

Union Carbide disaster: profits before safety



Indian woman has eyes bandaged after exposure to poison gas. Doctors predict a high rate of blindness among victims of Union Carbide "accident."

Thousands dead and injured in India

BY TOM LEONARD

An estimated 2,000 residents of Bhopal, India, were killed by poisonous methyl isocyanate gas that escaped from an underground storage tank belonging to a U.S.-owned Union Carbide plant. Most of the dead are workers who lived in nearby sub-standard housing.

The so-called accident happened shortly after midnight on December 3 while most people were asleep. More deaths are expected, and Indian doctors are also estimating that at least 20,000 people could suffer serious after-effects, including blindness and sterilization of women.

In addition to the rising death toll, press reports described the fields in the path of the escaping gas as having "presented a scene of chemical devastation today, their crops of turnips and other vegetables withered and covered with a fine white film. Dead and grotesquely bloated water buffaloes lay in the fields and atop one another in pens; pools of water were discolored by the drifting poison cloud."

Union Carbide's main offices in Danbury, Connecticut, said they were sending a five-person "fact-finding" team to find out the cause of the "accident." They claimed it would take two or three weeks to find

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Anger rises in 'Cancer Valley,' West Virginia

BY EARL CHRISTY

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — Some 70 people from the community surrounding the Union Carbide plant near here attended a meeting December 4. It was a regularly scheduled meeting of the Institute-West Dunbar Sub-Area Planning Committee (SAPC). Most participants were Black.

SAPC was established to deal with problems created by Union Carbide and other chemical plants in the area, which residents refer to as "Cancer Valley." Union Carbide itself is located in Institute.

Participants at the meeting were angry when Union Carbide didn't bother to send a representative, especially since it was the day after the company's plant in Bhopal, India, had leaked poison gas, killing an estimated 2,000. In addition, members of the committee had been refused the right to be on the so-called fact-finding team Union Carbide was sending to "investigate" the accident in India. The committee was told the company team had already left.

SAPC has experienced a history of non-cooperation from Union Carbide. One man at the meeting explained, "The last time we saw Union Carbide was in court." He was referring to the company's mobilization of a battalion of lawyers used to prevent Insti-

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Salvadoran government rejects peace plan

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

The second round of talks between the Salvadoran government of José Napoleón Duarte and the rebel forces was held November 30 in Ayagualo, El Salvador. The meeting ended with the government rejecting the rebels' peace proposals.

The government's delegation included Julio Adolfo Rey Prendes, minister of the presidency, and Reynaldo López Nuila, deputy minister for security for the government. Rubén Zamora and Héctor Oqueli were the representatives of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), and Facundo Guardado and Dagaberto Gutiérrez represented the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

As the delegations gathered in Ayagualo for their second meeting (the first was held October 15 in La Palma), hundreds of people waving white flags and calling for peace were on hand. Among the demonstrators were scores of women whose children have been "disappeared" by the government. They chanted slogans and held signs demanding that Duarte account for the missing.

Immediately after the talks ended, Duarte went on national television to condemn the FMLN-FDR proposals put forward at the meeting as "hard, intransigent, inconsequential and totalitarian." In a December 3 statement, the U.S. State Department also characterized the rebels' plan as "very hard line" and "inflexible." The State Department went on to say that the plan allegedly showed the unwillingness of the FMLN-FDR to "explore realistically proposals to achieve peace."

The fact is that the FMLN-FDR put forward a series of proposals at the meeting which addresses the real problems of repression and social injustice in El Salvador. "The Salvadoran people's aspirations for peace can only be realized by attacking the causes which have provoked" the five-year-long war, they said. "[I]njustice and the absence of democracy," said the FMLN-FDR delegation, are the causes of the war.

"The causes which pushed our fronts [FMLN-FDR] to fight with political and military means still continue in force: the death squads have not disappeared, nor have illegal detentions, nor torture — they have only become more sophisticated. The majority of our people continue to be excluded from the participation in the richness of our country."

The FMLN-FDR proposal went on to point out that in the last four years, "50,000 Salvadorans have been assassinated by police units, death squads and paramilitaries."

