

## S. African rulers arrest Mandela, raid independent Black nations

### Regime wants to kill her, she warns

BY FRED FELDMAN

The racist South African government has taken new repressive steps against Winnie Mandela, a leader of the anti-apartheid struggle. They are seeking to force her to return to exile in the remote village of Brandfort where she was recently the victim of an assassination attempt.

Mandela was arrested December 30 for defying a government order that she give up her family home in Soweto and move to another part of the country. It was her second arrest on this charge.

Mandela was released on bail and ordered not to return to Soweto. If convicted, she faces up to three years in prison.

The arrest occurred when police stopped her car as it entered the city limits. One cop tried to wrench her two-year-old grandson out of her arms, banging the child's head against the car door. Another attempted to drag her out of the car.

"Don't touch me," Mandela said. "Don't do what you have done before."

When Mandela was arrested on the same charge December 22 a dozen cops burst into her home. They assaulted her, damaged furniture, and attempted to smash the bedroom door. Mandela suffered a sprained ankle and bruises.

Reporters who observed the assault were also arrested.

"I am charged with a crime that does not exist in most of the democratic civilized world — being at home," Mandela declared.

Winnie Mandela has been living in Soweto since August when her house in Brandfort, 250 miles from Johannesburg, was destroyed by a gasoline bomb. The would-be assassins are widely believed to have been linked to the South African government. No arrests have been made. The regime banished Mandela to Brandfort in 1977.

She has been proclaimed a banned person by the South African government. Her movements are subject to tight restrictions, and she may not publish anything or be quoted in the press. Until recently, she could not be in the company of more than one person at a time.

After visiting Nelson Mandela, her hus-



Funeral for victims of South Africa's latest attacks on neighboring Lesotho

band, in prison December 25, Winnie Mandela reported that the regime is stepping up pressure on the leader of the outlawed African National Congress, who has been in jail since 1962.

"He is now held in solitary confinement under the pretext that he is in prison hospital," she said. "This is nothing more than further harassment."

Since moving to Soweto, Winnie Mandela has defied the regime by speaking at a memorial meeting for victims of apartheid in Mamelodi, near the capital city of Pretoria, and by giving news conferences.

The government initially ordered her to

return to Brandfort. Mandela states that returning to this isolated area would lead to new assassination attempts against her. Death squads linked to the government are suspected in a growing list of murders and disappearances of anti-apartheid fighters.

"I told the police when they called yesterday that they had tried to kill me in their version of a prison and I was not going to help them try again. I would refuse to collaborate in my own suicide."

The regime attempted to cover up its attack by announcing eased restrictions on her December 21. It said she could live

Continued on Page 11

### Foes of apartheid murdered

BY GEORGE KAPLAN

The racist regime in South Africa is stepping up massacres, attacks, and threats against neighboring African countries.

On December 20, South African commandos invaded Maseru, the capital of Lesotho. They assassinated nine people, six South African exiles and three citizens of Lesotho.

Lesotho is a country of 1.7 million people surrounded on all sides by South Africa.

According to eyewitnesses cited in the December 21 *Washington Post*, 10 commandos "burst into a house where seven Black refugees were holding a Christmas party and killed the four women and three men with 9-mm automatic pistols fitted with silencers."

"From there, according to Lesotho police, the commandos moved to an apartment a mile away where they shot and killed a mixed-race South African refugee, Joe Quinn, and his white wife, Jacqueline."

On December 29 the six refugees were buried with honors as martyrs of the African National Congress (ANC). U.S. and other diplomatic personnel attended the ceremonies.

"Britain and America are responsible for this," said Henry Fazzie, an officer of the United Democratic Front, the coalition of anti-apartheid organizations that has led many of the recent protests in South Africa. He was referring to the continuing U.S. and British government support to the racist regime.

In 1982 South African troops slaughtered 42 people in Maseru, claiming that they were ANC guerrillas.

The Lesotho government says that it respects the right of asylum for anti-apartheid fighters, and allows no guerrilla actions from its territory.

Swaziland, a country of 600,000 people bordered on three sides by South Africa, was another target of South African aggression.

Swazi villagers reported that South African border patrols had crossed over into Swaziland on December 24 and 25. The villagers said the patrols threatened to attack them if they supported anti-apartheid guerrillas.

And on December 2, South African troops began a new invasion of Angola. It was the third invasion since April, when the racist regime announced its withdrawal from the West African country after occupying southern Angola for five months.

Angola borders Namibia, a country occupied and ruled as a colony by South Africa. The apartheid regime uses charges that Angola aids Namibian freedom fighters as a pretext for attacking Angola.

Some 4,000 South African troops, backed by armored cars and helicopters, participated in the invasion. They are seeking to aid the terrorist bands of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

UNITA is armed and financed by the apartheid regime. It seeks to topple the Angolan government, proposes to accept South African dominance in the region, and opposes the anti-apartheid struggle.

Continued on Page 11

## U.S., Israel use airport attacks as pretext to set up Libya, PLO

Washington and Tel Aviv are cynically exploiting the recent shoot-outs at the Rome and Vienna airports as a pretext for possible military blows against Libya. The

### EDITORIAL

Palestine Liberation Organization, which no one seriously argues was involved, may also be targeted for new attack.

At Israeli check-in areas in the Rome and Vienna airports, a reported 13 people died and 113 were wounded December 27

when armed men fired guns and detonated hand grenades. In Vienna, an official indicated, the men shot at passengers after police opened fire on them. Four of the men involved in the two incidents were killed by police and three were wounded and captured.

The White House and State Department have warned that some kind of military action against Libya is being weighed.

In a bristling statement, White House spokesperson Larry Speakes declared it was U.S. government policy that "if you can find terrorists, seek them out and hit those responsible for it."

It was indicated that other governments would be enlisted for a possible military strike against Libya.

The Libyan government branded the publicly voiced threats against it as evidence of intended "joint aggression against Libya by the American military machine and by Israel."

The airport incidents were sharply condemned by PLO chairman Yassir Arafat. He assailed them as "terrorist acts that we condemn."

He said such actions were aimed not at combating the Zionist oppressors of the Palestinian people, "but at hurting innocent civilians . . . and to harm the reputation of our Arab nation and the Palestinian struggle."

While condemning such attacks against civilians, Arafat vowed the PLO would continue "armed struggle against Israeli occupation."

Continued on Page 14

## Mali attacks Burkina revolution

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Burkina's popular, anti-imperialist revolution is under direct attack.

On the morning of December 25, troops and tanks from the neighboring West African country of Mali invaded Burkina and seized a number of localities. Malian planes bombed villages and towns, some as far as 70 miles from the border. Grain depots were destroyed, and civilians were killed.

Burkinabè troops and militia members responded and within a few days succeeded in retaking most of the villages that had been seized. The Burkinabè air force likewise struck at military targets inside Mali.

Several cease-fires were declared during the first days of the war, but were quickly broken by the Malian authorities. On De-

cember 28, Malian planes bombed four provincial capitals. The next day another cease-fire was proclaimed.

The government of Mali, headed by Gen. Moussa Traoré, has sought to portray Burkina as the aggressor. This has been echoed by the big-business news media in the United States and other imperialist countries. In addition, the war is presented as a squabble over a disputed 90-mile stretch of land along the border.

But Burkina's president, Thomas Sankara, called the Malian attack an attempt to open the way toward "the overthrow of Burkina's popular government." He noted that exiled opponents of the Burkinabè revolution, based in both Mali and the Ivory Coast, were preparing to attack as well.

Continued on Page 13



# Reaction to 'Militant' at 'employee-owned' plant

BY PAT WRIGHT

CLARK, N.J. — General Motors' Hyatt Roller Bearing plant here was sold to its employees in 1981 through the federally sanctioned Employee Stock Ownership Plan, known as ESOP. GM cited decreased demand for bearings and "high labor costs" as its reasons for selling the plant.

The sale was contingent upon the membership of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 736 at

Hyatt Roller Bearing.

The first few times we went to the gate we were harassed by the police, company, and some of the workers. We waged a political fight with the police over the right to stand on the sidewalk and sell to workers driving through the plant gate in their cars. The police would come to watch us, saying we couldn't "obstruct traffic." Eventually they backed off.

Each week we were greeted by

ryone who came through the gate would see it.

We thought that since people had not read the *Militant* before, we would introduce the paper with a one-day blitz of free copies of back issues with a leaflet attached explaining that the paper was a socialist one put out by and for workers.

We hung a sign which read "Stop for your free copy of the *Militant* newspaper." Thirty copies were passed out this way.

Every week after that we tried to have a sign on some political topic. People were curious and read the sign. We began selling one or two papers every couple of weeks. If interest in political events was high, we would sell more. For instance, when Washington stepped up its aggression against Nicaragua, we had a sign opposing U.S. intervention in Central America and sold five papers. When the police in Philadelphia dropped the bomb on the MOVE house, we sold four papers to Black workers.

While some workers gave the *Militant* a try, others remained unhappy with our presence at the plant.

One week a worker began a tirade against communists. He ripped down our sign and claimed

he knew a lot of other workers inside the plant who wanted to beat us up. The security guard joined him and used this incident to say we could no longer have our signs on the gate.

Sales are harder without the sign. Many weeks we were only able to give out a few leaflets, but even this proved fruitful. During the 1984 U.S. presidential election campaign one woman worker sent in a donation to the socialist campaign after receiving a campaign leaflet at the gate. She later came to a forum and a campaign rally where she brought others with her.

A Black worker began buying the *Militant* every time we saw him. Once he defied the security guard who hassled him for blocking traffic. He would stop, chat, and buy a paper even with horns honking behind him. He told us that the employee ownership at Hyatt was a sham, and that the workers actually sacrificed a lot. The workers, he said, had no say in running the plant. We sold him a subscription during the recent *Militant-Perspectiva Mundial* subscription drive.

In the week leading up to the November 9 anti-apartheid demonstration in Newark we sold two *Militants*, including one to an official in the union.

Since then our team has not

been able to make the sale every week because of changes in our work schedules. But we make it as much as possible. Socialist sales teams are now accepted by many. Some weeks we still don't sell any papers. But we don't hear "commie go back to Russia" much.

The night team that sells at Hyatt at the end of the second shift has had a little different experience. Their sales have been to a younger crew with more Black and Latino workers. For several months they averaged two or three papers a week. One week they sold nine. But when layoffs came around two months ago, many of these workers were the first to go and sales went down to zero.

Now workers at Hyatt are being asked to make still more sacrifices to help the plant they supposedly own. On the Friday before Christmas, 1,100 workers were laid off without a recall date. The Hyatt board of directors approved the sale of the plant to LSB, an Oklahoma City bearings producer.

But GM has to also approve the purchase and a new contract with the union still has to be negotiated.

One person told us that workers are angry, frustrated, and confused. They don't know who will own the plant, how much more they'll have to give up, or if they'll even have a job in the new year.

## SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

Hyatt ratifying a new contract. The workers made great sacrifices to keep the plant open. They took a 30 percent pay cut. Hundreds were laid off, benefits slashed, and cost-of-living adjustments were eliminated. Even though they remained members of the UAW, they were no longer covered by the national auto contract.

For well over a year now, Socialist Workers Party members from New Jersey and New York have been selling the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*, at

a few workers who shouted anti-communist remarks such as, "commies go back to Russia where you belong." Some workers who took the "employee ownership" to heart would yell "commie get off my property." Two of us who are Black women received some vile racist and sexist comments.

We didn't sell any papers for several weeks. Occasionally someone would slow down to take a leaflet. We decided then to hang a sign on the gate entrance as a way of identifying ourselves and what we stood for. That way eve-

## Oregon socialists announce senatorial candidate

BY JANET POST

PORTLAND, Ore. — The Socialist Workers Party here has chosen Amy Husk as its candidate for U.S. senator in the November 1986 election.

A garment worker at the Pendleton Woolen Mills, Husk is a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

She is also a member of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and chairperson of the Portland Young Socialist Alliance.

Announcement of her campaign came in the wake of the most serious attack yet on women's health clinics and abortion facilities here. Last month, mail bombs were sent to the Feminist Women's Health Center, Lovejoy Surgicenter, Planned Parenthood, and Dr. Peter Bour's clinic. Explosives — designed to kill — were discovered before detonation.

So far, Husk is the only senatorial candidate to speak out against these terrorist acts. In a press statement, she declared them "one more step in a decade-long campaign of harassment and violence" against abortion clinics around the country.

She charged that the ultraright perpetrators of this violence are emboldened by the persistent refusal of officials, federal

and local, to act decisively against them. "They stand idly by while clinic after clinic is set ablaze," she declared.

She called for "the immediate arrest and prosecution of antiabortion terrorists."

Contenders for the senatorial seat include incumbent Bob Packwood, a Republican who favors legal abortion, and Rev. Joe Lutz, an ultraright Republican. They are contending for their party's nomination this spring. So far, there is one Democratic candidate, Rick Bauman.

Leaders of Oregon NOW and other women's rights groups are supporting Packwood, citing his position on abortion.

He is being targeted by the right-wing "right-to-lifers."

One such group, "Advocates for Life," has moved its headquarters to Oregon for the 1986 elections.

The group says it will provide over one-half million dollars for the campaign by Lutz. He's calling for an end to abortion rights, opposition to sanctions against the racist South African regime, and the dispatch of U.S. troops to Nicaragua.

The right-wingers are also collecting petition signatures for a referendum to eliminate all public funding of abortions in Oregon.

NOW has formally endorsed Pack-

wood's campaign and recommends that national NOW's political action committee do likewise.

Husk noted that while Packwood has voted in favor of legalized abortion, he has as yet been silent about the attempted bomb murders at the abortion clinics.

She expressed her conviction that it was self-defeating for NOW to support Packwood, or any other candidate of the Republican and Democratic Parties.

The continuing attack on women's rights, she said, "is part of a package, going hand-in-hand with the attacks on the rights of Blacks, Latinos, and the entire working class."

This reactionary offensive, she added, is directly related to Washington's role abroad. "That includes the U.S.-sponsored war against the Nicaraguan people, the ill-disguised support to the racist regime in Pretoria, and Israeli aggression against the Arab peoples of the Mideast."

All of this, Husk insisted, is carried through by both major parties on behalf of the big-business rulers of this country to whom both are beholden.

To beat back this pro-employer drive, she said, demands massive action by women's rights fighters, oppressed nationalities, and organized labor.

"An effective fightback on these issues,"

Husk argued, "necessarily means a confrontation with both capitalist parties. That's why it's counterproductive to support any of their candidates, even when they dissent from their party on one or another particular issue, as with Packwood on abortion rights."

Outlining her own positions, Husk spoke of her recent visit to Nicaragua and the broad support for the Sandinista government by the workers and peasants there.

Working people in this country, she declared, have absolutely no stake in the CIA-directed war against Nicaragua, "one that could bring the direct use of GIs."

"I demand that the U.S. government end its support to the apartheid regime and that U.S. corporations get out of South Africa," she said.

Husk also urged maximum support to the slated national abortion rights demonstrations. NOW is building a nationwide action in Washington on March 9 and an action in Los Angeles March 16.

She stressed the special importance of involving unions in these actions, along with Black and Latino organizations.

Announcement of the socialist campaign brought media coverage. Husk's press conference was covered by the Portland *Oregonian* and given time by two TV and four radio stations.

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Editor: MALIK MIAH

Managing editor:

MARGARET JAYKO

Business Manager:

LEE MARTINDALE

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

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# Gov't ruling against Massey Co. hailed by miners' union

BY HENRY SAMS

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — Following a National Labor Relations Board ruling that all A.T. Massey Coal Co. affiliates are part of a single company, the United Mine Workers of America has called an end to its 15-month strike at Massey Coal mines. Miners have not yet begun to return to work.

Massey's owners, however, are claiming that they do not have to allow all the strikers to return to work and that the company is not bound by the terms of the 1984 contract the union signed with coal companies that make up the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association (BCOA).

"The strike is over, and the UMW members, their families, and the people of Southern West Virginia and Eastern Kentucky have won. Therefore, I am directing all UMW members currently on strike against the A.T. Massey Coal Co. to return to work unconditionally," Richard Trumka, president of the miners' union, announced at a news conference here December 20.

The strike began after Massey refused to sign the no-concessions agreement the union had negotiated with the companies that make up the BCOA. Massey demanded that the union carry out separate negotiations at each of its mines, claiming that they were owned independently.

The separate-ownership scam was part of the drive by the coal operators to force the union to accept concessions at some mines and to expand nonunion mining in the heart of Appalachian coalfields.

Massey itself is owned by Royal Dutch Shell and Fluor Corporation. Miners have pointed out that both these companies have extensive operations in racist South Africa.

At the news conference Trumka said that all Massey affiliates are now obliged to abide by the terms of the 1984 contract. Two Massey subsidiaries, Omar Mining Co. and Vesta Coal Co., signed that agreement. The union's position is that if a single Massey affiliate signs the contract, it signs for all Massey affiliates. That position rests on the precedents set in the 1978 and 1981 national coal negotiations. Omar Mining signed those contracts for at least 13 other Massey mining companies.

The NLRB ruling that Massey must bargain as a common employer for its complex network of companies and subsidiaries is an important step forward for the union. This issue has been at the center of the strike. But many of the other issues that have been in dispute are not settled.

Company President E. Morgan Massey released a statement saying that "those in-

dividuals who are on strike and who make an effort to return to work will do so without a UMW contract and will be required to come back under the terms and conditions of employment offered by the companies.

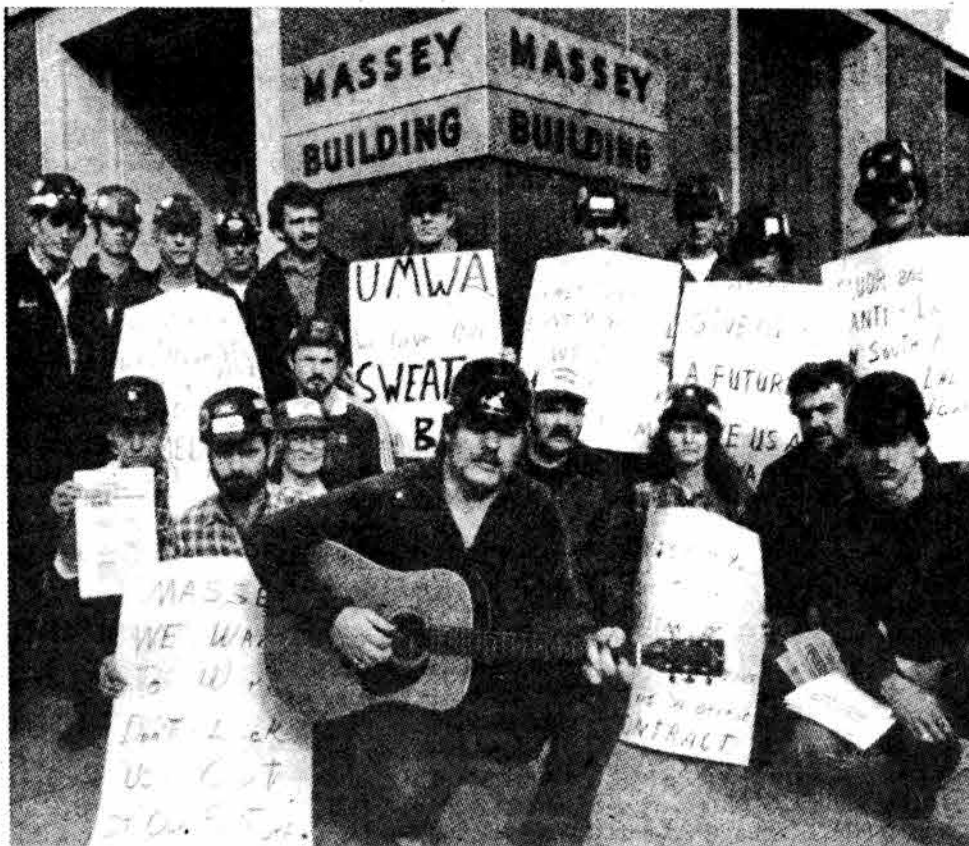
"Those terms and conditions are different from the ones contained in the 1984 National Bituminous Coal Wage Agreement," he continued.

