

## Break-in at anti-nuke HQ

NEW YORK—Someone wanted to disrupt the April anti-nuclear protests in Washington, D.C.

On April 28 over 300 people were arrested in a "blockade" of the Pentagon. A legal rally April 26 and the civil disobedience action were organized by the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World, made up of more than 350 anti-nuclear, peace, women's and labor groups.

In the early morning of April 25, Coalition staffer Nora Lumley, who had been coordinating the Pentagon action, was awakened by a man in her bedroom rifling through papers. He ran out of the house, which was shared by other staff members. No valuables were missing, but the Coalition's checkbooks and important financial records were gone.

Although the demonstrations proceeded as planned, two Coalition staffers had to spend most of the day before the rally at the bank. The effects are still being felt: the Coalition has a large debt to repay and is trying to reconstruct the key contributors list among the stolen papers.

So far police investigation has not uncovered any suspects or leads. The personal contents of a stolen knapsack were retrieved a day later from a nearby construction site but the Coalition's checkbooks and financial records are still missing. Police have little evidence to follow since there were no signs of forced entry.

Because of the burglar's unusual interest in checks and files, Coalition member Donna Warnock of the Syracuse Peace Council suspects he was working for the government or a right-wing group.

"There is an effort," she said, "by the nuclear elite—government and industry—to harass political dissidents." She named the Department of Energy, the Pentagon (the focal point of the protest) and the conservative U.S. Labor Party. Warnock has documented many abuses in her book *Nuclear Power and Civil Liberties* and she's not surprised that the police have found little to investigate. "If it was the government, the police don't want to find out who did it."

—Susan Jaffe

## The hazards of a TV expose

How investigative can a journalist get before advertisers pull the plug? A recent Minneapolis incident suggests—not very.

In March the CBS affiliate in Minneapolis, WCCO, aired one of those 60 Minutes-y we're-investigative-journalists documentaries. This one was about one of the quietest corporate giants in the metro area—Cargill, grain dealer and kingpin of American agribusiness.

The documentary charged that Cargill was arranging sales to Iran during the hostage crisis and has disregarded (through its overseas outlets) the recent embargo on grain shipments to the Soviet Union.

Cargill, which had refused to provide information or perspective during the filming, responded. A 16-page booklet presenting the company's point of view came out five days after the documentary aired. Other food corporations rallied publicly to Cargill's defense.

Of greater importance to WCCO, however, was that one of the documentary series' major advertisers, Northwestern Bell Telephone, withdrew its support from the series.

Did one big corporation help out another, in a cautionary gesture to the local media? The Bell people deny any such reading of the situation. But they admit they don't like sponsoring something that controversial.

"We wouldn't attempt to censor any



A Nestle billboard ad in Rhodesia.

Nick Allen

## Baby's bottle battle: Round 3

Infant formula companies in the Third World were challenged at the recent annual meeting of the World Health Assembly, the governing body of the World Health Organization. A resolution calling for an "international code of conduct for an appropriate marketing of breast milk substitute" was passed with the final code to be presented at next year's WHO meeting.

At a meeting on infant nutrition sponsored by WHO and UNICEF last October, delegates had recommended an international code. Infant formula companies such as Nestle and American Home Products then put a powerful international lobbying machine in motion. When INFANT and other international groups such as the International Baby Foods Action Network released a model code at the Assembly, corporate lobbyists argued strenuously

against it.

Countries led by the U.S. and United Kingdom attempted to weaken the resolution, while India, Algeria and the Nordic countries worked to strengthen it. The final code can still be altered by the Secretary General.

INFANT continues to boycott Nestle products, and by now a dozen countries have active boycott campaigns. INFANT also urges boycotting Nestle-owned Stouffer hotel and restaurant chains.

A bill that would ban all overseas sales promotion of American formula, is sponsored by Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.). The Infant Nutrition Act (HR4093) has been stalled while Congress awaited the outcome of the WHO.

—Fred Clarkson

The Inter-Press Service provided information for this report.

show, even if we could," a Bell spokesman told local reporter John Carman, "but we do feel we ought to know what we're buying."