The FMLN-FDR also condemned "the U.S. political and military interference in the Salvadoran conflict."

"Our people and our fronts want peace, but with justice, a peace without death squads, with national independence, with authentic liberties of political organization and expression for all the popular sectors."

The FMLN-FDR proposed three phases of "dialogue and negotiations."

Phase one includes the convening of a "national forum" open to "all social and political sectors" so that they can "contribute towards finding solutions to the conflict." It calls for the government to adopt "concrete measures for the effective dismantling of death squads and the indictment of those responsible and accessory in the crimes against the populace." This phase of the plan calls for the adoption of

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D.C. unionists protest apartheid

BY NANCY BROWN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Nearly 600 militant unionists picketed the South African embassy here on December 4 in what has been proclaimed "AFL-CIO Day."

The union protest was part of the ongoing picket lines and demonstrations that have been taking place here at the South African embassy. These actions were initiated by the Free South Africa Movement, Southern Africa Support Project, and others. The daily picket lines are demanding the release of Black South African union leaders arrested as a result of strikes in that country in early November. The protests are also demanding the release of all political prisoners, an end to apartheid, and an end to U.S. complicity with the South African regime.

More than 25 unions participated in the December 4 action. The largest contingents came from the National Association of Letter Carriers, American Postal Workers Union, Seafarers' International Union, International Union of Electronic Workers, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and the Newspaper Guild.

The executive board of the Amalgamated Transit Union Local 689 was at the picket line and after work, a contingent of ATU members joined the line.

'Freedom yes, apartheid no!'

The most vocal and visible contingent was Local 21 of the Seafarers' International Union. Almost 50 of them came from Maryland, dressed in their union jackets and hats. Half of the union members were students from the Harry Lundberg School of Seamanship. SIU members led the protesters in continuous chants of "Freedom yes, apartheid no."

Also there were office workers, sheet metal workers, machinists, school employees, and others from their respective unions. Members of the United Auto Workers Local 171 — who had been on strike against Mack Truck — drove down from Hagerstown, Maryland.

The majority of union demonstrators were Black; about a third were white. For many, it was not their first day at the South African embassy. But it was the first day that organized contingents came with printed signs.

AFL-CIO buttons were distributed saying "Fight apartheid."

Picket signs were printed by the AFL-CIO that demanded "Free the union 21" — referring to 21 Black South African trade union leaders who have been imprisoned. Other signs said "End apartheid," and "South Africa: Free the union leaders."

Members of the National Association of Letter Carriers carried hand-made signs demanding "End the violence against unionists." Picketers sang "Solidarity Forever" and chanted "Union yes, apartheid no," and "Free the union 21."

Picket lines were set up on three corners of the intersection. On the fourth corner, 21 union brothers and sisters stood silently, each of them holding a picket sign representing one of the imprisoned union leaders, listing their name and union affiliation.

Union officials arrested

Three union officials were arrested at the embassy. They were Thomas Donahue, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO; Leon Lynch, vice-president of human affairs for the United Steelworkers of America; and Charles Perlik, Jr., president of the Newspaper Guild.

The three officials were the latest in a series of union and political figures who have been arrested in civil disobedience protests at the embassy. Earlier, Marc Stepp, international vice-president of the United Auto Workers; Gerald McEntee, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); Williams Simons, president of the Washington Teachers Union; and

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Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

December 1 rally at Howard University in Washington, D.C., protested U.S. government backing for racist South African regime.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

BY TOM LEONARD

Post-election sales at plant gates and mines around the country, especially where we regularly sell the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, are showing that some workers reading our press were quite interested in following the Socialist Workers Party's campaigns.

One socialist worker reported an experience a sales team had at a regular plant-gate sale at the Ford transmission plant in Sharonville, Ohio, where 3,000 United Auto Workers members are employed.

The team had sold out of the current issue of the *Militant* and decided to give out back issues of the *Militant* and leaflets announcing a socialist meeting at the plant gate.

This was right after the elections. One worker drove out of the plant, rolled down his window, took a *Militant* and said: "Hey, Kathleen did really good in the

elections. I was glad to see that — I voted for her."