One of the major job issues in dispute is the right of union miners laid off at one Massey mine to become part of the "job panel." That gives them recall rights at other Massey mines. The union's position is that the job panel helps protect the ability of union members to keep working in the layoff-ridden coal industry. Massey wants to abolish the panel altogether.

During the long strike Massey tried to continue mining and hauling coal with scabs. An army of gun thugs was hired to patrol Massey property and to try to intimidate strikers on picket lines and in the surrounding communities. Local and state cops were also marshalled to harass pickets and help the scabs.

Hours of videotape of pickets were taken by the thugs and cops. Now Massey will use that film to try to keep many strikers from returning to work. According to the company, the National Labor Relations Board settlement "does not in any way interfere with the companies' right to refuse to reinstate any striker who has engaged in strike misconduct or violence."

Company threats to keep a substantial number of union miners from returning to work were amplified in comments by a Massey official who told the *Charleston Gazette* that only half of the 500 striking union members employed at Rawl Sales and Processing Co. would be allowed to re-



United Mine Workers Journal/Marat Moore  
Striking members of the mine workers' union demonstrating in front of A.T. Massey Co. office in Richmond, Virginia, in December 1984.

turn to work.

The union says that under the terms of the "unfair labor practice" ruling by the National Labor Relations Board, the company must take all the workers back.

Over the next month it will become clearer how many miners will be able to go back to work and under what conditions. UMW locals involved in the strike have been holding meetings to discuss the next steps in the struggle.

If Massey refuses to live up to the 1984 contract or to take all the workers back, the union says it will press its case in the courts. However, Trumka noted that when the union files charges against the company with the National Labor Relations Board "it takes decades for them to move on it."

It is clear that solidarity with UMW miners at Massey remains important. The

union there has already received considerable support.

Auto workers from Detroit came to the area in a 217-vehicle caravan last summer. Members of the National Union of Mineworkers in South Africa have visited the picket lines to express solidarity. UMW members from many different parts of the country have come to the aid of the strikers. These actions, along with massive mobilizations of UMW members last spring, helped spur the strike on.

During the course of the fight Massey sold three of its West Virginia subsidiaries to companies that signed the BCOA agreement. It has closed down three other mines.

Massey sought to test the will of the UMW and force it into submission. So far, the determination of the ranks of the union has prevented that.

## Union tribute to mine fire victims

BY CECELIA MORIARITY

PRICE, Utah — Several hundred people gathered December 19 at the dedication of a United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) monument to the victims of the Wilberg mine fire one year ago.

Richard Trumka, president of the miners' union, dedicated the black granite monument to the miners from UMW Local 2176 who were killed. It will "serve as a constant reminder of events and as a tribute to the fine coal miners who needlessly died," he said. Nineteen union miners and eight company personnel were killed. The site of the monument and

memorial park is at the side of the road to the Wilberg mine, some 40 miles from here.

The UMW dedication was in marked contrast to a memorial service held in September by officials of the Utah Power and Light Co., which owns the mine, and Emery Mining Corp., which operates it. At that dedication the governor of Utah and company officials implied that the disaster was an "act of God" and should be "put behind us."

Trumka countered the line of the company and government by stating that the miners died needlessly and that the fire was a result of a failure by the company to com-

ply with existing safety laws.

Trumka pointed out that more than 100,000 miners have died in the last century. Mine safety laws came about because miners and their union "cried 'enough,'" Trumka said. He demanded that the government enact further legislation to improve safety conditions in the mines.

The union had declared December 19 a memorial day for the three mines owned by Utah Power and Light. As a result many miners did not work that day. Miners from the UMW locals at the Deer Creek and Des-Bee-Dove mines were at the dedication, along with the families, friends, and coworkers of the victims. Miners from other UMW locals in the region were also there. Two busloads of retired miners and their families came from Price.

Members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and other unions, as well as members of the Lady Coal Miners of Utah, a women miners' support group, also attended.

Mike Dalpiaz, president of UMW District 22, opened the dedication saying it was "a day to pledge we will never forget what happened a year ago." He introduced other officers from the UMW International, including Vice-president Cecil Roberts and Secretary-treasurer John Banovic.

Also attending was the president of the Utah AFL-CIO.

Ron Carpenter, a member of Local 2176, paid tribute to his former crew members saying, "We need to strive for better and safer working conditions so that another tragedy doesn't take place."

Trumka read off the names of the victims that have been inscribed on the monument and called on everyone to work together to make the Wilberg disaster the "last coal mine disaster in American history."

A reception was held at the Local 2176 hall following the dedication.

Cecelia Moriarity is a member of UMW Local 2176 and works at the Wilberg mine.

## Ga. Blacks demand prosecution of killer cop

BY KATE DAHER

TIFTON, Ga. — "We aren't going to stand by and see our Black brothers and Black sisters get slaughtered," declared Robert Flanagan, Georgia state president of the NAACP. He was speaking to nearly 100 demonstrators at the county courthouse in this south Georgia town December 14. They were protesting the government's refusal to prosecute a cop who killed a young Black man on September 30.

Robert Lee Wright, Jr., 22 years old, was shot in neighboring Ashburn by police officer Scotty Ireland as Wright fled a probation-revocation hearing.

No warning shots were fired. Wright died in an alley across the street from the courthouse from a bullet wound in the back.

Two nights of rebellion followed this racist killing. City officials responded by calling in Georgia Bureau of Investigation agents and state troopers and imposing a curfew on the town.

Ireland is suspended with pay during investigations into the killing. He is well-known in Ashburn for his racist treatment

of Blacks.

One witness to Wright's arrest prior to the probation hearing said that Ireland — who was the arresting officer — taunted the young man into running. "Get out. Run," he said. "I want to shoot you anyway."

Pressured by the public outcry, Turner County District Attorney David Perry had originally promised that he would act on any findings of the coroner's jury in the case.

Both that jury and an independent investigation by the NAACP found reasonable cause to indict Ireland for Wright's death.

But when the coroner's jury found reasonable cause to indict the cop for manslaughter, District Attorney Perry did a complete about-face. He is refusing to call a grand jury to indict the cop.

And Georgia Attorney General Mike Bowers says that he found "no evidence" to support criminal charges against Ireland. Bowers said in a short statement issued by his office that he will take "no further action."

Response by both Blacks and whites in the community is one of outrage. Marchers carried signs demanding that Perry be re-

called.

One 68-year-old demonstrator told the *Militant*, "I came here for the man who was killed — no matter what color. The way he was done is wrong."

A young protester said, "The reason I'm here is to show support and to show that I care about what is going on. It's not right to be judged by race and color. We need more protests."

Attorney Emerson Henderson, president of the Tift County NAACP, told the crowd, "We have to pay the price for freedom. The legal process broke down here. It didn't work. We are telling D.A. Perry don't impose on us your special interpretation of the law."

Southern Christian Leadership Conference organizers Rev. Fred Taylor and Brenda Davenport of Atlanta came to the demonstration to express their solidarity.

After the rally marchers attended a meeting to begin organizing efforts to have Perry recalled.

In addition, the NAACP is going into state court seeking an order requiring the coroner to issue a warrant against Ireland. They also plan to file a federal civil rights suit on behalf of the Wright family.



## Tucson rally: 'No to U.S. war on Nicaragua'

BY STEVEN BOGRAD AND JULIE NELSON

TUCSON, Ariz. — More than 300 antiwar demonstrators rallied outside the Doubletree Hotel here on December 15. They were protesting a luncheon organized to raise funds for the U.S. government-backed counterrevolutionaries who are waging war against Nicaragua.

Featured speakers at the luncheon were Mario Calero and John Singlaub. Calero is a fundraiser for the Nicaraguan Democratic Front, the main CIA-funded terrorist group.

Singlaub is a retired U.S. Army major general and a former chief of staff of U.S. troops in South Korea.

The rally began with a picket line outside the hotel. Protesters chanted "CIA out of Nicaragua!" and "Sandinistas, sí; contras, no."

When a contra supporter would come outside to observe the rally, he would be met with chants of "Murderer, rapist. Murderer, rapist."

At the end of the rally, two women read a Nicaraguan poem titled, "I am a Woman," and the Nicaraguan national anthem was sung.

The successful antiwar action was sponsored by the Peace in Nicaragua Coalition, which included Tucsonans Against Apartheid, Tucson Committee for Human Rights in Latin America,

Tucson Friends of the United Farm Workers Union, Catholics for Peace and Justice, and the Committee for Palestinian Self-Determination.

## Garment union members sign Freedom Letter

BY JON HILLSON

LAWRENCE, Mass. — "We thank you!" began the brief note in English and Spanish on bulletin boards throughout Malden Mills, a textile mill here. "Your signatures on the petition are a contribution of solidarity to the Black struggle of South Africa for land, freedom, and equality."

The message was from International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 311 President Bill Angelone and the local's executive board. It referred to the fruitful effort by shop stewards to collect signatures on the Freedom Letter to South African Bishop Desmond Tutu.

The petition refutes the racist smears of ultra-rightist Moral Majority leader Jerry Falwell and salutes the Black freedom struggle against apartheid.

In a day of collecting signatures, stewards signed up about 300 workers, more than a third of the production employees in the mill.

With a couple of aggressive stewards talking with everybody, the second and third shifts in my area, about 95 workers, filled in 90 names. Half the workers are Latino, mostly Puerto Rican and Dominican, and about half are white.

The flurry of signing stirred some discussion, virtually all of it in favor of the letter.

"It's a good idea, the union doing something about South Africa," said a Latino worker on a 3 a.m. break in the company cafeteria as he penned in his name. "About that racism," his buddy chimed in as he got ready to sign up, "over there and here."

"Good for the union," was a comment heard several times. "Things like this," one white worker said, "help bring us together a little bit more."

## Nicaraguan farm union leaders visit Ohio

BY GARY BAKER

TOLEDO, Ohio — Two leaders of the Association of Rural Workers (ATC) of Nicaragua, Manuel Chevez Ocampo and Francisco Cano Torres, completed a successful U.S. tour here December 4.

They had previously visited California, Arizona, and Texas. Their visit was sponsored by farm worker organizations and the National Agricultural Mission of the U.S. Council of Churches. The northwest Ohio leg of the tour was sponsored by the Farm Labor Organizing Committee.

The ATC leaders addressed three major themes in their talks. First, they discussed the effects of the revolution on Nicaragua's farm workers. Second, they spoke about the impact of the U.S.-sponsored counterrevolutionary (contra) war. And third, they

explained Nicaragua's state of emergency.

Manuel Chevez is secretary-general of the ATC in the province of Jinotega, which is a central battle zone. It is also the center of Nicaragua's coffee crop, the country's biggest source of foreign exchange.

Francisco Cano has been active in the ATC since its founding in 1978. He is currently the secretary of the ATC's Department of International Relations.

Chevez gave a personal account of the burning of two work centers in his area by the contras. All the workers' houses, schools, and daycare centers were destroyed. Forty people, including five children, died at the two sites. Chevez reported that, in his zone, 50 cooperatives and 50 work centers have been destroyed by the contras, and 800 farm workers have been assassinated.

Teachers and health-care workers have been particular targets of the contras. Chevez reported that the teacher who taught him how to read and write was later assassinated.

Farm workers have requested arms and assistance from the government to defend their families and their land from the contras, Chevez reported. He explained that the state of emergency is directed at the terrorist actions of the contras, while political, cultural, and social activities continue to be enjoyed by Nicaragua's workers and farmers.

In his zone, initial plans had called for a very limited coffee harvest due to concerns about the safety of farm workers. Since the

declaration of the state of emergency, however, these plans have been reversed and the coffee crop will be expanded.

Chevez pointed out that farm workers are taking the lead in confronting the crisis in the war zone in the north of the country. They are banding together to build housing and plant food. They are also receiving arms from the government and taking responsibility for the defense of the entire area, freeing the army and militia to confront the contras in the border region.

Cano contrasted the state of emergency with the repressive state of siege the Nicaraguan people experienced under the U.S.-backed dictator Anastasio Somoza. Then, thousands were killed simply for being on the street. Farm workers who demanded their rights were turned over to the National Guard, often never to be seen again.

Now, Nicaragua has a government that acts in the interest of workers and farmers and responds to their demands.

Today, at the peak of the harvest, the ATC represents 100,000 farm workers in 720 locals throughout rural Nicaragua. It represents workers at state farms and at privately owned farms.

Chevez and Cano were able to speak to more than 200 people at five public meetings in northwest Ohio. In addition to addressing antiwar activists, they spoke to a Latino community meeting, Black and Chicano student leaders, Irish solidarity activists, church figures, two campus meetings, and a number of farm workers.

# Classes to study 'New International' on S. Africa

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

At its December meeting the Socialist Workers Party National Committee approved a proposal that all party branches organize a series of classes on South Africa. These will take place in the next couple of months.

These classes provide an opportunity to systematically study the report by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, adopted by the National Committee in August of last year, titled "The Coming Revolution in South Africa." The report appears in the current, Fall 1985, issue of *New International* (see ad this page).

The classes will be organized in much the same way as a series studying the book

*Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International* and other works by Lenin that have been conducted by branches of the Socialist Workers Party.

Below is an example of a series of classes that could be organized to study the report. This guideline includes other material from the current issue of *New International* that develops points in the Barnes report. It also includes some recent articles from *Intercontinental Press* (IP), an international biweekly news magazine. (To order back issues write IP, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014, enclosing \$1.25 for each issue.)

Also useful for the series are appropriate sections of the "Freedom Charter." This

charter was adopted in South Africa by 3,000 delegates at the Congress of the People in 1955. It is the program of the African National Congress, the vanguard liberation organization in South Africa. Those parts of the charter dealing with particular aspects of the revolution in South Africa can be studied with the relevant classes. The charter is also available in the current issue of *New International*.

Supplementary historical material on apartheid and South Africa will also be important to read in studying this report.

The suggested topics and readings for each class are:

- 1. What is apartheid?**
  - Readings: "The Coming Revolution in South Africa," a report by Jack Barnes, *New International*, Fall 1985. Pp. 13-17 ('Parallels to Jim Crow' and 'Apartheid today').
- 2. Land and the forging of a nation.**
  - "The Coming Revolution in South Africa." Pp. 17-19 ('Land and nation'); Pp. 29-34 ('The place of the working class and peasantry'); pp. 56-57 ('Solving the land question'); p. 59 ('Magnitude of tasks').
  - Other reading: "Apartheid's great land theft," by Ernest Harsch, *IP*, vol. 23, no. 24.
  - "A revolution for Black land rights," by Ernest Harsch, *IP*, vol. 23, no. 25. "ANC explains land policy," *IP*, vol. 23, no. 25.
- 3. Difference between bourgeois-democratic revolution and anticapitalist revolution.**
  - "The Coming Revolution in South Africa." Pp. 23-29 ('Not a "stage" of socialist revolution' and 'Bourgeois-democratic and anticapitalist revolutions'); pp. 52-56 ('Character of revolution'); p. 59 ('Magnitude').
  - Other readings: "The Workers' and Farmers' Government: A Popular Revolutionary Dictatorship," by Mary-Alice Waters, *New International*, Spring-Summer 1984. SWP internal bulletins on Ghana and Burkina Faso.
- 4. National democratic revolution in South Africa.**
  - "The Coming Revolution in South Africa." Pp. 9-13; p. 18 ('Full citizen-

ship'); pp. 23-24 ('Not a "stage"'); pp. 52-56 ('Character of revolution').

- "The Future Belongs to the Majority," a speech by Oliver Tambo, *New International*, Fall 1985.

Other readings: "Perspective for revolutionary struggle against apartheid," a speech by Oliver Tambo, *IP*, vol. 23, no. 4. "Interview with ANC's Oliver Tambo," *IP*, vol. 23, no. 20.

**5. The role of the working class and the peasantry in South Africa.**

- "The Coming Revolution in South Africa." Pp. 29-34 (Section II); pp. 58-59 ('Role of unions').

- "The Future Belongs to the Majority." Pp. 74-75 ('Working class must lead' and 'Seize the land!').

Other readings: "Workers forge broad union federation: COSATU backs divestment, anti-apartheid actions," by Ernest Harsch, *IP*, vol. 23, no. 25.

**6. Debate on the South African revolution: the vanguard role of the African National Congress.**

- "The Coming Revolution in South Africa." Pp. 34-39 (Section III); pp. 47-56 (Introduction to 'Summary,' 'Character of revolution,' 'ANC and the liberals').

- "The Future Belongs to the Majority." Pp. 73-74 ('Now is the time'); pp. 76-77 ('People determined to be free'); 79-80 ('ANC — integral part of world revolutionary process').

Other readings: "Interview with ANC's Joe Slovo," "Article from ANC's 'Sec-haba,'" and "Manifesto of the Azanian People." All appear in *IP*, vol. 23, no. 22, pp. 691-97.

**7. Impact of the South African revolution on the revolution in Africa.**

- "The Coming Revolution in South Africa." Pp. 39-47 (Section IV).

- "Southern Africa: a Decade of Struggle," by Ernest Harsch, *New International*, Fall 1985.

- "Cuba's Internationalist Volunteers in Angola," by Fidel Castro, *New International*, Fall 1985.

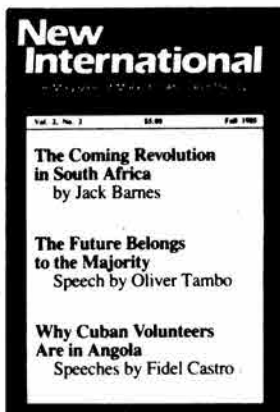
Other readings: "Castro speaks on southern Africa" and "Malmierca discusses Cuba's role in Angola." Both in *IP*, vol. 23, no. 23.