WCCO's general manager James Rupp agreed. The documentary, he was quoted in *Variety* as saying, "was counterproductive to Bell's marketing. We should have advised Bell the program would be controversial."

Many reassurances later, WCCO claims the investigative series, *The Moore Report*, will go on tackling the tough issues. Perhaps, say, a report on business relationships between Bell and Cargill?

—Pat Aufderheide

## Evacuation at Love Canal

In the wake of test results showing a higher than normal rate of chromosome damage among residents of Love Canal, the federal government on May 23 began evacuating residents.

Hooker Chemicals and Plastics Corporation had dumped wastes in the area from 1947 to 1952. In recent years incidents of cancer, spontaneous abortion and nervous disorders spurred protests and calls for investigation by Love Canal residents.

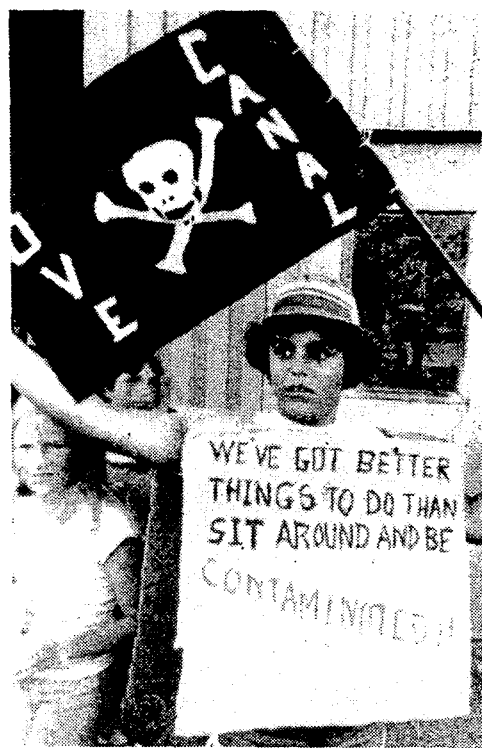
Finally the Environmental Protection Agency began evacuation proceedings of the 2,000 affected residents. The order came after two independent studies confirmed nerve and chromosomal damage, and two years after the first evacuation of the central area of Love Canal. The federal government plans to spend \$3 to \$5 million in relocating families for up

to a year, and to add the cost to the \$124.5 suit it presently has against Hooker Chemical.

The victory, for Love Canal residents, was not only bitter but partial. The evacuation is temporary. No arrangements have yet been made for buying the victims' homes, and some look bleakly towards months of hotel life.

Further, different branches of government are quarrelling about costs. Although New York governor Cary is willing to contribute state funds to the evacuation, he demands that the federal government purchase the homes. The federal government claims that it has no legal authority to do so.

—Pat Aufderheide



Love Canal child protestor.

## Secrecy in public charity

Nearly a third of the country's largest foundations provide no information to the public about their activities, according to a report released May 28 by the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy.

The study solicited information from the country's 208 largest foundations—which receive tax exemptions and distribute billions of dollars a year.

Fourteen foundations, all with assets exceeding \$25 million, have unlisted phone numbers.

The lack of public accountability this study revealed was called "appalling" by Robert Bothwell, executive director of the NCRP.

Bothwell stressed the importance for foundations to hold public meetings and to meet with the kinds of people and organizations "not found at the country club or in the board room."

Findings of the study are available from the NCRP, 810.18th St., NW, #408, Washington, DC 20006.

—Pat Aufderheide

## Voting for jobs for peace

Campaigns to put "Jobs for Peace" initiatives on local ballots this November are underway in Boston, Detroit, Rock Island, Ill., Flint, Mich., and Oakland, Berkeley, Sacramento and Hayward, Calif. A prototype Jobs for Peace initiative won by 107,000 votes to 69,000 in San Francisco in November 1978. The San Francisco model demanded "that the federal government cease spending our tax money for wasteful military purposes and instead use it to provide the jobs and services that our people so desperately need, thereby creating jobs with peace by cutting the military budget."

For information write: Committee to Implement the Jobs with Peace Initiative, 2990 22nd St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110.

