsection as he lay face down on the sidewalk. Shortly afterwards, she said, the cops "picked up the body and carried it a few feet — close enough to the van to be thrown in."

By the time Stewart arrived at Bellevue Hospital he was in cardiac arrest. Lillian Conrad, a nurse on duty in the emergency room, told the court that she noticed that Stewart had several abrasions, discolorations on the wrists and neck, and two swollen blue splotches that extended above his eyes to his temples. Attempts to revive and treat Stewart were delayed, she testified, when the cops "couldn't find the key" to the handcuffs holding his arms behind his back.

The defense has tried to claim that Stewart was in a drunken frenzy — that he fell down and injured himself "resisting arrest."

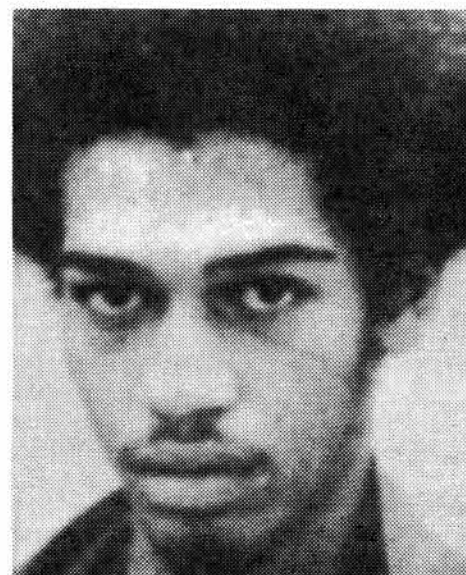
The cops, they claim, did no more than restrain him.

Despite the cops' claim of uncontrolled drunkenness, witnesses, including the subway token booth clerk, have testified that Stewart was calm when he was being brought out of the subway by the cops.

Cardiologist Thomas Graboys, a Harvard Medical School professor, has testified that "there's just no way" for a generally healthy young man like Stewart to have "spontaneously had a cardiac arrest." He told the court that the level of alcohol in Stewart's blood could not have prompted the cardiac arrest.

"The direct precipitant of the cardiac arrest," Graboys told the court, "was blows to the body, or more specifically, around the back, sides, and chest."

Graboys estimates that Stewart went into cardiac arrest at the scene of the beating even before he was thrown into the cops' van.



Michael Stewart was beaten to death by New York transit cops in 1983.

Solidarity grows in steel union

BY JIM LITTLE

CHICAGO — About 150 members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) threw up a picket line in front of the driveway of Wire Cloth Products. They came from all over USWA District 31 in Chicago and northern Indiana.

This October 29 demonstration of solidarity for beleaguered USWA Local 7240 was led by District Director Jack Parton and involved dozens of locals.

The strike at Wire Cloth is entering its third month. The winter is coming on fast. The company has refused to negotiate. They hold to their first and final offer, which in the eyes of the 60 workers employed at Wire Cloth amounts to slave labor conditions. The workers make between \$5 and \$8 an hour.

The most unacceptable demand of the company, according to Jack Parton, is an innovation where the boss could choose certain workers to be "lead" people. The "lead" people would then have super seniority. This would in effect nullify the union-controlled seniority system.

The strikers feel they are fighting for the whole union. This was the sentiment on the picket line that morning as the local police escorted scabs' cars over lawns and empty lots to get into the company parking lot. The strikers expressed gratitude for the solidarity and show of strength. Their spirit was infectious to the other steelworkers, all of whom face uncertain, tough times in their own plants.

There were lots of chants and shouts. The scabs had hell to pay from the taunts of the pickets. Many of the strikers are women — Black and white. Some would yell at the male scabs entering the plant, "Shame on you. Do you tell your mother what you do?"

After marching for two hours, the strikers and supporters gathered in the backyard of one of the strike leaders, Willie Mae Nunn, who lives across the street from the plant. Nunn, a Black woman, has opened the doors of her home to the strikers. It is an organizing center for the strike, a coffee stop, and a place to keep warm.

At a short, spirited rally addressed by Jack Parton and Bob Murillo, who is the director of USWA sub-districts 4 and 8, the workers chanted and cheered. "Now we're real steelworkers," they shouted.

Then the crowd caravanned to another strike — at Groen's, in Elk Grove Village. There supporters joined strikers to walk the line and then gathered around a wood-burning oil drum to warm themselves and hold another short rally.

The theme of solidarity spilled over to

the District 31 Women and Civil Rights Conference held November 1 in Harvey, Illinois.

In a special tribute to the striking USWA members, Jack Parton pledged that District 31 members would give whatever support they could — "financial, moral, and physical." He said there was "a woman we all remember from labor history — Norma Rae." He then pointed to the "present-day Norma Rae, a woman who sees the strike as her own fight, Willie Mae Nunn."

Six workers from Wire Cloth were taken off the line so they could attend this conference. They were introduced by Parton to the entire conference.

There was a particularly moving display

Unionists build November 9 N.J. anti-apartheid march

BY ELOISE LINGER

AVENAL, N.J. — "C'mere, brother, I want to make you an honorary soul brother. It'll cost you a dollar and you wear this button for three weeks." I heard one worker say this to another at the General Dynamics plant here, where I work.

At a nearby bench another worker said, "We're selling this button to raise money for the big anti-apartheid march in Newark on November 9. Our union is for freedom in South Africa. All the unions, religious groups — all sorts of groups — are sponsoring this march." A couple more people pulled dollars out of their pockets and pinned on the buttons, which have a green map of Africa on a red background.

Scenes like these are being repeated thousands of times in New Jersey shops, plants, and offices. Union members have been selling buttons and distributing leaflets on the job and in their neighborhoods, churches, and shopping areas.

As soon as the buttons were issued the Civil Rights Council of United Auto Workers Region 9 took 500. They sold out almost immediately at Hyatt-Clark (Local 736), Ford-Edison (Local 980), and General Dynamics (Local 1035). Council members then got another 2,000 buttons and sold them at the General Motors plant in Linden (Local 595), Bendix Corp. in Teterboro (Local 153), and Fisher Body in Trenton (Local 731).

At General Dynamics, where there are about 250 union members working days, we sold our first 100 by the end of the after-

noon break. Assembly bench hands, the lowest-paid workers in the plant, led the sales effort. Nearly every single union member in that department was wearing a button by 2 p.m.

Bosses walked through, staring uncomfortably at the sea of buttons. Buttons were on caps, shirtsleeves, belts, or shirts. It was a great sight and we felt good about having done something together.

Union members — sometimes alone, sometimes in pairs — sold buttons by approaching cars going into the plant, walking through the cafeteria, or keeping visible bags of buttons at their benches. Others wore the button when they went shopping or out to eat, having on hand extras to sell to any who wanted them. Twenty-five members of my local have each taken anywhere from 5 to 100 buttons to sell.

One day in the cafeteria I saw that the cashier (not a union member) had a button. I asked her if she would like a few to sell. She answered that another member of the civil rights committee of the union had already given her 25 of his 100 to sell.

Our local was one of the first in the state to endorse the march. At a recent meeting we voted money for making a banner to be carried by our local at the demonstration.

At work there are discussions of what is happening in South Africa. A welder said he couldn't understand how people could just go out and get shot by the cops. "Why don't they get guns and fight back?"

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