## Invaluable for anti-apartheid activists!

## The fall 1985 'New International'

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

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





# Bantustans: prisons for millions of South African Blacks

BY FRED FELDMAN

The system of Bantustans is at the heart of South Africa's racist apartheid structure.

The great majority of Africans are assigned to one of 10 reservations or Bantustans, based on their tribal origins and language group. The Bantustans — which were formerly called "native reserves" — are the areas that Africans have been forced into as the white settlers seized their land, livestock, and other resources in a series of colonial wars beginning in the 17th century.

The assigning of most Africans to Bantustans is used to justify depriving 24 million Africans of their right to own land in the 86.3 percent of South Africa that is reserved by law for the 4.5 million whites.

The great majority of Africans have no right to live outside their designated reserve. They gain permission to do so, in most cases, only if they are working for a white boss elsewhere in South Africa.

## White rulers' dream

The Bantustans are key to the dream of South Africa's white rulers: to keep Africans out of the cities. The dream was that Africans would come into the cities in the morning, cook the breakfast, change the diapers, do the laundry, labor in the factories and offices, produce all the wealth — and disappear by sundown.

This was a dream with a purpose — allowing Africans the right to live and travel freely in the cities would be a mortal threat to maintaining the apartheid state of the tiny white minority.

Thus, apartheid has made millions of Africans "illegal aliens" in their own land.

The chief function of the Bantustans is to serve as labor reserves for the white-owned mines, industries, and farms in the rest of the country.

"What is wanted is surely a policy that would establish once and for all that outside special reserves, the ownership of the land must be in the hands of the white race and that the surplus of young [African] men, instead of squatting on the land in idleness and spreading out over unlimited areas, must earn their living by working for a wage," explained the president of South Africa's Chamber of Mines early in this century.

## Migrant workers

Stripped of land and other means of support and forced into overcrowded, impoverished Bantustans, millions of Africans have no choice but to sell their labor power as migrant workers. Two million of these workers are directly assigned by government labor bureaus in the Bantustans to work for white bosses elsewhere in South Africa on short-term, starvation-wage contracts.

They may not take their families with them, and many are forced to live in prison-like single-sex hostels.

Millions of other Africans can live with their families outside their assigned Bantustan only as long as they work for a white boss and have police approval to be present in a "white" area.

Still other Bantustan residents are "commuters," taking long bus rides — up to eight hours a day — to and from jobs in "white" South Africa.

The denial of Africans' rights to live and work where they wish is enforced through the repressive pass laws. These require Africans to present a highly detailed reference book for inspection by cops and other officials at any time. Hundreds of thousands of Africans are jailed each year for pass law violations.

## Forced removals

Eleven million Africans are now penned up in the Bantustans — twice as many as were held in them in 1960. They are the most densely populated regions on the entire African continent.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, the South African government has taken more and more steps to elaborate the Bantustan scheme, each marked by new attacks on the rights of Africans and each accom-

panied by forced removal of Africans from elsewhere in the country to the Bantustans.

From 1960-1970, between 4 and 6 million Africans have been the victims of forced removals to the Bantustans. There, many live in squalid resettlement camps. And about 7 million more are currently threatened with the same fate.

In addition to Africans moved to the Bantustans, many Coloureds and Asians have also been subjected to compulsory removals from the central cities as the government enforces residential segregation and as it arbitrarily draws and redraws the boundaries of the Bantustans.

## 'Independence'

Beginning in the 1960s, the apartheid regime began to impose "independence" on some of the Bantustans. Under heavy pressure from Pretoria, the "homeland" administrations of Transkei, BophuthaTswana, Venda, and Ciskei accepted the pretense of independence.

As a result, more than 7.5 million Africans assigned to the "independent" Bantustans lost their South African citizenship. These included many workers and their families in "white" South Africa who had never lived in or even visited their assigned reserve.

"If our policy is taken to its logical conclusion as far as the Black people are concerned, there will be not one Black man with South African citizenship," the regime's Minister of Bantu Administration explained in 1978.

In each Bantustan, South African cops and troops, together with the homeland administration, were used to crush or stifle mass opposition to the phony independence.

The rulers used the pretense that the Bantustans were becoming independent to pretty up the image of apartheid.

According to the regime, the 24 million Africans were not entitled to any rights in "white" South Africa, since they supposedly govern themselves in the areas assigned to them by the white rulers.

The regime pretends that the "homeland" administrations reflect traditional tribal structures supported by the population. In fact the Bantu Authorities Act has subverted the remaining tribal structures and subjected them to control by the white rulers.

Under the act, chiefs are salaried appoint-



Transkei Bantustan. Bantustan system intensifies oppression of Black women.

tees of the government. Those traditional chiefs who reflected mass opposition to apartheid were deposed and replaced by supporters of the regime.

Per capita annual income in the Bantustans in 1974 was \$97 a year, less than in many African countries. More than 75 percent of income of Africans in the Bantustans is earned by migrant laborers in "white" South Africa.

## Death camps for children

In Transkei — the first Bantustan to be pressured into accepting "independence, apartheid-style" — 40 percent of African children die before they are 10 years old.

In the "independent" Ciskei, about half of all children suffer from malnutrition.

Barbara Rogers, in her book on the Bantustans titled *Divide and Rule: South Africa's Bantustans*, describes reporter Nat Nakasa's finding that, in the KwaZulu Bantustan, "the hospitals were full of children suffering from common diseases like measles and whooping cough, which in many cases killed them because of the debilitating effects of malnutrition and hunger. Only a tiny fraction of the malnourished children were reaching the hospitals, however, and it was obvious that large numbers were dying throughout the Bantustan."

One of three boys and one of four girls in KwaZulu is stunted in height and weight due to malnutrition.

Infant mortality rates for Africans in South Africa — about 20 to 25 percent — are higher than in most other African countries. The rate in the Bantustans is the highest in Africa.

The Bantustan setup enables the regime to deny responsibility for health, welfare,

or other social needs in the Bantustans — especially in the "independent" ones.

## African women

The Bantustan system multiplies the oppression of African women. "In practice, the forced removal of people to the Bantustans is composed to a large extent of the dumping of women," wrote Barbara Rogers.

"It is accepted government policy," explained an official circular, "that the Bantus [an insulting name for Africans] are only temporarily resident in the European areas of the Republic, for as long as they offer their labor there. As soon as they become, for some reason or another, no longer fit for work, or superfluous in the labor market, they are expected to return to their country of origin or the territory of their national unit where they fit in ethnically...."

The circular then listed those Africans whom it regarded as "superfluous," including "the aged, the unfit, widows, women with dependent children."

African women are considered minors in South Africa and are usually barred from owning land in the Bantustans. To leave, they require not only a pass approved by the apartheid regime, but the permission of male family members.

The best farmland and most natural resources and other sources of wealth were reserved for "white" South Africa, even if this meant breaking up reserves. KwaZulu consists of 44 pieces. The "Republic of BophuthaTswana" has six pieces of territory separated by hundreds of miles. The South African government has continued to change Bantustan borders at will, even after "independence."

Continued on Page 11

# Apartheid: cause of Zulu-Pondo clash

Violent clashes in Umbumbulu, a township in the KwaZulu Bantustan, have taken the lives of 68 Africans, according to South African government reports. The clashes, which began December 25, involved groups of Africans from the Zulu and Pondo tribes.

There are few established facts about the violence. Most of the news reports have been based on statements by the racist South African police.

The capitalist media in the United States seized on the bloodshed to try to discredit the struggle against white minority rule in South Africa.

The *Washington Post* voiced alarm that a "black-on-black civil war" might develop.

The *New York Times* suggested that the violence might provide a justification for the apartheid regime's "policies of racial separation, which are based in part on the premise that the nation's various racial and ethnic groups cannot intermingle without conflict."

But it is the racist apartheid system that is the cause of the bloodshed at Umbumbulu. Such outbreaks of violence are built into the regime's Bantustan system.

It is apartheid which forces millions of people to live in desolate reservations based on what the regime determines to be their tribal or language-group origin. The overcrowding of the Bantustans that has resulted generates a desperate and sometimes violent competition for scarce land, water,

livestock, food, housing, and jobs.

An earlier outbreak of violence in KwaZulu occurred in Msinga, where scores of people were killed over several years. "The fighting is largely an expression of frustration by people who have been deprived of any access to a livelihood," explained Neil Alcock, who ran a church-sponsored agricultural project in the area. "Before people were removed from white farms and dumped in Msinga, things were relatively peaceful."

Under the Bantustan system, Pondos are among the Xhosa-speakers assigned to the "independent" Transkei Bantustan. Zulu-speakers are assigned to the KwaZulu Bantustan.

But the great majority of Africans from KwaZulu and Transkei who have jobs must work as migrant laborers elsewhere in South Africa.

Thousands of migrant workers, the November 27 *Washington Post* reported, have come to Umbumbulu from Transkei "as the nominally independent homeland's economy has declined." They seek jobs in the industrial port city of Durban, 30 miles away in "white" South Africa.

Unemployment in KwaZulu has hit 45 percent. The fear of joblessness spurs increased tension around Christmas, when many migrant workers must return to the Bantustans because their work contracts have expired. In some cases this is the only

opportunity they are given each year to see their families. But often they do not know if they will have work in the coming year. The deepening economic crisis in South Africa has heightened anxiety.

Under these circumstances, claimed Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the South Africa Institute of Race Relations, "the resident Zulus regard the Xhosas who have moved in there as interlopers." Some Pondos reportedly said the violence stemmed from efforts by some Zulu-speakers to drive them out of Umbumbulu.

This attitude among some Zulu-speakers is a reflection of the divisive, racist ideology of the apartheid regime. It fosters, reinforces, and often creates new tribal and other rivalries among the oppressed population.

The regime says that Africans are not entitled to the rights of a citizen when they are outside their assigned Bantustans. Thus, according to the apartheid ideology, a Zulu is a foreigner anywhere in South Africa except KwaZulu. A Pondo is an alien anywhere outside the Transkei.

In reality, of course, Africans have no political rights — inside or outside the "homeland" imposed on them by the government.

The Bantustan administrations set up by Pretoria followed its example in fostering such conflicts. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi,

Continued on Page 12



# Working people poorer after last decade

BY NORTON SANDLER

Over the past decade the standard of living of U.S. working people has taken a beating. Inflation has gone up at a faster rate than wages. This fact comes as no surprise to workers, who face the reality of a weekly paycheck that purchases less and less.

This decline in living standards is no accident. Since the 1974-75 recession, the billionaire families who rule the United States have been on an offensive to increase their profits at the expense of working people.

The offensive stems from the intense competition between the U.S. rulers and their international rivals. A central aspect of the attack has been to go after the wages and expectations of workers in the major industrial unions.

## Unionized and unorganized

In order to accomplish that, the bosses have sought to isolate and weaken these unions by driving down the wages of the unorganized and lowest-paid workers. The wage structure is built from the bottom up. So, every time those on the bottom have their wages lowered, it makes it easier for the employers to convince higher-paid workers to give some concessions to avoid ending up like "those" people. This has increased the willingness of unionized workers to expect and accept less at contract time. Thus, the bosses have methodically expanded a number of wage-lowering schemes, including piecework, homework, workfare, flex-time, and temporary work.

The net result has been to widen the gap between workers who are unionized and those who work in nonunion jobs.

## Concessions

In the 25-year period prior to 1974, many industrial workers were able to wrest wage concessions from the bosses. Now, most contract negotiations begin with demands by the bosses for substantial concessions. These include wage concessions as well as changes in work rules and other union rights on the job.

Many contracts are being signed that include two-tier provisions. In those contracts, newly hired workers begin at pay rates substantially lower than other workers. Sometimes, it takes many years to catch up. And, in some cases, the gap is permanent.

Though many unions are waging hard fights against concessions and union-busting, the rulers have succeeded in lowering the real wages of many industrial workers.

A front-page *New York Times* article in October said, "All signs suggest that 1986 will become the fifth consecutive year that the typical American worker will receive a smaller pay increase than in the previous year." The paper noted that "in labor settlements reached during the first half of this year, many of them covering two- or three-

year periods, wage increases averaged just 2.8 percent for the first year of the contracts and 2.9 percent a year over the life of the contracts." It also predicted a rise in inflation of 3.5 percent to 4.5 percent. The same article pointed out that "wages are the weakest in the manufacturing sector."

## Wage increases and inflation

The comparison between wage increases and inflation is important. Inflation has averaged about 4 percent the past three years. Government officials are patting themselves on the back over that figure. Inflation "remains low and under control," Reagan administration spokesperson Larry Speakes said last January after the 1984 figure was announced.

But simple addition demonstrates that workers' wages had to go up at least 12 percent in that period to prevent them from becoming poorer.

A look at a few recent union contract settlements helps make the point. The United Auto Workers signed a contract with Chrysler in October that includes wage raises totaling just over 5 percent in the next three years. If inflation remains at the current 4 percent level, auto workers face a 7 percent drop in their standard of living. The cost of living adjustment provisions in their contract will not make up the difference.

Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union members who work in the wool manufacturing part of the garment industry will receive no pay increases the next two years.

In many contract fights the employers are demanding big takebacks. The mostly female Chicano and Mexican workers on strike at the frozen food canneries in Watsonville, California, are trying to resist the employers' demand to cut their wages drastically.

Steelworkers at Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel recently returned to work, after a hard fight, at a pay scale 16 percent lower than their previous rate. The steel bosses had demanded even bigger concessions at the beginning of that strike.

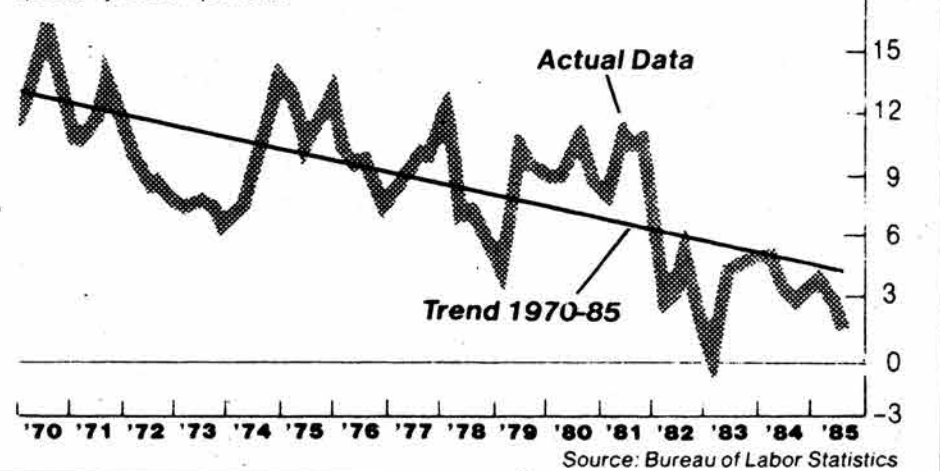
## Black workers hardest hit

Workers at the lowest end of the wage scale are the hardest hit by this vicious process. Black workers, for example, face extreme difficulty getting a job. Government statistics list Black unemployment at 15 percent. That's more than double the rate of unemployment for workers who are white. In reality Black unemployment is much higher.

Many of those Blacks who do find work often receive close to the minimum wage, which has been frozen at \$3.35 an hour since 1981. The Consumer Price Index, a government statistic for charting inflation, has risen over 25 percent during that time. And Democratic and Republican Party politicians are now floating trial balloons

## Slower Growth for Wages

Average first-year changes in negotiated wage and benefit contracts quarterly data in percent



Wages of unionized workers are declining. Nonunion workers suffer even more.

about a "subminimum wage."

Most families can't come close to making ends meet without two people working. "Americans born between 1946 and 1964 [that is, between the ages of 21 and 40] are not as rich a market as people think," *Newsweek* magazine reported November 25. "It is only when a couple... combines two incomes that they can hope to live as comfortably as their parents did on a single income," the magazine added.

A recent congressional study reported that the median income of a family with children "shrank by \$3,152 a year over the past 11 years after accounting for inflation."

A "median family income" is deemed by the congressional committee to be a combined before-tax income of \$29,000.

Black families have an average combined income equal to 55 percent of an average white family. On top of that, Black family income has dropped 10.6 percent in the last decade. Latino family income dropped 6.9 percent.

The U.S. government defines poverty as a family of four that lives on less than \$10,610. A whopping 64 percent of all working women make less than \$10,000. Many are single heads of their households.

These facts help underline why the unions will never be able to effectively defend their members and begin to roll back the rulers' offensive without becoming champions of the rights of the unemployed, Blacks, Latinos, immigrants, women, and young workers.

## Framed-up activists fight for bail

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

The lawyers for nine of the 13 Puerto Rican activists arrested by the FBI on August 30 will be appealing the decision of a Hartford federal judge denying them bail.

The defendants are activists in the movement to win independence for Puerto Rico. They were arrested in massive armed FBI raids in Puerto Rico, Texas, and Mexico.

The activists are accused of robbing a Wells Fargo armored truck in Connecticut in 1983. The FBI claims they are members of the *Macheteros* (literally, machete-wielders), an organization that supports Puerto Rican independence.

Immediately after their arrest, six of the 13 activists were granted bail. However, two of the defendants later had their bail revoked when federal prosecutors appealed the court decision.

One other activist, Luz Berriós, had bail set for \$150,000. The money has not been raised because of a court decision that only

family property can be used for bail. This blocks her friends and neighbors from putting up their homes as collateral for her, as some have offered to do.

The activists have been denied bail under the 1984 Bail Reform Act, which restricts the bail rights of the accused.

Under this undemocratic law, all the government has to do is claim that the accused are dangerous in order to have them denied bail.

In the appeal, the defense attorneys will argue that the bill violates the constitutional rights of the accused.

In announcing the appeal, defense attorney Jon Schoenhorn said that the denial of bail for these activists is "an indication of the disgraceful state of civil liberties in this country."

The appeal will center on the long imprisonment the accused will be forced to undergo even before their case goes to trial. The activists have already been jailed for four months, and their trial is not expected to begin for at least another year.

## Racist prosecutors want 'Hurricane' Carter jailed again

Prosecutors in Passaic County, New Jersey, are trying to put frame-up victim Rubin "Hurricane" Carter back in jail.

Carter was released from prison November 8 after spending 19 years in prison on charges of killing three whites in Paterson, New Jersey, in 1966. U.S. District Judge H. Lee Sarokin cited "racial prejudice" in the conviction of Carter and codefendant John Artis as the reason for his decision to release Carter.

Both men are Black. Carter is a former number one contender for the middleweight boxing championship. Artis has been on parole for the last four years.