—Jim Weinstein

## Church, labor talk coalition

Over 200 members of labor and religious organizations met May 14-15 in Covington, Ky., to discuss how to strengthen local religion-and-labor coalitions. The conference was sponsored by nine labor bodies (including the AFL-CIO Industrial Unions and Building Trades Departments, UAW, UFW and state and local labor councils) and several church groups (including the Catholic Committee on Urban Ministry, National Federation of Priests Councils, Methodist Federation for Social Action, Southerners for Economic Justice and the National Farm Workers Ministry). Conference participants were overwhelmingly Catholic, reflecting the historically greater concentration of blue-collar union members in Catholic churches. About a third of the participants (and virtually all of the handful of black and Latino participants) were from the labor movement.

The conference focused on right-wing attacks on workers' rights, labor and religion's common commitment to social and economic justice and the rebuilding of local communities.

Msgr. Higgins of the U.S. Catholic Conference highlighted tensions in labor/religious relations, including the hiring of union-busting consultants by church-run hospitals and charities and labor's tendency to take church support for boycotts for granted.

—Carole Collins



# IN THE NATION

## CIVIL RIGHTS

# Florida justice had failed for years

By Manning Marable

M I A M I

Manning Marable went to Florida for *IN THESE TIMES* to cover race relations in Dade County. This is his second report.

**F**EW WOULD HAVE PREDICTED that Miami's black community—only 15 percent of Dade County's 1.6 million people—would be the first to shatter the calm facade of Afro-American political life since the mid-1970s. Detroit's unemployment rate, for example, is almost twice as high as Miami's. Racial unrest has been more apparent in the cities of the industrial Northeast, where factory closings and the fiscal crisis of local governments have caused cutbacks in public-sector jobs and critical social services. But for a variety of reasons, the political economy of racism in Miami made the city ripe for rebellion.

There is an old perception here that—as in California and New York state—there are really two Floridas, divided by economics, politics and culture. Northern Florida is predominantly rural, agricultural and conservative in its social and political outlook. Southern Florida has been viewed as a haven for northern retirees, an urban, liberal and cosmopolitan center of tourism and international commerce.

Thirty years ago, northern Florida was the bedrock of opposition to New Deal economic liberalism and racial reform. Claude Pepper, the state's leading progressive, lost two Senate bids in 1950 and 1958 respectively when he was trounced in the northern counties of the state. In 1964, Miami's Democratic Mayor Robert King High was denounced as "the candidate of the NAACP," and lost the gubernatorial race to Jacksonville Republican Claude Kirk. In the south, Miami's heavily black and Jewish populations provided a solid constituency for Florida's liberal candidates; in the north, the cultural folk heroes were George Wallace and Lester Maddox.

Race riots were common and periodic occurrences in both sections of Florida. In 1921, a white mob gathered at Ocoee to stop blacks from registering to vote. In the end, historian G.B. Tindall observes, "44 blocks of Negro property were reduced to a rubble like that of a Rheims or a Louvain." In 1923 whites "ran amuck" through Rosewood, torching a black church and six houses, and leaving five blacks and two whites dead. In one celebrated incident during the Great Depression, a black man accused of murdering a white girl in the north Florida town of Marianna was seized from jail by a white mob. A "carnival" of sadism followed, as whites tortured, sexually mutilated and slowly murdered the man. After dragging the corpse through the streets, encouraging the town's white children to inflict "further indignities," the body was finally hanged on the courthouse lawn.

The reasons for sporadic violence against blacks were, in varying degrees, economic and political. North Florida's booming lumber and turpentine camps depended heavily on black peonage or forced labor that differed little from chattel slavery. Under a Florida state law of 1919, "any person who promised or contracted labor and refused to perform it after an advance was guilty of a misdemeanor." The state legally sided with the corporations, some of which were engaged in a form of convict leasing through World War II.

Thus, many northern Florida blacks

**"This smacks of racism," the judge remarked in one 1979 case of a cop who molested an 11-year-old black girl.**

saw Miami as a relatively safe and politically progressive community, where they could exercise their right to vote without fear and find employment without Jim Crow restrictions.