He was referring to Kathleen Denny, who received over 10,000 votes as the Cincinnati Socialist Workers Party candidate in the 1st Congressional District.

Two members of the the Young Socialist Alliance, Don Thompson, and Deborah Liatos, were on a *Militant-Perspectiva Mundial* sales team in Arizona after the elections and wrote the *Militant* about some of their experiences.

They went to the Globe-Miami area of Arizona and distributed 17 *Militants* to workers at the Inspiration Copper mine gate and then distributed 16 *Militants* and *Perspectiva Mundials* door to door near the mine.

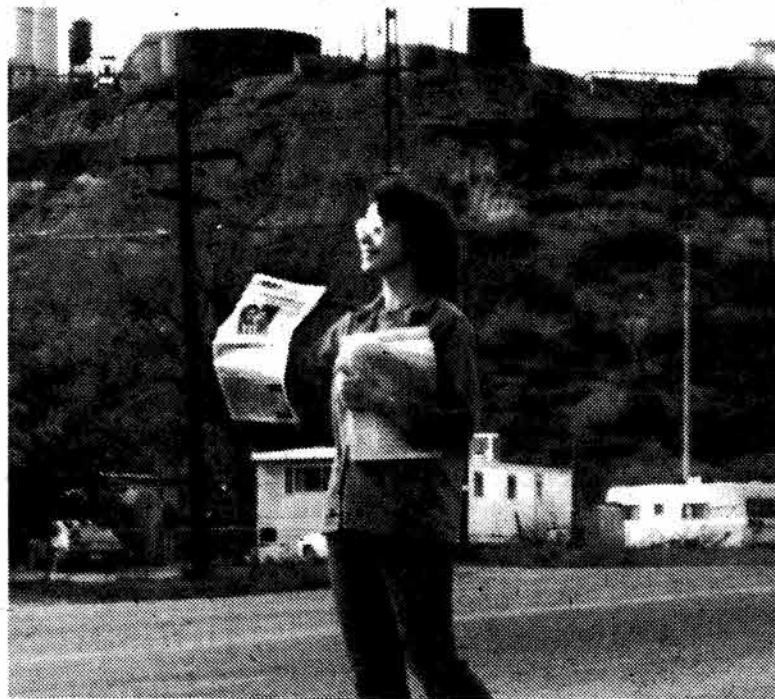
One worker saw Mel Mason's picture in the *Militant* and asked "How's he doing?" He had met Mason, the SWP 1984 presidential candidate, at a Phelps Dodge strike solidarity rally during the

election campaign. "One thing you can say about the socialists, they supported the Phelps Dodge strike," he said. "You people are to be commended."

The YSA team also went to the Kearney-Hayden-Winkelman area of Arizona where they distributed 23 *Militants* at the Asarco smelter and the Kennecott mine gates.

The area of Arizona they sold in has been hit hard by layoffs, especially in the copper industry. They learned that local copper companies are demanding that unions reopen contracts before they expire and accept work rule concessions.

They were able to have a lot of discussions about the economic hardship of workers in the area and about the war in Central America. "All the people we met," they said, "had at least serious misgivings about the U.S. war, and most of them thought that all the campaign talk about 'economic recovery' was a fake."



Militant/Don Thompson
Militant/Perspectiva Mundial team member selling at copper mine in Globe-Miami, Arizona.

Chicago protest hits attacks on Blacks, Latinos

BY OMARI MUSA

CHICAGO — One hundred people attended a November 25 rally against racist



Chicago picketers in earlier protest against attacks on Black family.

attacks here. Held at the Pleasant Ridge Church, the rally was called in response to a wave of racist firebombings and stonings against Black and Latino families on the city's West and Southwest sides.

The first of these attacks occurred November 7, when the apartment of Spencer Goffer, Patricia Franklin, and their eight-year-old son was put under siege for over six hours by rock- and bottle-throwing racist thugs. The Black family lived in what is called "The Island," a white enclave where the cities of Chicago, Cicero, and Oak Park intersect.