When Carter was released, Passaic County prosecutor Burrell Humphreys charged that Carter was "a dangerous and violent person, and a threat to the community." Now the petition to reimprison him is before a U.S. court of appeals. In the papers, filed December 18, the prosecutors call Carter a "substantial threat" to society. They seek to have him returned to prison pending the appeal on the November ruling that freed him.

## Full text of Soviet poet's speech in 'IP'

For more than 20 years, Yevgeny Yevtushenko has been one of the most prominent poets in the Soviet Union. At a recent congress of the Union of Writers in Moscow, he delivered a blistering attack on censorship, silence, distortion of history, and privilege in the Soviet literary world. His speech reflected the mounting pressure of writers against the stifling restrictions on Soviet literature.

The January 13 *Intercontinental Press* carries the full text of Yevtushenko's speech, which was officially published in the Soviet Union only in an abridged version.

Besides criticizing the restrictions on Soviet artistic expression, Yevtushenko also condemned Stalin's policies of forced collectivization of the peasantry and of the "merciless purge" of the political vanguard of the working class. Such practices, he said, were "contrary to Lenin's legacy."

Yevtushenko's speech is accompanied by an introductory article by *IP* editor Doug Jenness on Yev-

tushenko's development and political views. "Unlike many of the Soviet dissident writers of the 1960s and 1970s who ended up abandoning communism and praising the imperialist governments," Jenness noted, "Yevtushenko has remained a communist who defends the Soviet Union against imperialism."

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**Nicaragua Debate Opens on Women's Right to Abortion**



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Text of Yevtushenko's Speech to Writers' Convention  
Soviet Poet Opposes Stifling of Culture





**XVII**

**CONGRESO**

# Salvador labor federation hits gov't war, repression

## Interview with Mass. unionist about convention

Guazapa  
Poster for National Federation of Salvadoran Workers' Unions convention.

Trade unionists from the United States, Canada, Central America, and Europe were observers at the November 7-9 convention of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers' Unions (FENASTRAS). The convention was held in El Salvador's capital city, San Salvador. FENASTRAS is the largest union federation in El Salvador.

The following interview about the convention is with Don Gurewitz, who was one of the U.S. observers. Gurewitz is a member of International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE) Local 201. He is a machinist at the General Electric plant in Lynn, Massachusetts, and a member of the Northshore AFL-CIO Labor Council.

The interview was conducted in Boston by Militant staff writer Tom Leonard.

*Question. How did you get to go to El Salvador to attend the FENASTRAS convention?*

*Answer.* There was an East Coast labor solidarity tour of Central American union leaders last October who visited the Boston area. One of them, Francisco Acosta, was invited to speak at our local union meeting. Acosta is the North American representative of FENASTRAS. In his talk he noted there was a serious discussion in the North American labor movement about political developments in El Salvador.

Acosta invited members of our local and other unions to attend the FENASTRAS convention to study the situation firsthand. He also pointed out there had been so much political repression of unions there that FENASTRAS was inviting trade unionists from around the world as official observers to help assure that the convention could occur without disruption by government security forces.

In response to this appeal, a number of Local 201 members, including myself, expressed an interest in attending. The president of Local 201 gave me a letter of introduction to the FENASTRAS convention. The letter explained who I was and also expressed Local 201's concern with the issue of trade union and human rights.

### Lots of union struggles

*Q. What were your first impressions on arriving in El Salvador?*

*A.* One of the first things you notice in the city of San Salvador is the large number of factories, including many U.S.-owned companies like Levi, Pepsi, and Phelps Dodge.

There was also a lot of labor activity while I was there. On the two occasions I was able to see the TV news, about half the coverage was about union struggles.

These included strikes, kidnappings of union leaders, and factory and workplace occupations by workers. We were told that some strikers occupy their worksites because it is safer than picketing on public streets where they face possible violent attacks from police, right-wing death squads, or government troops.

*Q. Who attended the FENASTRAS convention?*

*A.* They had basically three categories of people attending: regular delegates, observers (including members of other unions), and the press. Trade unionists from other countries, like myself, were seated as official observers.

*Q. What was discussed and what were some of the decisions made at the convention?*

*A.* The themes of the convention were the fight for the right of trade unions and their members to function freely and the demand that the government resume talks with the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front in order to end the civil war that has been raging since 1979.

The one thing that became clear was that the war was the big question. No matter what was discussed, the war came up one way or another.

The convention laid out an aggressive program to work with other unions around these themes. The goal was not to swallow them up or force political agreement. Instead the convention stressed that there was a common basis for the entire working class to fight against the government's war policies and for a peace that includes jobs and social justice for working people.

*Q. How was the convention organized?*

*A.* It was a combination of plenary sessions where the main issues were discussed, a wide variety of workshops, and several cultural activities that were an important part of the convention.

During the convention sessions, for example, delegates would perform impromptu skits. They also had a cultural worker from Mexico who did a series of political monologues. One of them was about the role of women and their importance in the labor movement.

The atmosphere was such that everyone could get up and speak their minds. And they did. And it wasn't considered disruptive for delegates to stand up and shout out slogans in the middle of a talk.

There were more than 300 delegates and almost all of them were workers. It appeared that there were very few fulltime staff members or union officials. Delegates seemed to have genuine affection and respect for union leaders.

### FENASTRAS leader Recinos returns

*Q. What other activities did international observers participate in?*

*A.* One of the things convention organizers asked union observers from other countries to do was serve as an escort to help assure the personal safety of Héctor Recinos, general secretary of FENASTRAS. Recinos was returning from exile for a brief visit to attend the convention.

Recinos is El Salvador's best-known trade union leader. He had been arrested in 1980 along with nine other leaders of the hydroelectric workers' union. An international protest campaign won their freedom last year. They have been living in exile in Europe ever since.

We met Recinos at the airport and escorted him on the long ride through the countryside into San Salvador. We also accompanied him on a visit to Catholic Archbishop Oscar Romero's grave in the Metropolitan Cathedral. Romero was killed there by right-wing death squads in 1980. Recinos laid a wreath on the grave and used the occasion to make a statement to the press against the government's war.

Recinos also had a big press conference at the airport and another during the convention.

FENASTRAS members were concerned

about our personal safety. You got the feeling that you were definitely in a potentially dangerous situation.

### Levi factory

We got to visit the U.S.-owned Levi factory, where women workers earn about \$3 a day. The blue jeans they made were half for export and half for local consumption. I believe they sell for something like \$18 a pair. So these women had to work for more than a week to buy a pair of the blue jeans they were making.

Their union office was inside the factory. All the factories are surrounded by high walls, often with barbed wire and armed guards. The union had insisted on the right to have the union office inside the plant, not so much to deal with shop floor issues but because it was safer inside. They were afraid of their leaders being killed and their offices dynamited if they had a public headquarters out on the street.

Several of us also visited a big working-class housing project and had dinner at the house of a woman worker whose union had been on strike for six months.

We noticed a lot of revolutionary slogans on the walls in this community. This was different than downtown, where most of the slogans are quickly rubbed out.

### 'U.S. out of El Salvador'

*Q. What were some of the slogans?*

*A.* One was "United States out of El Salvador and Grenada."

Another told about a recent battle and how many weapons the guerrillas had captured from government troops. There were a lot of slogans denouncing the last elections, saying they were a farce and did nothing to improve the conditions of working people.

We talked to employees of the government's water and sewer works, whose union, SETA, had been on strike for six months. SETA is affiliated to FENASTRAS. Most of the workers had been forced to return to work, but many were still on strike. We were able to attend a union-organized meeting to collect food and provide for the welfare of these strikers.

There were other strikes going on. One was the occupation of the post office by striking postal workers. Their union works with the AFL-CIO-supported American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). They were occupying the post office to demand the release of a union leader who strikers said had been kidnapped by the national police.

*Q. Did you meet with any unions not affiliated with FENASTRAS?*

*A.* Yes. I was part of a group that met with leaders of a number of unions that work with AIFLD. We got a mixed reaction to our questions. We asked them if conditions had gotten better or worse since the election of President José Napoleón Duarte and how they felt about trade union rights in El Salvador.

Some of them said the same thing as FENASTRAS members — that the war was the big problem. They said there had been no gains for workers since the beginning of the fierce political repression in 1979-80. They said income was frozen but inflation had gone up. They reported that unemployment was skyrocketing because of the many refugees moving to the city

from the countryside to escape the war.

A few said El Salvador needed economic aid, not military aid, from Washington. Only one unionist at this meeting took a strong stand in support of the Duarte government.

Several of us also went to a press conference called by the Salvadoran Workers Federation (CTS).

The CTS was one of the main unions in an AIFLD-led coalition organized to support Duarte in the last elections. The CTS split with the coalition because Duarte did not live up to his promises to the unions. They had a positive attitude toward the FENASTRAS convention but said organizational problems prevented them from attending as observers. The CTS is currently involved in some big strikes.

### World trade union movement

*Q. What positions did the convention adopt in regard to the world trade union movement?*

*A.* The leadership of FENASTRAS prepared a resolution on international relations that concerned itself with improving ties with trade unions around the world without regard to their political affiliation.

FENASTRAS attends meetings of, but does not belong to any of, the three major international union federations — the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the World Federation of Trade Unions, and the World Confederation of Labor.

Their view is that, whatever FENASTRAS may think of the policies of these international labor federations, they are all official union organizations. FENASTRAS wants to have fraternal relations with each of them on the basis of respect for each other's rights.

*Q. Do you have any general observations about your meetings with Salvadoran trade unionists?*

*A.* I was impressed by the size and importance of the labor movement there.

Salvadoran trade unionists see themselves not just as fighting to defend their wages and working conditions, but also as playing an important political role in solving the country's economic, social, and political problems.

## Jackson demands investigation of PUSH office fires

Rev. Jesse Jackson, former head of Operation PUSH, called for an immediate investigation of a fire that was set on December 2 at the organization's headquarters in Chicago.

Calling the fire a "terrorist attack," Jackson linked it to the recent assassination of Alex Odeh, a leader of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, as well as to a fire which gutted that group's Washington, D.C., office.

Jackson pointed out that "there have been similar political attacks" on synagogues, abortion clinics, and churches in the past year.

"I am asking for the president to take a strong stand against this kind of terrorism," Jackson said. This is the second fire at PUSH's headquarters this year.



# Right to legal abortion debated in N

## Botched, illegal abortions are leading cause of maternal death

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Botched, illegal abortions are the leading cause of maternal death in Nicaragua today. Hundreds of women — if not more — are dying each year.

Thousands more wind up permanently mutilated because of the law that denies women the right to safe, legal abortions.

In November 1985, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) opened up a public debate in the pages of its daily newspaper *Barricada* on whether to legalize abortion.

### 10 percent death rate

The first *Barricada* article appeared on November 19. It was a front-page report on a study by doctors and social workers at the Bertha Calderón Women's Hospital in Managua.

*Barricada* reporter Leonel Urbano described the staggering findings of the study. From March 1983 to June 1985, this hospital alone admitted 8,752 women suffering complications from illegal abortions. This represented 10 patients a day and 45 percent of all admissions to the hospital.

In the 109 cases selected for thorough study, 10 percent of the women died. Another 26.2 percent required hysterectomies, leaving them permanently sterilized.

The study also investigated the psycho-

logical effects of illegal abortion. Urbano described the findings: first is "the phase of anguish stemming from the decision to have an abortion, anguish produced by the current illegality of abortion and by the whole ideological-religious, cultural, and social weight of open condemnation of the woman at such a dramatic time."

Second, "the phase of the abortion itself, which is characterized by pain, since the procedures are performed outside hospital facilities, without anesthesia or proper care."

Third, "the postabortion phase, characterized by the drama of the usual rejection of the woman by the health-care facilities themselves and by the feelings of guilt and frustration that will always accompany the woman."

The hospital team that conducted the study made two recommendations: first, that the Ministry of Health make birth control devices, currently hard to get, more readily available to women and that it implement family planning and sex education programs; and secondly, that the revolutionary government revise the antiabortion law.

### The current antiabortion law

Nicaragua's antiabortion law dates back to the regime of Anastasio Somoza, who was overthrown in 1979 by a revolution of workers and peasants led by the FSLN. The law prohibits all abortions except those

deemed necessary for "therapeutic" reasons — when the woman's life is in danger. A woman who wants a legal abortion must have the approval both of a three-doctor Ethics Committee and of her spouse.

For the tiny fraction of women who are successful in getting permission, a public hospital abortion costs 150 córdobas. An illegal abortion in a back alley costs 10 or 20 times more. In a private clinic it costs up to 40,000 córdobas. And the average cost in a public hospital of caring for a woman injured by a botched abortion is more than 96,000 córdobas.

"The statistics are bloodcurdling," Urbano wrote, "in terms of the deaths, the aftermath for the women, and the financial costs. But the statistics cannot measure the abortion dramas themselves, which are even more grave. After six and a half years of the revolution, very little has been done about this problem."

"In dealing with this question, there is no place for arguments about our tremendous economic limitations, the [U.S.] embargo, or the criminal military aggression" against Nicaragua. "On the contrary, a problem is being neglected that makes the others worse. We are losing lives and money."

Urbano called the antiabortion law "obsolete" and "inhumane. The right of a woman to freely determine her own destiny is being trampled upon."

He called on the Nicaraguan Women's Association (AMNLAE), other mass organizations, teachers, doctors, legislators, and social scientists to begin the urgent discussion on how to solve the abortion crisis. "The debate is now open," he concluded.

### 'I'm not good for anything'

*Barricada* followed this article up by running interviews with victims of the anti-abortion law, as well as with doctors and others.

One woman worker being treated at the Bertha Calderón hospital told the newspaper she got an illegal abortion from a woman who sells clothing.

"I did it because I had financial problems," she explained. "I have two kids and I was about to lose my job because I was having trouble finding someone to take care of them for me. When I got pregnant again, I thought, it's better to have an abortion than to be unable to take care of my children."

The woman ended up with a perforated uterus. "People say we're no longer good for anything without a uterus," she said to *Barricada*. She is now receiving psychological as well as physical treatment.

The hospital ethics committees have also come under some scrutiny. *Barricada* reported on the case of a woman quadriplegic who became pregnant. According to *Barricada* she was denied a legal abortion because the doctors saw no medical "reason" for the operation.

In another case, a 14-year-old, mentally disturbed girl who had been raped could not get a legal abortion because the doctors decided her pregnancy was proceeding "normally."

Some doctors who support legal abortion told *Barricada* that many physicians practice a double standard. They refuse to perform abortions at public hospitals, hiding behind the law. Then they turn around and perform them illegally in their private clinics for a fat fee.

### Working women propel debate forward

The abortion debate is coming to the fore today in Nicaragua as the cutting edge of a more general discussion on the status of women in the revolution. The driving force propelling the discussion forward is working women in the cities and countryside.

In September 1985 AMNLAE held a national congress to examine where the struggle for women's liberation stood six years after working people took political power here. The conclusion of the delegates, large numbers of whom were workers or peasants, was that although the 1979 revolution opened the door to ending women's oppression, big contradictions remain.

The revolution brought thousands of women into productive jobs and into active roles as participants in neighborhood defense committees, AMNLAE, unions, and the armed forces and militias. This began to transform them politically, and it had a progressive effect on the attitudes of men, too.

But Nicaragua's ability to carry out the economic and social transformations necessary to free women from sole responsibility for household and child-rearing tasks has been limited. And deep social prejudices against women remain.

In many ways, the grinding, U.S.-sponsored war that Nicaragua has suffered for nearly five years has brought these contradictions to a head, shining a spotlight on the gap between the status of women today and the goals of the revolution.

On the one hand, the mobilization of thousands of men into the defense effort has accelerated the number of women entering the productive work force, including traditionally "male-only" jobs. At the same time, as AMNLAE delegates pointed out, these women discover they are often victims of discrimination in the factory or on the farm cooperative. And the relatively small number of women entering "male-only" jobs points up the larger number still

## What women of Estelí think about legalization

BY TOBA SINGER

ESTELÍ, Nicaragua — Known as Estelí Heroica (heroic Estelí), this city distinguished itself by fighting against the forces of former dictator Anastasio Somoza three times before the Sandinista triumph in 1979.

Many people here say that one-quarter of the population has been killed either in bombing attacks and combat before the triumph or in the U.S.-financed *contra* (counterrevolutionary) war.

Large numbers of women participated in the fight against Somoza — in the guerrilla forces in the mountains — or carrying out such clandestine work as hiding guerrilla fighters in their homes or carrying messages to the guerrilla encampments in the mountains.

Today, they shoulder the everyday domestic tasks of cooking, laundering, and looking after the children, tasks aggravated by shortages of basic household goods owing to the U.S.-imposed economic blockade and the priority given to defense efforts in the north of the country.

In spite of these hardships, or, as many women will tell you, because of them, women are an important part of the fight against the *contras*.

Young women in olive green uniforms make up part of the Sandinista police units in the city. In each neighborhood, women are the backbone of vigilance squads organized into nightly patrols by the Sandinista Defense Committees.

Some women are learning to operate tractors for the first time in order to work on the agricultural cooperative and farms nearby. It is evident that the lives of women here have been dramatically transformed by the challenges the revolution faces in its day-to-day defense.

In spite of the increase in women's participation, there remain many obstacles to their contributing fully.

What do women in Estelí think about the idea, which has been raised in *Barricada*, of legalizing abortion? It's a popular subject of discussion among women here.

"A home without children is not a happy home," says Gloria Castillo, a member of

the Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs and longtime community activist. Castillo lost one son in an attack by the National Guard unit during the fight against Somoza and a second son to the *contras*. Castillo also did clandestine work during the time of Somoza's dictatorship.

"But a home," continues Castillo, "where the mother is desperate because she can't feed or care for another child is not a happy home at all. It's not happy for the mother, nor for the children. Therefore, I think that abortion *should* be legalized, and I think it will be."