### Changing realities.

The north vs. south dichotomy began to break down 10 to 15 years ago, due to rapidly changing demographic, political, and economic realities. Central Florida cities like Orlando began to draw tourist dollars from older resort towns like Miami. The new affluence of the gulfport region of Tampa Bay, combined with the rapid fiscal expansion of Jacksonville, gave the entire state a more uniformly urban caste. The demise of segregation laws in the mid-to-late 1960s meant that blacks in northern Florida could exercise their constitutional rights without being beaten or imprisoned.

"New South" politicians in the Jimmy Carter mold, like Reubin Askew of Pensacola and Lawton Chiles of Lakeland, combined a populist style with a pro-corporate economic agenda to transcend the traditional regional split. In the 1972 Senate race, for example, Chiles carried every white precinct in both Jacksonville and Miami—doing poorly only in both cities' black communities. The growing influx of anti-Castro Cub-

ans in the late 1950s and early 1960s neutralized the growing influence of the black vote in local and statewide politics.

Recent economic trends in Dade County reinforced the prevailing sense within the black community that it was gradually losing whatever influence it had acquired in earlier decades. In the most recent recession of 1973-75, the percentage of black men over the age of 16 in Miami who worked throughout the year (72 percent) was consistently below the percentage for white Miami men (75.2 percent), and lagged further behind the overall regional average (79.2 percent) and the national average (81.9 percent). In terms of unemployment, blacks experienced twice the rate of joblessness as whites.

Among those who were marginally employed, the number of weeks between jobs was once again greater for blacks than whites. Even Miami's black female population, working at lower wages and lower status jobs, had an unemployment rate about 50 percent higher than that of white women. Incomes for all blacks, regardless of education, tend to lag behind regional and national averages of other black workers. According to Urban League of Miami statistics the median income for blacks in Liberty City, Overton and Coconut Grove is \$5,600—scarcely above the federal government's poverty index figure of \$5,500.

The sudden influx of finance (and drug-related) capital into Dade County during the 1970s tended to increase black's economic anxieties. One 1977 Survey of *Minority-Owned Business Enterprises* published by the Bureau of the Census confirms the fragility of the city's black entrepreneurial strata. Of the county's 2,148 black-owned firms, only 380 possess at least one paid employee. Only about one dozen firms with paid employees were involved in manufacturing, transportation, wholesale trade, and/or real estate. The most numerous black-owned businesses in Miami are retail stores of the "mom-and-pop" variety. On average, the larger ones em-