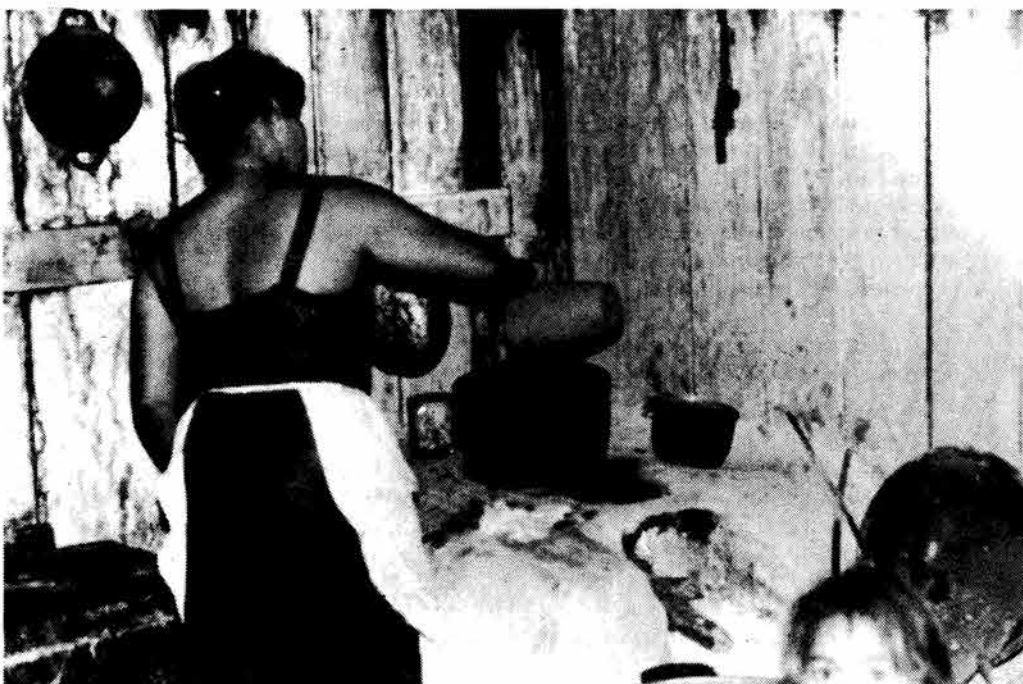
Marlene, a teacher, believes that abortion should be legalized. "But at this time it's not a good idea to raise the abortion controversy," she says. "This is a very religious people; a large number of us are Catholics. Legalizing abortion now would give the *contras* another excuse to attack our policies."

A man in his late 30s volunteered his opinion. "I'm a permanent soldier in the army. I have many children here and there in this town. The burden of raising them falls on their mothers. This is neither fair nor responsible. I don't want my daughters victimized by this sort of macho practice. They shouldn't be limited in what they do with their lives by having too many children to take care of."

The woman in whose home I am staying here, who is known for her tireless work against Somoza both in Estelí and when she was in exile, holds a somewhat different view. "Legalizing abortion is okay, I suppose. But personally I could never have an abortion because I'm religious and because sacrifice is nothing new to me. I think that everyone has the right to be born."

Her next-door neighbor, who is 15 and a member of the Sandinista Youth, favors the immediate legalization of abortion. "I came here to live on this block right after the neighborhood was completely destroyed by Somoza's bombs. My father and brother were killed by Somoza's National Guard. My mother has struggled to raise my brothers and sisters. I have to stay home a lot of the time to help her because she's in bad health from all the hardships."

"It isn't fair to her. It's a question of good health care and it's a question of women's rights."



Militant/Michael Baumann

Although 1979 revolution opened door to ending women's oppression, Nicaragua's ability to carry out transformation needed to free women from sole responsibility for household and child-rearing tasks has been limited — especially by U.S.-sponsored war. Abortion debate is part of more general discussion on status of women in revolution.



unable to get hired or trained.

## Social and economic crisis

The biggest effect of the war, however, is the social and economic crisis it is imposing on Nicaraguan society, a crisis that bears down on working women particularly hard. The enormous resources the revolutionary government has to spend on defense have meant a sharp reduction in spending for child care, hospitals, and education. These social services are needed all the more by women today.

Washington's economic strangulation of Nicaragua is forcing factories to shut down for lack of materials, increasing unemployment. Inflation continues to spiral and shortages remain.

The burden is especially heavy on women because tens of thousands of them are the sole support of their families. At the Victoria de Julio sugar mill, for example, the majority of the 500 women workers have no husband or permanent companion. This is the case in many other factories as well.

In many cases, the women's husband has been drafted into the army or killed in combat.

Very frequently too, the woman is raising children alone because the man who got her pregnant has abandoned the family.

Many working women have unplanned pregnancies because of the woefully inadequate access to birth control and sex education. Women who want to raise a child face the dilemma of the lack of child care and the need to hold onto their jobs.

Those who opt to terminate a pregnancy have nowhere safe to turn because of the antiabortion law. A relatively safe — but illegal — abortion in a private clinic costs at least five months' wages for the average woman worker in the cities. It is much higher for a farm worker or peasant. Thus these women are forced into the hands of the butcher abortionists.

## More deaths than under Somoza

According to one doctor interviewed by *Barricada*, more women are dying from botched, illegal abortions today than died under Somoza. She attributed this to the war-induced inflation, which makes it even harder to scrape up the cash for a halfway safe abortion.

At the AMNLAE congress, delegates reported on deaths from illegal abortions in both the cities and rural areas and demanded something be done. AMNLAE has gone on record favoring legal abortion. It also calls for a stepped-up program of sex education, family planning, and access to birth-control devices.

As the experience of six and a half years of the revolution has demonstrated, lack of the right to control their own bodies — to decide when and if to have children — limits women's ability to determine every other aspect of their lives, from their personal relationships, to their jobs or education, to their ability to be politically active. Thus the abortion debate gets right to the heart of the question of women's rights as a whole.

## Arguments pro and con

On Nov. 25, 1985, *Barricada* carried a feature centerspread, in a larger-than-normal typeface, interviewing a number of doctors about abortion. The individuals interviewed hold a variety of views on the subject and on women's rights in general, giving a preview of the kind of debate that will unfold here as the issue is discussed more broadly.

The opponents of legalizing abortion raised both crude justifications for the current law and, in some cases, arguments against opening up the inevitable political confrontation with enemies of the Nicaraguan revolution.

A male gynecologist and supporter of the capitalist Independent Liberal Party said, "I'm not opposed to abortion on moral grounds, but I disagree with it because of our need to increase the popula-

tion."

Another gynecologist said he favored family planning, but thought making abortion a right would "legalize the illegalizable. Because once the egg unites with the sperm, you have life."

A woman doctor, who previously headed the health ministry's mother-infant program, said the antiabortion law should be modified but not repealed. "They'll call us communists" if abortion is made completely legal, she said.

In response to these objections, a woman pediatrician said, "In Nicaragua, the man is only a sporadic figure in the home. So what does the woman do when she gets pregnant for the fourth, fifth, or sixth time? She goes out and gets an abortion. Many such women die, leaving behind wandering, abandoned children because today there's no one to take care of them."

"The way things are now, we're not defending these children," she said, "we're condemning them to abandonment. As a woman, I have to defend the right of the woman to decide for herself, including the right to an abortion."

A psychologist and AMNLAE activist said she disagreed with population arguments. "Historically, women's reproductive capacities have been manipulated. Arguments about the need to increase the population have always been used in this country. What's the result? Unwanted children, abandoned children, abused children. . . . In this country paternal irresponsibility still exists. Having children must be a conscious decision."

Another woman doctor added, "Today the woman is not the one deciding to have the child. The responsibility for a baby should be assumed by the couple, but currently the man doesn't care or worry about whether he's going to have a child or not. And the woman today decides nothing. Often she doesn't even decide when she's going to go to bed with the man. I have patients with up to 12 kids who have never had an orgasm in their lives."

Another woman doctor rejected the idea that expanded birth control and sex education were sufficient to solve the problem: "Sex education is a long-range project. Family planning has not been accomplished yet. We need an immediate solution so that they don't keep dying. There is no other alternative but to legalize abortion."

## 'Reactionary prejudice'

In a November 24 editorial column, *Barricada* staff writer Daniel Martínez took up some aspects of the discussion. He pointed out that the scope of the problem is far larger than simply the cases documented at the Bertha Calderón hospital.

What about "the ones who didn't make it to the hospital?" he asked. "What about those who don't have the privilege of being able to pay a private doctor to do the curettage secretly, supposedly to preserve their image in society?"

"What about the women reported as suicides from swallowing large numbers of pills, when in reality they were trying to abort themselves with a pseudo-prescription passed by word of mouth . . . ? And what about the women living in faraway rural areas who get abortions under who knows what kind of conditions and whose death rate is unknown?"

"Why is abortion a crime?" Martínez asked. "Put another way, why is it that a woman — single or married — who becomes pregnant without wanting to is forced to carry the pregnancy to term? Why doesn't she have the right to terminate it in a timely and scientific manner, if that's her conscious wish?"

"In my opinion, in addition to socio-economic reasons, many of these abortions take place to hide a loving sexual relationship that is supposedly illicit. Does this society we are constructing want to call women to order concerning the legitimacy of their sex lives? No. These terrible abortions happen



Cartoon by Róger expressing plight of woman seeking abortion in Nicaragua. It appeared in Sandinista daily *Barricada* after a debate on legalizing abortion was opened up in its pages last November.

as a result of a reactionary prejudice, which should be overcome in the new Nicaragua.

"The best way to avoid this problem is by contraception," Martínez said.

"It's true," he wrote, "that for two decades contraception was a weapon of the 'Alliance for Progress,' a type of preventive genocide practiced by imperialism against our people. For this reason, revolutionaries and progressive sectors of our Latin America are quite stubborn regarding the question of contraceptives."

"But in a qualitatively different situation, such as we have under the Sandinista People's Revolution, preventive measures ought to be a free health right, enjoying full institutional backing."

## Fate of a woman seeking abortion

"A question for the enemies of legal abortion: Have they thought about what it's like to be a woman?"

This was the title of an editorial column in the Nov. 26, 1985, *Barricada*, daily newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). It was run as part of the debate on legalizing abortion. The author was staff writer Sofia Montenegro.

Montenegro painted a fictionalized but all too real portrait of the fate of a single Nicaraguan woman who becomes pregnant. Her boyfriend's reaction is: "How could you do this to me? I thought you were taking something." He obviously has no intention of helping support a child. In fact, he secretly has another girlfriend who is also pregnant.

In the following excerpts from the column, Montenegro describes how the woman resolves the dilemma she faces. The translation is by the biweekly, international news magazine *Intercontinental Press*.

\* \* \*

You go to friends for advice. Some sell you the line about the virtues and glories of motherhood. Others are more realistic. A child is nice, they tell you, but it's a millstone around your neck.

It never fails that one woman tells you you're very young, and she passes you a slip of paper with an address on it. Or another tells you, it's a sin to have it done, now get ahold of yourself. A third recites to you the latest encyclical, or whatever it's called, from the pope on abortion. . . .

You, who have never been allowed to make any decisions on your own, now have to make some, and in spades. . . .

The days and weeks pass before you decide. You don't have a nickel. The abor-

In the initial weeks of the public debate, Nicaragua's Catholic church hierarchy did not openly declare its views. But these are well known. The hierarchy is vehemently antiabortion and has traditionally sought to reinforce the oppression of Nicaraguan women, playing on their social and economic dependence to try to use them as a battering ram against the revolution.

Led by Miguel Obando y Bravo, recently promoted to cardinal by the Vatican, the church hierarchy is a central organizer of the counterrevolution inside Nicaragua. Its current efforts are focused on an ideological offensive aimed at eroding support for the revolutionary government and the FSLN among working people. In this

Continued on Page 13

tion costs 40,000 córdobas, and you only make 8,000 a month. When you figure out your finances — if you didn't spend a cent of your wages — it would take you five months to save up!

You know the banks don't make loans for abortions. And the hospitals don't do them, because you already went there and asked and they almost bit your head off. Then they asked for the written certificate from a doctor, a statement that the abortion would be "therapeutic."

You stubbornly go to a doctor you know, and he gives you another litany and also assures you that "it's time you had a child."

No one will give you permission to not have a child. You are driven to desperation. You make a sudden move. You go to an amateur who is more like a witch doctor than a doctor. He massacres you.

And amid the pain, the blood, and the shame and humiliation, you realize that the one thing you *do* have permission to do . . . is to die!

## For further reading . . .

Two pamphlets on women's rights and abortion rights:

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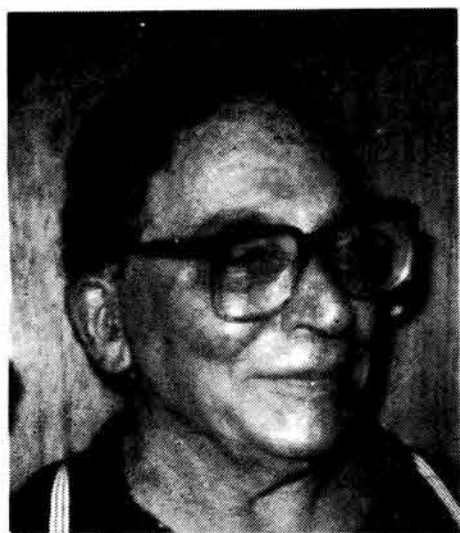
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Both pamphlets available in English or Spanish. Indicate preference. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.



# Founding members of SWP die in Los Angeles

## Mitt Snipper: worker, organizer, and party candidate



Mitt Snipper in 1983

BY JOEL BRITTON

LOS ANGELES — Milton "Mitt" Snipper died here December 9 at the age of 73. Heart failure, after several years of declining health, was the cause of death.

Mitt was a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party. He was part of the generation that maintained the party's revolutionary perspective during the late 1940s and the 1950s. Those were decades when relative prosperity and anticommunist witch-hunting at home and U.S. imperialist cold and hot wars abroad led many to abandon the struggle for socialism.

Mitt became part of the revolutionary

movement while in the Socialist Party, which he had joined in Los Angeles in 1935. He affiliated with the left-wing forces grouped around the *Socialist Appeal* newspaper. When the reformist leaders of the SP expelled the left wing in 1937, Mitt was one of hundreds of workers newly won to a revolutionary Marxist perspective who were part of founding the Socialist Workers Party.

At the time, Mitt worked as a cutter in the garment industry and was a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

When a sizable minority of the SWP split in 1940 in opposition to the party's defense of the Soviet workers' state against imperialism, Mitt stayed with the party, defending the revolutionary course advanced by Leon Trotsky, exiled leader of the Russian revolution, and by the SWP leaders grouped around James P. Cannon.

During World War II, Mitt took part in the SWP's efforts to build its influence among workers in the rapidly growing war industries. He worked in Los Angeles-area shipyards and later at a General Motors plant. He participated in the long United Auto Workers strike against GM in the winter of 1945-46.

Mitt served in the 1940s and '50s on Los Angeles SWP executive committees and as a branch organizer.

In 1952 the party ran Mitt for Congress, taking on a Democratic incumbent who supported the Korean War and who was backed by the union officialdom.

Mitt's campaign was tied to the SWP's

presidential slate headed by Farrell Dobbs. The socialists demanded that Washington "bring the GIs home" from Korea. The SWP slate spoke out against Democratic and Republican attacks on civil liberties and called for an end to the Jim Crow system of racial segregation in the South.

Though reactionary legislation prevented the SWP from obtaining ballot status in Los Angeles in its name, Mitt appeared on the ballot as an independent candidate and won nearly 5,000 votes.

The *Militant* reported that "The Los Angeles Local of the SWP felt gratified over Snipper's showing. An energetic campaign was conducted for him. Numerous meetings were held and thousands of pieces of literature distributed. Many new friends were won for the SWP in the campaign."

paign."

Mitt continued to be active politically throughout the 1950s as an SWP branch leader and in garment union organizing efforts. Though no longer taking leadership responsibilities for the party's work in the '60s and '70s, Mitt helped out on occasions when the movement was threatened with physical attacks, as well as in other capacities.

Mitt welcomed the revitalization of the party that occurred with the youth radicalization.

Mitt remained a member of the SWP until 1983 when he left the party over organizational and political differences. He retained an active interest in the struggles of working people until his death.

## Lil Curtiss: more than 50 years in socialist movement

BY JOEL BRITTON

LOS ANGELES — On December 10 Lillian Curtiss died while hospitalized for surgery. She was called Lil by all who knew her. In recent months, she had participated in demonstrations against U.S. intervention in Central America and in support of the South African freedom struggle.

Lil first joined a socialist group, the Young People's Socialist League, in 1926 when she was 15 years old. The league was the youth organization of the Socialist Party. She was a consistently active member of the Socialist Workers Party for most of her adult life, from the party's founding in 1938 until 1983 when she left the party over organizational and political differences.

Those who worked with her over the years will remember her serious attitude toward party-building tasks, from financing the movement to campaigning for its ideas.

Lil was won to the revolutionary socialist program of the Socialist Party left wing. The Socialist Workers Party was constituted following the bureaucratic expulsion of the left wing by the SP leadership. Soon after the SWP's founding, she went to Mexico. Her husband, Charles — then a leader of the SWP — was a representative of the newly formed Fourth International. He worked with revolutionists in Mexico, as well as with Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky, then in exile in Mexico. Lil pitched in on secretarial and other tasks involved in maintaining Trotsky's household, which was a vital political center for the movement.

During World War II, when the administration of President Franklin Roosevelt was moving to jail the central leadership of the SWP because of its class-struggle opposition to the war, Lil took assignments at the party's national center in New York.

She worked as a national office secretary and business manager of Pioneer Publishers, predecessor of Pathfinder Press. Her time at Pioneer included the period toward the end of the war when the party was gearing up to take full advantage of work-

## Seattle Blacks demand heritage center

BY DEAN PEOPLES  
AND LEROY WATSON

SEATTLE — Since November 25, Black community activists have been occupying the abandoned Coleman Elementary School, demanding that the city of Seattle recognize it as the African-American

Heritage Museum and Cultural Center.

Earl Debnam, from the Citizens Support Committee for the African-American Museum, told *Militant* reporters that they intend to hold their ground despite police harassment, no water, and the cutoff of electricity requested by the Seattle School

Board.

The two major Black community newspapers, *The Medium* and *The Facts*, have run favorable coverage of the school takeover, reporting the supportive comments of several Black community residents. Debnam said many young people have come down to the school to express support for the museum and community center.

One year ago, a task force was formed by the mayor's office to pursue a location for a Black heritage museum. Activists occupying the school have explained that they were forced to take this action after years of foot-dragging by city officials on commitments to find a location.

The idea for the Black history museum was first put forward in 1980 in response to an attempt by city officials to locate a police precinct station in the heart of the Black community. Under the pressure of widespread opposition, the police station was canceled, and the mayor agreed to support the effort to establish a Black history museum.

Advocates of the museum see their struggle as part of the effort to overcome the effects of racism by not allowing the rich history and accomplishments of Blacks to be forgotten.

One example they point to in underlining the urgency of a Black heritage museum is the fact that 80 percent of Black children in Seattle public schools have recently been found to be failing in school. Part of the blame for this, they say, lies with the lack of information available on the achievements of Black people for Black youth to identify with.

In addition, Black children face the negative characterizations of Blacks that are perpetrated by the big-business media and the school system. Thus, there is a need for a Black heritage museum, which could help to inspire pride and self-confidence in Black youth.

Leaders of the occupation reject city claims of lack of funds, pointing to the fact that funds are made available for cultural centers for Native Americans, Asians, and Latinos. These centers were established only after successful community struggles that included occupying buildings and lands.



Militant/Della Rossa  
Lil Curtiss speaking at 1977 celebration

ing-class struggles that were to culminate in the largest strike wave in U.S. history.

As these struggles ebbed and the long period of the McCarthyite witch-hunt set in, many of Lil's closest friends and colleagues dropped out of the SWP or broke away to form competing groups for a time. Lil stood up to these pressures, maintaining her commitment to the building of a revolutionary party.

She actively participated in the actions against the Vietnam War in the 1960s. She was part of a central core of Los Angeles branch activists who organized party fundraising affairs and maintained the party's public forums.

As Lil said in 1977 at a celebration of her 50 years in the struggle for socialism, "It takes all kinds of contributions to achieve a revolution. I'm glad I've had the opportunity to add my small bit, and I'm glad I've lived to see this day and to thank the movement for the opportunities it has given me to work for a better world rather than for personal acquisition or recognition. . . . I strongly recommend it as a way of life."

## Do you know someone who reads Spanish? 'PM' promotes Nicaragua solidarity

Fourteen Nicaraguans died December 2 when U.S.-organized counterrevolutionaries shot down their helicopter. The *contras* brought the helicopter down with a SAM-7 hand-held antiaircraft missile. Nicaragua charged that the weapon had been provided by the CIA and branded this first use of it as a new escalation of the U.S.-backed aggression against their country.

The downing of the copter was also the occasion for a renewed propaganda barrage against Cuba and Nicaragua by the Reagan administration. The purpose of this propaganda is to build support for the U.S.-sponsored war against Nicaragua and to provide Congress with the pretext to vote for an open flow of arms to the *contras*.

But the Nicaraguan people are standing firm against this attack. The Nicaraguan labor movement sponsored a demonstration of 30,000 in front of the U.S. embassy in Managua to protest this latest provocation.

The Nicaraguan people deserve the solidarity of working people in this country. The current issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* helps to promote that solidarity by telling the truth about the role of the U.S. government in the mercenary war against Nicaragua.

*Perspectiva Mundial* is the



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# Bantustans: prisons for 11 million Blacks

Continued from Page 5

The Bantustans are the key to a system aimed at barring the overwhelming majority of Africans from making a living as farmers and forcing them to work at slave wages as migrant laborers.

Although farming is the main productive economic activity carried out within the Bantustans, the system is intended to prevent either successful subsistence farming or the production of food for the market by Africans.

The hundreds of thousands of African farmers, sharecroppers, and tenants who were expelled to the Bantustans had to give up their homes, land, crops, and livestock.

For instance, 200,000 Africans who were expelled to the KwaNdebele Bantustan were allotted one-sixteenth of an acre each in their "homeland."

Whereas the average size of white-owned farms is more than 2,000 acres, all but a few Black farms in the Bantustans are under 10 acres. Ciskei farmers work an average of less than 2.5 acres.

As the Bantustans grow more overcrowded, the amount of land that can be farmed is being reduced by soil erosion, overgrazing, and the establishment of more resettlement camps for victims of forced removals.

In addition, the best farmland within the Bantustans is increasingly turned over to white farmers, or to a few Blacks favored by the regime.

The racist regime has set the goal of reducing the number of farmers in the Bantustans from 500,000 to 100,000 or less.

The most important food crops in the Bantustans are maize and sorghum. Production of both in the Bantustans has declined as the population has grown, and the production of maize has "totally collapsed," according to an official of the white National Maize Producers' Organization.

The overcrowding of the Bantustans is a major cause of the decline of agriculture. As of 1970, an average of 119 people per square mile lived in the Bantustans, as compared to 35 per square mile in the rest of South Africa.

## Bantustans: divide and rule

The regime uses the Bantustan system to reinforce language and tribal divisions that are in the process of breaking down as Africans of all tribal origins live and work together in South Africa's cities.

The system also creates new divisions —

## South Africa invades neighboring nations, murders apartheid foes

Continued from front page

On December 20, South Africa's State Security Council threatened to escalate military aggression against its neighbors. It warned that "all the peoples of southern Africa will pay a heavy price" if they back the ANC in its struggle against the apartheid regime.

The threat was directed specifically at Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Lesotho, and Swaziland. It claimed that "terrorist elements" operate from these countries.

The claim that these nations are bases for attacks on South Africa is a fake. The real issue is their opposition to apartheid, including calls for economic sanctions.

The South African racists fear the dangerous example of neighboring countries where colonial occupation and white minority rule have been ended.

The apartheid regime has been emboldened by the open support given by President Reagan and congressional leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties to the South Africa-backed terrorists in Angola.

conflicts over the borders of Bantustans, which tribal groups will be obliged to live in them, and other clashes.

The desolation and poverty of the Bantustans and the ever-growing number of people forced to live in them means tense competition for scarce land, water, jobs, and other necessities. Violent factional and intertribal conflicts, such as the recent outbreak between some groups of Zulus and Pondos, often result. The regime, and often the Bantustan administrations, deliberately fosters such conflicts.

The racist rulers also use the Bantustan system to try to cut Africans off from collaboration with the oppressed Coloured and Indian population and with whites who might be won to opposing apartheid.

The racists' goal is to preserve minority rule by blocking the process of the forging of a South African nation out of the oppressed population and its allies.

A 1968 leaflet issued by the African National Congress, the vanguard liberation organization fighting for a national, democratic revolution in South Africa, expressed the views of millions who are heroically combating the racist system today:

"The white oppressors have stolen our land. They have destroyed our families. They have taken for themselves the best that there is in our rich country and have left us the worst. They have the fruits and the riches. We have the back-breaking toil and the poverty....

"Today they still rule by force. They murder our people. They still enslave us....

"They have declared war on us. We have to fight back!"

## Calif. Jan. 20 march builds

BY RAÚL GONZÁLEZ

SAN FRANCISCO — Momentum is building here for the first official holiday celebration of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, birthday. Events are being planned throughout the Bay Area that will culminate in a mass march in San Francisco January 20.

Meetings of the King Birthday Observance Committee to plan these events have taken place throughout the Bay Area.

In San Jose there will be a march of youth and school children on January 15. The San Jose office of the United Food and Commercial Workers union will open its doors for the youth to attend workshops on peace, labor, civil rights, and education.

In Berkeley a march will be held on January 18. That same night in Oakland, Stevie Van Zandt, a producer of the anti-apartheid record album *Sun City*, and other musicians will perform a benefit concert.

For the second month in a row, *Northern California Labor*, the paper of the San Francisco AFL-CIO, has carried a front-page article on the King march. The headline of the December article reads "Labor leads the way for Jan. 20 Martin Luther King march." The article calls "for labor participation in all aspects of the King Week," including the January 20 march.

A San Francisco bus driver told the *Militant* that so many members of his union were planning to take the day off that the bus company was worried that its service would be seriously disrupted that day.

The committee organizing transportation to the march is comprised of unionists from the various transit unions in the Bay Area. "We are going to propose a solution to their problem," a member of the committee explained, referring to the bus company. "We are proposing to them that they let all rides be free on the day of the march to anyone headed downtown." The transportation committee is also encouraging a local railroad company to donate a train to carry people from San Jose to San Francisco on the 20th.

In 1985 contract negotiations, Local 101 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union tried unsuccessfully to get King's birthday off as a contractual holiday. Nevertheless, at its December union meeting, local officials reported that the union is organizing a contingent in the King march. At the same meeting, Frank Monte, the local's business agent, circulated copies of the Freedom Letter, which



Children in KwaZulu Bantustan. Bantustans have highest infant mortality rate in Africa.

## S. Africa arrests Mandela

Continued from front page

anywhere in South Africa except in the Johannesburg area, which she could not enter.

Like the regime's other reforms, this one is a racist fraud. The December 31 *Washington Post* pointed out: "Given that as a

black person Mandela may not live in a designated white area, her rights of residence in black areas are severely limited, and the housing shortage for blacks is so acute that families are accommodated only after years on a waiting list, Mandela contends the new restriction order in effect means she must move back to Brandfort."

The South African regime is pressing its moves against Nelson and Winnie Mandela, despite the spread of worldwide protests. Even the U.S. government, which supports the white minority regime, criticized the arrests of Winnie Mandela and condemned the banning of individuals for opposing apartheid.

In a New Year's message, South African President Pieter Botha indicated that his government would continue the repression that has taken well over 1,000 Black lives in the past 15 months. "Without law and order," he explained, the white regime could not be "prosperous and peaceful."

Sweeping moves to dismantle apartheid, he warned, would have "disastrous results for our country."

## Atlanta activities to mark King Day

Continued from back page

itself will not participate." He went on to say that many local businesses "would just as soon celebrate my birth or Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee's."

Claxton City Councilman Jerome Woody disagreed with the mayor, calling King "an American hero."

Following Woody's public statements, he received death threats. Two muffled late-night phone calls warned that, if he said anything else about King, "you will be shot and killed." He also received an anonymous letter with clippings from a newspaper called *Spotlight*, denouncing the King holiday, along with a photograph of Coretta Scott King's home.

Responding to the threats, Woody said, "These tactics don't intimidate me. I still stand firm behind the King holiday."

After supporters of the holiday attended a December 2 city council meeting, the city government agreed to plan observances for the day.

In Gainesville — a city 50 miles northeast of Atlanta where whites outnumber Blacks 22-to-1 — all city and county offices and schools will be closed.

In the midst of the discussions on the King holiday in Georgia, the Ku Klux Klan has raised its head. The December 13 annual Christmas parade was cancelled in Commerce, Georgia, after the Klan threatened to "line the streets of Commerce with robed Klansmen" if they were denied a permit for a KKK float with eight robed Klansmen aboard.

On December 14, the Klan drove its float through several Georgia towns with the racist slogan "Dreaming of a white

Christmas."

The activities planned in Atlanta and statewide to mark King's birthday will be an important part of the response needed to counter the Klan.

## Utah protest demands state holiday for M.L. King's birthday

BY EDWIN FRUIT

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah — A November 16 march and rally here demanded that Martin Luther King's birthday become a state holiday in Utah. Some 150 people, the majority Black, participated. It was the largest rally of this type held in the state in several years.

Utah is one of several states that do not recognize King's birthday as a holiday even though the federal government passed a law making it a holiday.

The spirited crowd marched from the Federal Building in downtown Salt Lake to the State Capitol.

Rev. France Davis of Calvary Baptist Church chaired the rally. He said King's birthday would not be just a "Black holiday," but a holiday to honor the principles and ideas of King.

NAACP representative Alberta Henry reviewed the history of racism in Utah, going back to how the Mormon pioneers brought African slaves here.

The committee that organized the event is planning future activities to put pressure on the state legislature to approve the holiday.

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**Better off without them** — "The Labor Department is considering dropping a requirement that the government make lump sum payments to civilian federal em-



Harry Ring

ployees for the work-related loss of seven parts of the body, including male sex organs, breasts, kidneys, and lungs. . . . Still in the discussion stage, the proposal is based on the belief that the seven

organs are not necessary for the production of income." — *Washington Post*.

**Afterthought** — It occurred to us that the main point the Labor Dept. folk were getting at was that you can get along OK without a heart.

**How bad can things get?** — Doubtful of future prospects, an estimated 3,000 white South Africans are emigrating monthly. One of those splitting is a stockbroker who's leaving behind a big house, two Mercedes and a camper, a pool, and three live-in servants. "I found I was losing my motivation to make money," he confided to the *Wall Street Journal*.

**March of civilization** — Sinners who don't like to go out on Xmas must have been pleased to learn that those who followed the pope's annual benediction on TV are entitled to the same plenary indulgence as those present at the service. (The new ruling also applies to local bishops.) The Vatican didn't address itself to the point, but we assume you can also sleep late if you have a VCR.

**P.S.** — We also assume that indulgence-related contributions will be accepted by mail and that all major credit cards are OK.

**Post-Xmas labor note** — In Rome, Georgia, the Salvation Army fired two bell-ringers be-

cause they weren't taking in double the minimum wage they were being paid. "What does he want us to do," one of the women inquired, "hit people on the the head with the bell to make them give more?"

**Simple** — In a new crackdown on strip mine operators, the Interior Dept. is acting to reduce the rate of environmental violation penalties that aren't paid. How? By reducing the penalties.

**Birds of a feather** — Xmas gifts were sent to the Nicaraguan *contra* mercenaries by the Eagle Forum in St. Louis. The outfit is headed by Phyllis Schlafly, the notorious "right-to-lifer" and op-

ponent of the ERA.

**Adult entertainment** — At the Rambo in Houston, the decor features sandbag bunkers. A sound and light system produces the noise of jets overhead as smoke belches onto the dance floor. Patrons are asked to raise their hands and give the one-finger salute, variously, to the Soviet Union, Lebanon, China, or Nicaragua.

**Things are tough all over** — Pay raises for senior corporate executives dropped from an average 12.6 percent in 1984 to 10.7 percent last year. For some, that would be an increase of as little as a thousand a week.

## CALENDAR

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**Nicaragua: An Eyewitness Report.** Speakers: Jean Savage, Nelson Blackstock, and Diane Jacobs, recently returned from Nicaragua. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 11, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

**Commemoration of Martin Luther King.** Speakers: Eli Green, leader of Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 18, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

#### San Francisco

**Philippines Today: The Fight Against the U.S.-Marcos Dictatorship.** Film: *Breaking Ground for Freedom*. Speaker: Joel Rocamora, director, Philippine Resource Center in Berkeley. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Jan. 10,

7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (at Mission). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

**Living the Dream, a Commemoration of Martin Luther King, Jr.** March and rally. Mon., Jan. 20. Assembly 10 a.m., foot of Market St. March to Civic Center. For more information call (415) 771-0574.

### GEORGIA

#### Atlanta

**Support the Freedom Struggle in South Africa: Join the Boycott Against Winn-Dixie.** Speakers: Rev. Fred Taylor, direct-action coordinator, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Brenda Davenport, student-affairs coordinator, SCLC. Sat., Jan. 11, 7 p.m. 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**Revolt in the Philippines: the Struggle to End the Marcos Dictatorship.** Speakers: Boone Schirmer, Friends of the Filipino People; representative of the Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 11, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor (Kenmore T). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### OHIO

#### Cincinnati

**Socialist Education Weekend: The Roots of Women's Oppression.** Two classes by Pat Grogan, member of National Committee of Socialist Workers Party and staff writer of *Militant* newspaper. Class 1, Sat., Jan. 11, 2 p.m.; Class 2, Sun., Jan. 12, 11 a.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$1.50 per class. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

**Women in Revolutionary Cuba and Nicaragua.** Speakers: Betty Jean Carroll, vice-president of American Federation of Government Employees at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base;

Pat Grogan, Socialist Workers Party; Juanita Jenkins, executive board member of National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees Local 1199; Sue Kinne, participated in educators' tour of Cuba; Arlene Rubenstein, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 496 and Louisville NOW Abortion Rights Task Force. Sat., Jan. 11, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

### TEXAS

#### Houston

**The Politics of AIDS Hysteria: A Government Attack on Democratic Rights.** Speakers: Barbara Matson, Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Jan. 10, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

### UTAH

#### Price

**Fight to Defend Abortion Rights.** Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 11, 7:30 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave., Room 19. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.



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### Zimbabwe's Prime Minister visits



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## Apartheid: root of Zulu-Pondo clash

Continued from Page 5

who heads the KwaZulu administration, is an example.

As head of the KwaZulu Bantustan, Buthelezi collaborates closely with the apartheid regime. At the same time, he has retained some popular support among Zulu-speakers — who number 5 million in South Africa — by criticizing apartheid and identifying himself with the heroic traditions of Zulu resistance to white conquests.

In 1975, Buthelezi formed the Inkatha movement, which is formally open to all Africans but has few non-Zulu members. In reality, its leadership overlaps with the KwaZulu administration and its appeals are directed almost exclusively to Zulus.

When the wave of anti-apartheid protests spread to Black townships around Durban, Buthelezi saw it as a threat to his administration and his attempts to control all Zulu-speaking Africans.

He unleashed goon squads — armed

with sticks, knives, and spears — who have killed dozens of people, including many supporters of the United Democratic Front, the 2-million-member anti-apartheid coalition.

His goon squads participated in an assault on the Indian community in Inanda last August. Many Indian people there supported the UDF. They had also resisted government demands that they leave their homes so that Inanda could be incorporated into KwaZulu.

Buthelezi's political course has consistently served to deepen frictions between his Zulu supporters and other Africans, Coloureds, Indians, and other opponents of apartheid.

Far from being a possible justification for apartheid, as the *Times* portrays it, the violence in Umbumbulu was another bloody crime of apartheid. Such violence will end when the oppressed majority replaces the apartheid regime with one that abolishes the Bantustan system. — F.F.

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

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

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

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

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

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4725 Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 3109 S. Grand, #22. Zip: 63118. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

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

**NEW YORK:** Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 352 Central Ave. 2nd floor. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 434-3247. **New York:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668. **Socialist Books,** 226-8445.

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

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

**Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 15105 St. Clair Ave. Zip: 44110. Tel: (216) 451-6150. **Columbus:** YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 1701 W Bancroft St. Zip: 43606. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

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

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 402 N. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

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

**Dallas:** SWP, YSA, 132 N. Beckley Ave., Zip: 75203. Tel: (214) 943-5195. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

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

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

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

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

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Charleston: SWP, YSA, 611A Tennessee. Zip: 25302. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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



# 'Eleni' — history of Greek civil war falsified

**Eleni.** A Warner Brothers film. Directed by Peter Yates. With Kate Nelligan and John Malkovich.

BY BOBBIS MISAILIDES

About 15 years ago, in Katerini, Greece, my junior high school teacher picked me up by the ears and screamed in my face that the barbaric Bulgarians and Albanians had stolen Greece's children during our civil war right after World War II.

I experienced the same chilling and sickening feeling as I sat through *Eleni*. *Eleni* is supposedly a true story.

## FILM REVIEW

However, the movie — and the book it is based on by *New York Times* reporter Nicholas Gage — is an anti-communist falsification of history.

The story centers on a village of happy, well-fed people in a government-controlled area during the civil war. Everything is fine until the guerrillas come down from the mountains and take over the village.

They take over private homes, institute forced labor camps, murder and torture people, and indoctrinate children and ship them to "Iron Curtain" countries.

The guerrillas find Eleni "guilty of collaborating with the enemy," and she is tortured and killed.

Some 30 years later, her son, Nicholas Gage, returns to Greece and searches out her murderer, only to spare his life out of human feeling.

Vasilis Kavathas, a Greek investigative reporter, retraced Gage's steps, interviewing the same people. He presents a very different story in his book *The Other Eleni*, published last year in Athens.

Kavathas interviewed a former guerrilla judge from the area where Eleni was executed and asked why she was killed.

He replied:

"She was an informer for the enemy. The information she was giving was accurate. They pinpointed us and then bombed us — without missing their targets by a hand's width. Because of this information, hundreds of freedom fighters perished. What he [Gage] writes about the sacrifice of his mother, etc., are fairy tales. There is only one fact. The mother of Gatzoyannis [Gage] was informing on the struggle. She was betraying fighters."

What is the truth about Greece's civil war?