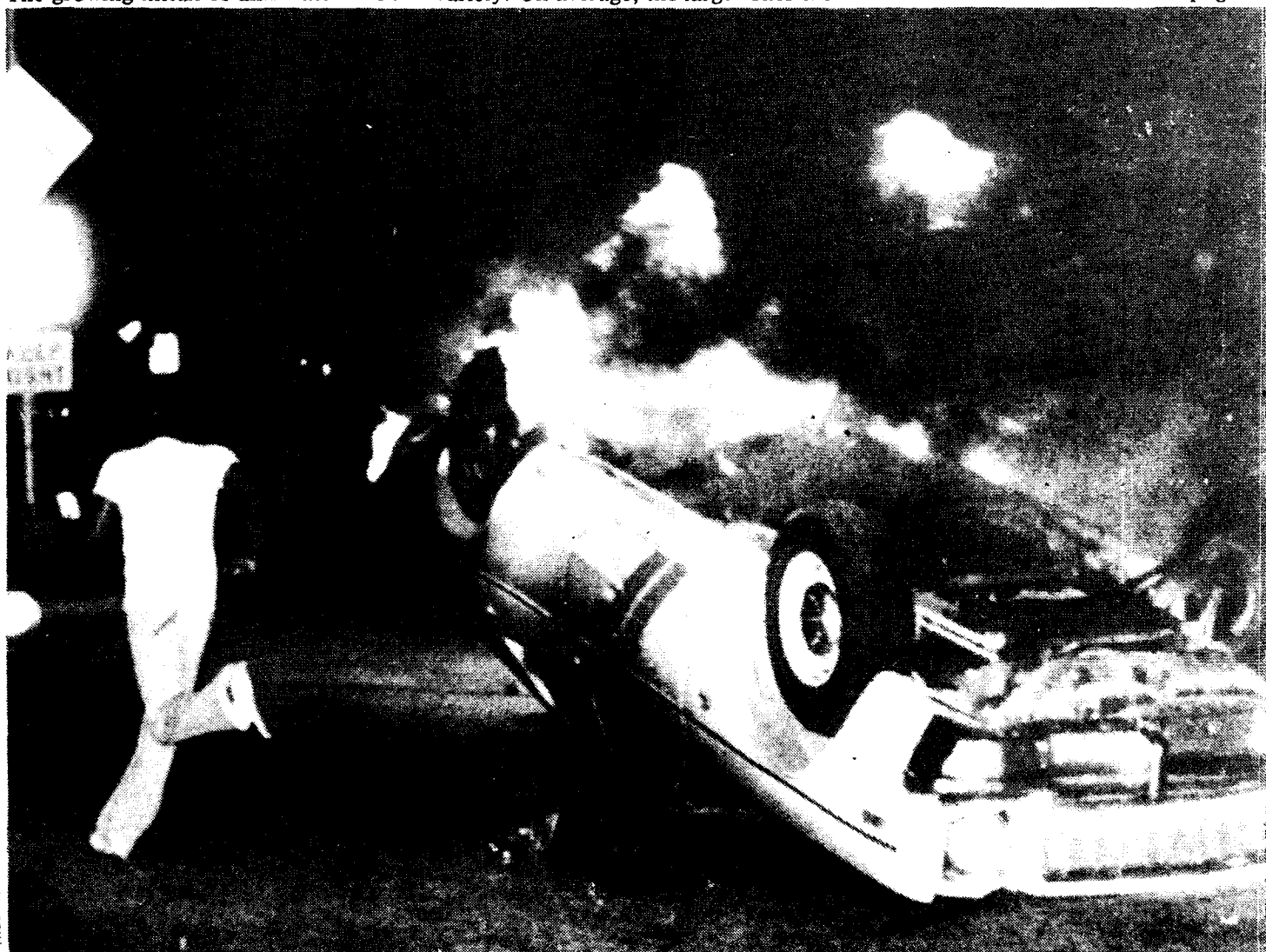
ploy four to five people and have gross receipts of about \$311,000 annually. The total gross receipts for all Dade County black-owned businesses in 1977 came to \$94,895,000, or approximately \$44,200 per business per year—hardly an amount to make the Bebe Rebozos of Miami Beach shudder at the competition.

The present crisis in Miami's race relations must be viewed against this background of growing political conformity between southern and northern Florida, the decline of the black community's economic prospects and the influx of a highly mobile and economically competitive ethnic bloc. Yet even with these factors taken into account, no rebellion would have occurred this May without a series of miscarriages of justice at the hands of the Dade County prosecutor's office. The missing element for a racial confrontation was provided by a history of failed democracy in Florida's judicial and law enforcement systems.

Long before McDuffie, a series of incidents occurred to spark the outrage of the black community. In early 1979, Dade County police invaded the home of Nathaniel LaFleur, a school teacher. Supposedly in pursuit of a drug dealer, the police beat LaFleur and his son viciously and then charged both men with resisting arrest. Later it was announced that Dade County officers had raided the wrong address. County prosecutor (state attorney) Janet Reno, a member of the NAACP and a well-known "liberal" Democrat, concluded that the officers should not be brought to trial. Only after intense public pressure did Reno present LaFleur's case to a grand jury.

Also in 1979, Willie Jones, then a Florida highway patrolman, sexually molested an 11-year-old black girl in the back seat of his squad car. Records obtained from the circuit court of the 11th judicial district for Dade County, dated April 4, 1979, reveal a shocking pattern of collusion between the county prosecutor's office and Jones' attorney. In

*Continued on page 6.*



Blacks in Dade County certainly had other economic and political grievances, but it was the shocking record of the county prosecutor that turned these grievances to rebellion.