In 1941, with the aid of Italy, German troops defeated and occupied Greece. A determined popular resistance movement developed. In 1944, the advance of Soviet troops into the Balkans and the severe blows dealt by the resistance fighters forced the German troops to pull out of Greece.

Days after the German withdrawal, British troops came to Athens to "save the country from anarchy" — that is, from the resistance fighters.

The autocratic Greek capitalist government of King George II, who had fled abroad during the war, was immediately reestablished. The first thing this government and the British demanded was the disarming of the guerrillas.

Under the German occupation in 1942, the National Liberation Front and its military wing, the National Popular Liberation Army (later the Democratic Army of Greece), had emerged as a popular movement of workers and peasants. It led the resistance to the German occupation and fought for a democratic government and social reform.

By the mid-1940s, the ranks of the National Popular Liberation Army had swelled to 70,000 and it controlled 27 of the country's 34 provinces. In the liberated zones, literacy campaigns were initiated, land was distributed, and the right of Greek women to vote was established for the first time.

The occupation of Athens by British troops in 1944

brought thousands of arrests and the murder of workers and peasants. This precipitated a civil war that lasted from 1946 to 1949. This is the period *Eleni* centers on.

British and Greek government troops tried to crush the resistance forces by isolating their fighters from the people. To accomplish this, they leveled more than a thousand villages, leaving hundreds of thousands of peasants homeless. Agriculture declined by 70 percent.

In addition to the massive number of homeless, up to 100,000 were imprisoned in government concentration camps.

In this situation, the Democratic Army of Greece tried to find refuge for the civilians fleeing government terror, concentrating its efforts on women and children.

According to estimates by the Red Cross, 23,693 children were led to safety in Yugoslavia, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Albania.

By the close of the civil war, the principal backer of the reactionary government forces was the U.S. government, which wanted to replace Great Britain as Greece's senior imperialist partner.

Washington sent millions of dollars in military aid, along with hundreds of "advisers." It was instrumental in introducing, for the first time in history, napalm bombing of rebel areas in the countryside.

Forced to flee, up to 100,000 people found refuge in neighboring countries where capitalism was in the process of being overturned.

They remained in these countries in forced exile more than 30 years. They were able to return to Greece for the first time only in the mid-1970s.

The film calls these refugees and heroic resistance fighters "war criminals," picturing them as well-to-do people and pimps. The truth is that their victimization continues to this day, with the Greek government denying them the war pensions they are entitled to.

*Eleni* is an insult to these working-class and peasant fighters and should be protested.

## Protests in Haiti, Miami hit 'Baby Doc' dictatorship

Continued from back page

Two Catholic radio stations were shut down for reporting the murders in Gonaïves. Fifteen demonstrators and five soldiers were reported killed in a clash when troops opened fire on a march in Cap-Haïtien December 5.

Students in Gonaïves and Jeremie are boycotting classes to protest the repression.

*Haiti Progres*, a Haitian paper published in New York, printed a letter from students at the Lycée Fabre Geffard in Gonaïves. After thanking "the youth of Jeremie, Les Cayes, Cap-Haïtien and Petit-Goâves" for their solidarity, the students declare:

"We will not return to school until the murderers are brought to justice, until there is justice for the teacher Emmanuel Renaud (who was beaten by Macoutes while teaching class in the town of Les Cayes) and until the uniformed soldiers sent here from the Dessalines Barracks in Port-au-Prince leave our City of Independence (the name given to Gonaïves during the Haitian Revolution of 1804)."

## Miami Haitians in solidarity actions against Duvalier

BY ART GERICH

MIAMI — Solidarity rallies and marches have taken place here in support of the widespread protests in Haiti against the dictatorship of Jean-Claude Duvalier.

Six hundred people gathered December

7 at Notre Dame d'Haiti Church for a solidarity meeting.

On December 10 some 150 people held a spirited meeting at the Little Haiti Activities Center. They organized a protest march for December 14, which was sponsored by the Haitian Student Association of Miami, Haitian Activities Center, Inc., and the Friends of Haitian Refugees.

The march attracted 400 demonstrators

who went through Little Haiti and down busy Biscayne Boulevard chanting "Down with Duvalier," "The people must take power," and "Hey, hey, U.S.A., stop supporting Duvalier!" They carried coffins symbolizing the death of students murdered by soldiers in Gonaïves, Haiti, on November 28. Marchers waved red and blue flags, the symbol of Haiti and opposition to Duvalier.

One thousand people attended a December 15 benefit concert for the Haitian Refugee Center featuring singer Farah Justè. The concert turned into a political rally as the audience cheered songs of struggle and heard the refugee center's director, Father Gerard Jean-Juste, urge them to keep up the protests.

Rallies and marches were also held in Boston, New York, and Washington, D.C.

## W. Africa: Mali attacks Burkina revolution

Continued from front page

Burkina's ambassador to the United Nations, Leandre Bassolé, made a similar point at a rally in New York sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance December 28. "We know that behind this problem of the border lies something else," Bassolé stated. "The Malian authorities are just the puppets. They know what they are doing. They are trying to allow the imperialists to come and overthrow our revolution. We also know that the Malian authorities, in the near past, received some arms from a Western country. That's another indication that someone is pushing from behind."

Bassolé added, "We are now fighting to protect and consolidate our revolution, and also to protect our national integrity."

The revolution in Burkina (formerly called Upper Volta) began in August 1983. Since then the country has been swept by massive mobilizations of peasants, workers, youth, and women. Mass-based Committees for the Defense of the Revolution have been built. The governing National Council of the Revolution (CNR) has enacted numerous progressive social measures, including a sweeping agrarian reform. It has adopted an anti-imperialist course.

From the beginning, the imperialists and domestic counterrevolutionaries have tried to halt this process. Washington and Paris (Burkina's former colonial ruler) have taken the lead in this. They have denied Burkina much-needed economic aid. They have encouraged coup attempts and terrorist actions. The neighboring regime of the Ivory Coast has been particularly open in its hostility, providing assistance and refuge to Burkinabè counterrevolutionary groups.

The Traoré regime in Mali, which took power in a proimperialist coup 17 years ago, fears the political impact of the Burkinabè revolution among the youth and

working people of Mali itself. As it has tried to implement austerity measures dictated by the International Monetary Fund, it has faced greater discontent. In late 1984, leaflets signed by "anti-imperialist militants" were circulated in the Malian capital condemning the regime's agrarian policies, high taxation, and subservience to French imperialism.

At the same time, the imperialists have stepped up their aid to Traoré. U.S. Vice-president George Bush visited Mali in March 1985, leading to increased U.S. economic assistance. Around the same time, French Defense Minister Charles Hernu visited Mali twice, as a prelude to greater French military aid.

The border dispute with Burkina — a legacy of the artificial borders introduced by French colonial rule — was the pretext the Malian authorities used to provoke the war.

The Burkinabè government has repeatedly sought a political solution to the conflict, urging that it be settled through the World Court. While the Burkinabè authorities have appeared before the World Court, the Traoré regime has refused to do likewise.

On December 10, Burkina began a national census. The CNR had previously sent a letter to the Malian regime asking if it had any objections to the census being conducted in villages on Burkina's side of the provisional border. There was no response. But when the census personnel arrived in the region, they were attacked by Malian forces. Burkinabè troops were sent to protect them, but as a gesture of goodwill were withdrawn when the census was completed. It was then that the Malian troops attacked in force.

Since the Malian attack, the Burkinabè government has reiterated its desire for a negotiated solution to the border issue. It has also urged the Malian authorities to observe a cease-fire and abide by the mediation efforts of other African governments.

At the same time, the CNR has affirmed

its right to militarily defend the country. A CNR statement declared that "conscious of the urgent need to defend our homeland and our revolution and to guarantee the security of innocent people, the National Council of the Revolution calls for a total mobilization of all the forces of the nation, military units, and militia units of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution."

Speaking in New York, Ambassador Bassolé stressed the importance of international solidarity. Supporters of the Burkinabè revolution, he said, should get out the facts of the war to counter the imperialist-inspired propaganda campaign. He also urged them to organize emergency solidarity actions.

## Debate on abortion opens in Nicaragua

Continued from Page 9

debate, the question of women's rights plays no small part.

Paralleling the propaganda of the U.S.-directed mercenaries outside the country, one theme in the church's ideological arsenal is the lie that the Sandinistas are destroying the Nicaraguan family. This has been coupled with a major appeal to Nicaraguan women to oppose the military conscription of their sons, including the organization of antidraft demonstrations by some mothers of draft-age youth.

The legalization of abortion would strike a big blow to the counterrevolution. It would not only save lives, but increase the confidence of Nicaraguan women in themselves and in the revolution. And it would be a blow to the reactionary campaign of the Vatican internationally against this fundamental right of women.

Thus the debate on abortion is a very important one that has implications for the entire Nicaraguan revolution and extends beyond the borders of that country.



Haitians march in Miami



# Sanctuary for Central Americans

Thirteen local governments in the United States have passed resolutions designating their cities as sanctuaries for Salvadorans and Guatemalans fleeing political repression in their homelands.

Included among those cities are: Los Angeles, San Francisco, Berkeley, Sacramento, and West Hollywood in California; Chicago; and St. Paul, Minnesota.

While these resolutions won't protect Central American immigrants from deportation, they represent a step forward in the fight to win political asylum for these refugees. They are the result of pressure on these governments by those who oppose the deportations of victims of U.S.-sponsored repression.

The exact wording of the resolutions varies from city to city. But they all recognize that these immigrants are political refugees. They reject the federal government's line that democracy exists in these countries and human rights violations have ended.

The resolutions direct city employees not to cooperate with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in attempted deportations of these refugees.

The resolutions are especially significant because they are being passed at a time when Washington is prosecuting 11 activists in Tucson, Arizona, precisely for providing Salvadorans and Guatemalans refuge. Those activists are part of the national network of U.S. churches and synagogues that help Central American refugees.

At stake in this trial is the right to political asylum for those fleeing repression at the hands of brutal regimes backed by Washington. The fight for political asylum is part of the broader opposition to the U.S.-backed war in El Salvador and Nicaragua.

After San Francisco's Board of Supervisors recently declared the city a refuge for the 50,000 Salvadorans living there, the December 27 *New York Times* printed an

editorial entitled "Cities Can't Make Immigration Laws."

Arguing that these resolutions were illegal, the editorial warns that these cities could be punished by cutting off their federal funding.

The real lawbreaker in this case, however, is the INS, which deports thousands of Salvadorans and Guatemalans — in some cases to their deaths — thus violating Washington's own laws on political asylum.

To counter support for the sanctuary movement, the INS has stepped up its racist anti-immigrant campaign.

The December 23 *New York Times*, for example, ran a front-page story crookedly entitled "Aid to Aliens Said to Spur Illegal Immigration." The article, which included extensive quotes from David Ilchert, the INS director in Northern California, was a rehash of racist slanders against immigrants.

Ilchert charged that these refugees were not in any danger in their homelands and were only coming to make a buck. He cynically claimed that they were taking "starter jobs that our unemployed ghetto youth could get."

These refugees will add to welfare roles and strain the public education system, he charged. Ilchert even asserted that the resolutions ending cooperation between the local cops and the INS threatened to "put hardened criminals on the streets."

Despite this propaganda, there is widespread support for the democratic right to asylum. That's why the INS is pushing hard to get a conviction of the 11 sanctuary activists on trial.

The government hopes that a conviction in Tucson will terrorize sanctuary activists and undermine support for the rights of Central American refugees.

Defending these activists is a central task for all opponents of the U.S.-sponsored war in Central America and all supporters of democratic rights.

# U.S., Israel target Libya, PLO

Continued from front page

In Vienna on December 29, Karl Blecha, the Austrian minister of the interior, said he "rules out" PLO involvement.

Meanwhile, Israel's prime minister, Shimon Peres, assured his government that Washington had placed no restraints on its ability to retaliate and emphasized that action was being prepared.

The PLO is high on the Israeli-U.S. hit list because it is the principal representative of the dispossessed Palestinian people. The Palestinians seek an end to their oppression and a return to the homeland from which they were driven by the Israeli rulers.

Libya has been singled out because it has resisted imperialist domination. The one-time Italian colony has nationalized its oil industry, forced Washington and London to give up their military bases, and given support to liberation movements in Africa and elsewhere.

Initially, Israel had rushed in with the charge that the PLO was responsible for the airport incidents.

Its accusation against the PLO was apparently intended to justify further bombings of Lebanon. The standard pretext for such bombings has been that the target is PLO guerrilla bases in the country.

But now Lebanon's neighbor, Syria, has surface-to-air missiles there. To try to penetrate Lebanese air space past these missiles, or seek to destroy them, could easily escalate into a major confrontation with Syria, which Israel may not be ready for. "The Israeli public is in no mood for a full-scale war with Syria," one Israeli expert observed.

Plans to use future incidents to go after Libya and the PLO were set in motion before the airport attacks.

According to Dutch police, a warning was issued in early December by Interpol, the international cop agency, that "terrorist" attacks were being plotted for "somewhere in the world" and that they were "probably of Arab origin."

The entire Arab people are being victimized in one more chapter in the imperialists' ongoing drive to whip up the ugliest kind of racism.

All the capitalist media join in presenting Arabs as barbaric, bloodthirsty terrorists. Capitalist politicians freely add their voices.

The purpose of this campaign is to justify the victimization of the Arab people, particularly the Palestinians.

People react with understandable shock to the TV scenes of the airport victims. But the fact is that years of systematic Israeli terror — condoned and supported by Washington — is the root cause of such violence.

Palestinians in the areas occupied by Israeli forces are regularly subjected to deprivation of their rights. Illegal jailings, beatings, torture, theft of their land, and expulsion from their homeland are commonplace.

Lebanon has been the victim of a brutal Israeli invasion that took the lives of more than 50,000 Lebanese and Palestinians. Israeli forces in Lebanon were complicit with right-wing Lebanese terrorists in the exterminations of 1,200 Palestinian refugees.

The whole thing reeks of hypocrisy. Washington pretends to be aghast at Arab "terrorism," while it continues its complicity with the South African rulers, who regularly dispatch terrorist gangs into neighboring Black countries.

And in Nicaragua, Washington directs a cutthroat gang of *contra* (counterrevolutionary) exiles, who burn, rape, and murder daily, waging a several-years-long war against that nation.

The Pentagon provides planes and bombs for the regime in El Salvador, which uses them to strafe and bomb civilians.

What happened in Rome and Vienna was an inevitable byproduct of relentless imperialist oppression in the Mideast. It is Washington and Tel Aviv that bear ultimate responsibility for the dead and wounded.

# Marx: unions must act as champions of downtrodden

"Trades' unions. Their past, present, and future" was written by Karl Marx in the summer of 1866. It is a section of a longer document that was prepared for the first congress of the International Working Men's Association (IWMA) held in Geneva, Switzerland, in September 1866. The IWMA is commonly known today as the First International.

The document helped the members of the International who attended the Geneva meeting address the problems that workers in many countries were confronting at the time.

"Trades' unions. Their past, present, and future" was one of several sections of the document that were adopted as formal resolutions by the 60 congress par-

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

ticipants. These included: a call for limiting the working day to eight hours, opposition to child labor, and the necessity of workers cooperating internationally to help prevent the capitalists of one country from bringing workers from another to break strikes.

"Trades' unions. Their past, present and future" laid the cornerstone of the communist approach to work in the unions. The course adopted by the IWMA 119 years ago of winning the unions to the perspective of becoming organizing centers for the emancipation of the entire working class remains the direction for revolutionary work in the unions today.

Reprinted below are excerpts from that section of the resolution.

(a) Their past.

Capital is concentrated social force, while the workman has only to dispose of his working force. The contract between capital and labor can therefore never be struck on equitable terms, equitable even in the sense of a society which places the ownership of the material means of life and labor on one side and the vital productive energies on the opposite side. The only social power of the workmen is their number. The force of numbers, however, is broken by disunion. The disunion of the workmen is created and perpetuated by their *unavoidable competition among themselves*.

Trades' unions originally sprang up from the *spontaneous* attempts of workmen at removing or at least checking that competition, in order to conquer such terms of contract as might raise them at least above the condition of mere slaves.

The immediate object of trades' unions was therefore confined to everyday necessities, to expedients for the obstruction of the incessant encroachments of capital, in one word, to questions of wages and time of labor.

This activity of the trades' unions is not only legitimate, it is necessary. It cannot be dispensed with so long as the present system of production lasts. On the contrary, it must be generalized by the formation and the combination of trades' unions throughout all countries.

On the other hand, unconsciously to themselves, the trades' unions were forming *centers of organization* of the working class, as the medieval municipalities and communes did for the middle class. If the trades' unions are required for the guerrilla fights between capital and labor, they are still more important as *organized agencies for superseding the very system of wages labor and capitalist rule*.

(b) Their present.

Too exclusively bent upon the local and immediate struggles with capital, the trades' unions have not yet fully understood their power of acting against the system of wages slavery itself. They therefore kept too much aloof from general social and political movements.

(c) Their future.

Apart from their original purposes, they must now learn to act deliberately as organizing centers of the working class in the broad interest of its *complete emancipation*. They must aid every social and political movement tending in that direction. Considering themselves and acting as the champions and representatives of the whole working class, they cannot fail to enlist the non-society men into their ranks. They must look carefully after the interests of the worst-paid trades, such as the agricultural laborers, rendered powerless by exceptional circumstances. They must convince the world at large that their efforts, far from being narrow and selfish, aim at the emancipation of the downtrodden millions.



Palestinian youth arrested in West Bank, which is occupied by Israeli forces.



# Suit would bar noncitizens from Calif. lottery

The following is a guest column by Raúl González.

You don't have to have citizenship papers to play the lottery. All you need is a dollar to buy a ticket.

But soon you may need papers to win the lottery in California.

A group of people recently announced that they were



**¡BASTA YA!**

**Andrea González**

filing a "taxpayers suit" in court to bar noncitizens from winning the state lottery.

The announcement was made after two undocumented workers each won \$2 million in the lottery.

José Caballero, an undocumented Mexican worker, won the lottery November 4. Julio Morales, a Colombian worker without papers, won December 2.

By December 6, Caballero had been arrested by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)—*la migra*

—and Morales was facing deportation hearings.

To win the big money in the California lottery, selected ticket holders spin a wheel to determine the size of the prize. This is all televised.

When Caballero, a furniture worker in San Jose, was about to go on television, he told lottery officials that he had no immigration papers. The officials didn't care.

Caballero wasn't afraid of *la migra*.

"I knew I would eventually have problems with the INS," Caballero told reporters.

The INS was enraged. Art Shank, assistant director of the INS office in San Francisco, responded, "We're not going to let him flaunt it. If he kept his mouth shut, we'd get to him later, but the way he's talking and getting so much attention, we'll see to him quickly."

The central purpose of *la migra* is to use immigration laws to terrorize undocumented workers so they will accept lower wages and worse working conditions than workers with papers. When Caballero wasn't intimidated, he set a bad example as far as the INS was concerned. They arrested him one month after he won the lottery.

The "taxpayers suit" against Caballero was inspired by this officially fostered racist anti-immigrant sentiment.

The group of "taxpayers" is supposedly outraged that a noncitizen could win the lottery.

But the lottery is just another form of taxation. Like all

taxes it falls heaviest on working people — with or without papers.

Rather than tax the war profiteers of General Dynamics and Lockheed, or do away with tax breaks for the electronics bosses of Silicon Valley, the state runs the lottery.

Millions of working people play, hoping against hope to win. Workers play the lottery and workers — documented or undocumented — win the lottery. Lottery officials know it. They don't care as long as 10 to 20 million people a day buy a ticket at a buck a throw.

The implication of the "taxpayers suit" is that Caballero and other undocumented workers don't pay taxes. This is a lie. Every worker — whether they have papers or not — pays taxes. Taxes are taken off the top of each paycheck every week.

Even in the lottery, these undocumented workers will be paying taxes. In fact, they will be paying more taxes on their winnings than citizens. The federal government claims 30 percent of their winnings as opposed to 20 percent from citizens.

Undocumented workers, like all workers, pay taxes all right. But workers without papers can't even use the few social services the government provides with their tax dollars.

And now the courts will decide if they even have the right to win a lottery.

## LETTERS

### Abortion rights

Portland women's rights leaders spoke out in defense of abortion rights at a Militant Forum on November 9. The meeting took place in spite of antiabortion pickets who tried to disrupt it by chanting and yelling outside. This type of disruptive activity by opponents of women's right to abortion has become commonplace in Portland, both at local abortion clinics and at meetings of abortion rights supporters.

The first week in December, deadly bombs were mailed to three clinics and to Planned Parenthood in this area.

In order to insure that the forum be held without any violence or disruption by the right-wing forces, a defense effort was organized in the week leading up to it.

A letter was sent to Portland Mayor Bud Clark calling on him to "use the full authority of your office to ensure that this abortion rights speak-out be held free of harassment and disruption." A copy was also sent to Chief of Police Penny Harrington. The letter was signed by over 30 women's rights leaders, unionists, Black and Hispanic activists, and others.

The police responded to this pressure to defend the meeting by parking two patrol cars across the street throughout the evening.

Participants in the forum also organized their own defense team, which kept the meeting orderly in spite of a number of right-wingers in the audience.

One right-winger, who has a well-known history of violence at local abortion clinics, was escorted out by the defense team. This put a damper on any plans that others may have had to disrupt the meeting.

The fact that the meeting took place was an important victory for women's rights.

Amy Husk  
Portland, Oregon

### 'Scabs on strike'

I saw an article in my current copy of the *United Mine Workers Journal*. As a lot of articles in your paper are about unions, I thought your readers would want to know about the article in the November *Journal* called "Scabs on Strike."

It's one of the clearest answers I ever saw to the question, "Why have a union?"

It's about coal truck drivers employed by A.T. Massey Coal Co. at Blackberry Creek in eastern Kentucky. Their pay has been cut repeatedly since June. It started at

\$37.50 for a load of coal and was cut to \$14 a load and was about to be cut to \$10.

In addition to the standard paycheck deductions, the drivers also had deductions taken from their checks for the employers' matching share of social security taxes, unemployment taxes, and workers' compensation insurance. They also had to pay \$96 every two weeks for hospitalization insurance and all the repair bills for "their" truck.

On September 11, about half of them walked off the job. One driver was quoted as saying that they "found out what slave labor was like."

Frank Pavelko  
Orangeville, Utah

### PATCO workers

In 1983, the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) extended its operations by picking up the rail commuter service of the old Pennsylvania and Reading railroads.

Several months after acquiring the new territory, SEPTA was hit with a strike that lasted 108 days. Under the old ruse of "protecting jobs and winning a decent contract," leaders of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks union were successful in giving away ticket agent jobs to a private contractor. Today, these workers earn about \$4 an hour and are unorganized.

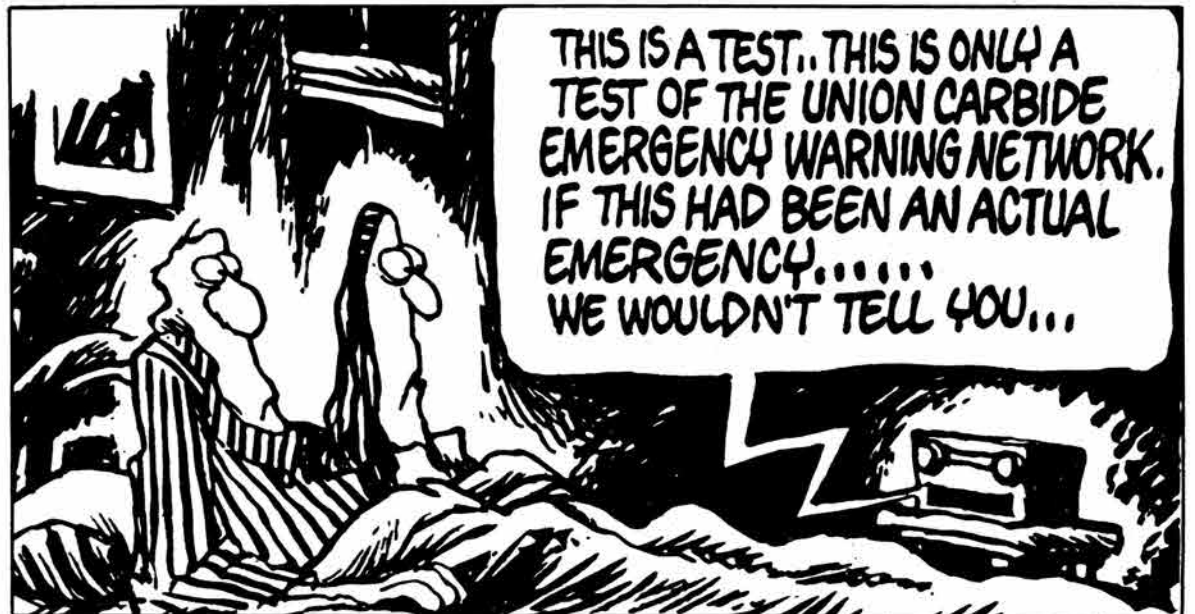
In the Pennsylvania-New Jersey area, many of the former PATCO (Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization) workers are currently employed by SEPTA and are working as tower operators.

This summer our contract will expire and discussion of a strike has been circulating.

A discussion I had recently at work with three former PATCO members made it obvious that there was little basis for skepticism about their readiness to pound the pavement.

Having had one of the better-paying jobs and then being fired, they all expressed a lack of fear of losing their jobs because of a strike. They also related the hard truth learned from their experience that there is no job security for working people in this country.

They spoke of their concern about the young workers that SEPTA had recently hired to be tower operators and were rushing through qualifying at different jobs, raising the suspicion that SEPTA was grooming these new



Mike Peters

workers to be scab labor in case there is a strike.

C.M.  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### Rally hits racist attacks

A rally of 80 people in the Shiloh Christian Church November 10 denounced the FBI-initiated attacks on Black rights in Alabama.

Beginning seven years ago with a two-year FBI investigation of a Black farmers' organization, the Federation of Southern Co-operatives, the racist campaign has spanned five counties.

In addition to the guest speakers, the highlight of the rally was Annie Chamber, director of the Black youth organization Operation Life, who pointed to the heroic fighters of South Africa.

"I know what is going on in South Africa... I see how they've been cleaning up there. We should take a lesson from them."

Sarah Harris  
Baltimore, Maryland

### Women athletes

The Portland School Board ruled this fall that women high school athletes will be allowed to play varsity football on the "men's" team. The board is also reconsidering its ban on women students playing varsity basketball, soccer, wrestling, and lacrosse.

The ruling was in response to public pressure and to a legal brief filed by student athlete Shannon Crowley. As a 16-year-old freshman, she won the right to try out as a wide receiver on the male football team at Roosevelt High.

However, when Crowley showed up for her first practice she was barred from the field. It turned out that she had taken some

time off from school last spring when she was unable to find child care for her new baby.

The school board said that made her ineligible for the team. Crowley told the media, "They're just trying to think up excuses so I can't play."

Wilson High coach Jerry Lyons stated, "It would be a real unusual girl who could stand up to the boys for a long time. Football will be a real surprise for them."

Jefferson High's athletic director agreed. "I think we'll have some real injuries if the boys decide to hit them hard."

The coaches' attitudes reflect not only sexism, but disregard for the safety of all athletes. It seems as though Shannon Crowley is already "hitting them" pretty hard.

Janet Post  
Portland, Oregon

### Farrakhan

I really liked the editorial on Farrakhan. We've been through the charges of Black anti-Semitism so often that at first I thought all the Farrakhan fuss was more of the same. But, the more quotes I heard, the worse it sounded. The *Militant* did a good job of putting the issue in the context of this guy's whole political perspective.

Seth Wigderson  
Detroit, Michigan

### Profits before safety

When a military vessel from El Salvador arrived at Lantana Boatyard for repairs and conversions it jeopardized the lives of workers. The boatyard, which builds small military vessels for various countries, received the 100-foot vessel in August under a contract with the Navy.

In the middle of October, when

work began, some small-caliber ammunition was found by workers, but was not considered important enough to stop the project and inspect the vessel. Two weeks later, workers were cleaning the bilges of the vessel and found an 81mm mortar (artillery shell). Management ordered a halt to the project and then ordered the evacuation of the main fabrication building in which the vessel was dry-docked.

A spokesperson for the Palm Beach County sheriff said: "The risk level was relatively low because it was still in its original (shipping) container." But in a shipyard environment, there are various things that can make an artillery shell go off, such as: a flame from a cutting torch, welding, or a possible fire on board.

If the shell had gone off, it could have been fatal for workers on board and in the building.

This is one of the many cases where the bosses put profits before the safety of workers.

Camillo Coco  
Miami, Florida

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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.



## Haiti: protests hit dictatorship

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MIAMI — An unprecedented wave of political protests against the dictatorship of President Jean-Claude Duvalier has rocked Haiti in recent weeks. The protests were sparked by the murder of four students and a Protestant minister by Haitian troops during two days of street demonstrations in Gonaïves, Haiti, November 27-28.

A December 16 *Miami Herald* report from Haiti said, "Between 1,000 and 2,000 jobless from Gonaïves' largest shantytown of Raboteau surged into the dusty streets November 27 shouting 'Down with misery,' 'Down with the dictatorship,' and 'Long live the army.'"

The next day, hundreds of teenagers from Gonaïves schools joined the street demonstrations raising similar demands.

The slogan appealing to the army was apparently based on reports of disagreement with the Duvalier dictatorship inside the military. But the *Herald* report noted that "Instead of responding to the call for revolt, soldiers opened fire during one of the demonstrations, killing at least three students."

The Haitian Refugee Center, Inc. (HRC) in Miami reports that Jean-Robert Cius, 20 years old; Mackenson Michel, 16 years old; and Daniel Israel, 19 years old; were killed. At least 14 other students were wounded and one was beaten to death.

The HRC also released a statement from Bishop Emmanuel Constant of Gonaïves detailing how troops invaded the Immaculate Conception High School to shoot Cius. The fifth reported murder victim was an unnamed Protestant minister who was arrested separately during the demonstrations and was killed while in police custody.

These murders sparked protests in the southern town of Jeremie, where 1,000 students marched on November 29.

Protests also occurred throughout the first week of December in Jacmel, Les Cayes, Petit-Goâves, and Cap-Haïtien, while a memorial mass held for the murdered students in the capital city of Port-au-Prince drew 5,000 people.

Common slogans at the protests included "Down with Duvalier!" "Long live

liberty!" and "Down with the constitution!" The last refers to the new constitution Duvalier had adopted in July, which confirms his powers as "President for Life." Duvalier, also known as "Baby Doc," has ruled Haiti since 1971 when his father, François (Papa Doc) Duvalier, died. Papa Doc began his bloody rule in 1957.

Baby Doc has opened Haiti to U.S. investment, especially in agriculture and light manufacturing. U.S.-owned companies pay only 3 dollars a day in wages in what is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere. The U.S. government provides Duvalier with large amounts of military aid.

Duvalier uses the military and the secret police established by Papa Doc — the Tonton Macoutes — to impose this misery on the Haitian people.

Since November 28 widespread arrests have occurred throughout Haiti. The army and Duvalier's elite Leopards occupy Gonaïves and Cap-Haïtien.

The press and radio are strictly controlled and forbidden to report on protests.

Continued on Page 13



Miami picket in solidarity with protests in Haiti against U.S.-backed regime of Jean-Claude Duvalier.

## Hormel strikers reject contract

BY JIM ALTENBERG

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Members of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota, voted to reject a federal mediator's contract proposal and continue their strike against the George A. Hormel Co. The December 27 vote rejected the contract by a margin of 60 percent.

Local P-9 members went on strike August 17 when Hormel refused to negotiate a contract restoring wage rates that the company had unilaterally slashed 23 percent back in September 1984. Hormel was also seeking to destroy rights won by the union through past struggles.

On December 21, Local P-9 held an open meeting to discuss the contract pro-

posals. Around 1,000 P-9 members, their families, and other UFCW members attended.

They heard an explanation of the proposal and the P-9 executive board resolution calling for its defeat. "This contract is a sub-standard proposal, one that is inferior to the rest of the Hormel chain, and would not help our members in future negotiations," the statement read.

A serious, democratic discussion of the contract and strike took place at the meeting. The proposal guts seniority rights. Instead, Hormel would have the power to determine who is "qualified" to do each job each day. There are no guarantees that everyone employed today would ever be recalled, regardless of seniority.

At the meeting, workers who are not working due to injuries said they would most likely never get back to work. Hormel is demanding a two-tier wage scale, which would discriminate against new hires, and the right to use part-time and temporary workers with no benefits. Pregnancy leave would be eliminated.

The contract does away with the "guaranteed annual wage," an important gain that has helped protect packinghouse workers' incomes in a highly seasonal industry. Wages remain below the \$10.69 per hour rate paid before September 1984.

In recent weeks, Hormel has stepped up its attacks on the hard-pressed work force. Through public statements and in letters to strikers, the company is continuing to threaten to open the plant with scabs. The latest notice set January 3 as the date for reopening.

Company security agents have harassed pickets and nearly run some over. On December 19-20, when 200 angry unionists demonstrated at the plant gate to protest this harassment, Austin police drove them away. The company obtained a court injunction limiting pickets to three per gate.

Hormel also won a National Labor Relations Board ruling forbidding the union from distributing literature attacking First Bank Systems, a Minneapolis bank that is a major stockholder and creditor of Hormel. For the past year, Local P-9 has sought to win public support by explaining Hormel's connections with the bank.

Local P-9 has also come under intense pressure from the UFCW International officialdom to end the strike on the terms proposed by the mediator.

The union officials demanded that the contract vote be conducted by the International, through the mail, instead of through

the local's normal voting procedure in which members receive a ballot and vote at the union hall.

Included in each mail-in ballot from the International was a six-page letter from UFCW Region 13 Director Joe Hansen stating how good the contract was and that the International would not fight for anything better.

This pressure was stepped up on December 20 when UFCW representatives Al Zack and Joe Hansen held a news conference in a Twin Cities suburb to promote the contract. When 150 strikers showed up — having traveled 100 miles — union officials called police and chased them out.

Hansen said the contract was the best that could be won at this time and that official UFCW sanction for Local P-9 pickets at other Hormel plants was withdrawn. The International officialdom had agreed to back such pickets if it appeared that Hormel was not bargaining seriously. At the Local P-9 meeting to discuss the contract proposal, Local President Jim Guyette had said that, if the membership turned down the agreement, pickets would be sent out to other Hormel plants beginning January 10.

P-9's campaign against First Bank and its "Adopt-a-P-9-Family" financial aid program have also been targets of official attacks by top UFCW officers.

Local P-9 has responded to the International's attacks. Immediately after the news conference, the local held one of its own in the next room.

P-9 President Guyette explained some of the problems with a mail-in referendum. No one knows who receives a ballot, who votes, and what votes are counted. The procedures are unclear, he said. The real vote will be conducted by Local P-9 in Austin. Guyette said he was sure that a better agreement could be reached.

The local filed a formal letter of protest with the UFCW over Hansen's calling of the police. The local also pointed out that Hormel had not bargained with the UFCW to come up with this contract, but had met with a federal mediator without the union even being present.

Guyette repeated the local's invitation to Hansen and other UFCW officials to join Local P-9's rank-and-file membership meeting the following day, but no international officials attended.

On December 26-27, P-9 members voted at the Austin Labor Center and the contract proposal was defeated. Results of the International officials' mail-in vote are to be announced January 3.

## Atlanta: activities to celebrate first King national holiday

BY KATHERINE SOJOURNER

ATLANTA — Jan. 20, 1986, will mark the first official national observance of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday. The King holiday was signed into federal law on Nov. 2, 1983. The law designates the third Monday in January as the legal holiday.

Winning the holiday took over a decade of protests that won massive popular support for the demand to make King's birthday a holiday. On Jan. 15, 1981, 100,000 marched. The march of 500,000 people in Washington, D.C., in August 1983 on the 20th anniversary of the 1963 civil rights march also raised this demand.

Hundreds of Black rights organizations, union, and women's rights groups have passed resolutions calling for King's birthday to be an official holiday.

Winning the holiday was a victory for all working people, Black and white. It not only honors King's record as a fighter for civil rights, it also pays tribute to the millions of others who fought for and won the overthrow of the Jim Crow system of legal segregation in the South.

Atlanta, King's home, is the focus nationally for King holiday activities. Earlier in the fall, the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change and the Georgia State Holiday Commission announced a commemoration week from January 12 through 20. The theme is "Living the dream: ending the violence of poverty,

world hunger, and apartheid through creative nonviolent action." There are a wide range of activities planned here, including teach-ins in the public schools, church services, a wreath-laying at King's crypt, and the dedication of the King Community Plaza.

On January 20, there will be a National March and Parade of Celebration. All state and federal offices in Georgia will be closed on that day.

The day before, a National Conference Against Apartheid, featuring Bishop Desmond Tutu from South Africa, will be held in Freedom Hall.

The 2,100-member Amalgamated Transit Union in Atlanta is pressing for the 20th to be a paid holiday. So far, officials at the Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority (MARTA) are opposing the union's demand. At the request of Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a MARTA board member, a task force is being created to determine whether to declare the 20th a paid holiday.

There has been racist resistance to observing the holiday in some cities in Georgia.

"It's just not something we can do without irritating the taxpayers," said Perry Lee DeLoach, the mayor of Claxton, Georgia. "If they want to have something in the Black community, that's fine, but the city

Continued on Page 11