Federal, state, and local cops claim they are "seriously investigating" the attack. There have even been noises that there would be indictments against at least three Cicero cops who both watched and participated in the attack, taking no action to halt it. So far, however, there have not been any arrests of the racist gang or indictment of cops.

Goffer and Franklin filed a \$1.1 million suit November 19 in federal court. The suit is filed against the Cicero and Chicago police departments; the First Bank of Oak Park, which owns the apartment building; Richard Siemienkiewicz, the owner of a bar across the street from Goffer and Franklin's apartment; and any of the thugs apprehended.

Two weeks after the attack against Goffer and Franklin, a firebomb was thrown through the kitchen window in the home of Warren and Ada Sanders on the Southwest Side. Warren Sanders managed to put out the fire without too much damage to their house. The Sanders pledged to remain in their home and not move.

The day after the Sanders attack, the

home of Enrique Valenzuela and his family was firebombed. They live only four blocks from where Goffer and Franklin lived. The Valenzuelas are Chilean immigrants who fled eight years ago from the U.S.-government-backed dictatorship of Gen. Augusto Pinochet.

Enrique Valenzuela spoke at the November 25 rally, explaining that immigrants from Latin America come here to escape repression at home. "This repression in Latin America is sponsored by the U.S. government in our countries," he said. "Blacks and Latinos have to unite against

racist violence here."

Other speakers at the rally included: Ed Bailey of the South Austin Coalition Community Council; Tim Thomas, *Black Nation* magazine; Chicago aldermen Danny Davis and Ed Smith; Eileen Collins, Illinois State Senate; and representatives of various left political organizations.

After the rally, about 30 of the participants formed the Coalition Against Racist Attacks. They scheduled a meeting for December 1 and decided to organize a rally in downtown Chicago December 15.

González joins 'Militant' staff

Andrea González, who was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president in the 1984 election, has joined the *Militant* staff.

González, 33, is the national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance. She has been an active unionist in the United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers, and Amalgamated Transit Union. Earlier, as an activist in the Puerto Rican student movement, she participated in the battles for open admissions for Black and Latino students at Brooklyn College in New York.

A leader of the fight against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, González has taken part in antiwar conferences in Nicaragua, Mexico, and the United States. During her campaign she visited Puerto Rico, where she solidified with the struggle for independence of that island. She also toured the Dominican Republic, joining in protest activities against the austerity program imposed on Dominican workers and peasants by Washington and the International Monetary Fund.



Andrea González

Militant/Harry Ring

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IUE hails release of Salvadoran unionists

BY PAT GROGAN

The lead editorial in the November issue of the *IUE News*, newspaper of the International Union of Electronic Workers, reports on U.S. labor's role in winning the release from prison of leaders of El Salvador's hydroelectrical union, STECEL.

"Nine trade unionists from El Salvador have been released from prison and are alive and well in Amsterdam," the editorial says.

"That's good news for obvious reasons. In 1980, the unionists, leaders of the Salvadoran hydro-electrical union, STECEL, were jailed without trial or formal charges after participating in a national strike called to protest government attacks against their union. The attacks included the murder by death squad of 18 STECEL members and the dynamiting of the union office," it continues.

A campaign to free the STECEL leaders was taken up by the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador. The committee is made up of top officials from 21 international unions, including IUE president William Bywater.

The committee took up the campaign to win the release of the imprisoned Salvadoran unionists as part of a broad campaign to expose repressive conditions in El Salvador and to oppose U.S. military intervention there.

The committee organized a tour by the son of the imprisoned STECEL president, Héctor Recinos, to help tell U.S. unionists of the arrest and torture of the STECEL leaders, and the repression and banning of the union.

The labor committee demanded not only the release of the prisoners, but safe conduct for them and their families out of the country. They pointed to the danger the STECEL leaders face from the notorious government-backed death squads.

According to the *IUE News* editorial, "One of the original 10 STECEL prisoners did not leave the country upon release from prison and he is reportedly now dead."

The editorial points to the important role played by the IUE and other U.S. unions in securing the release of the nine:

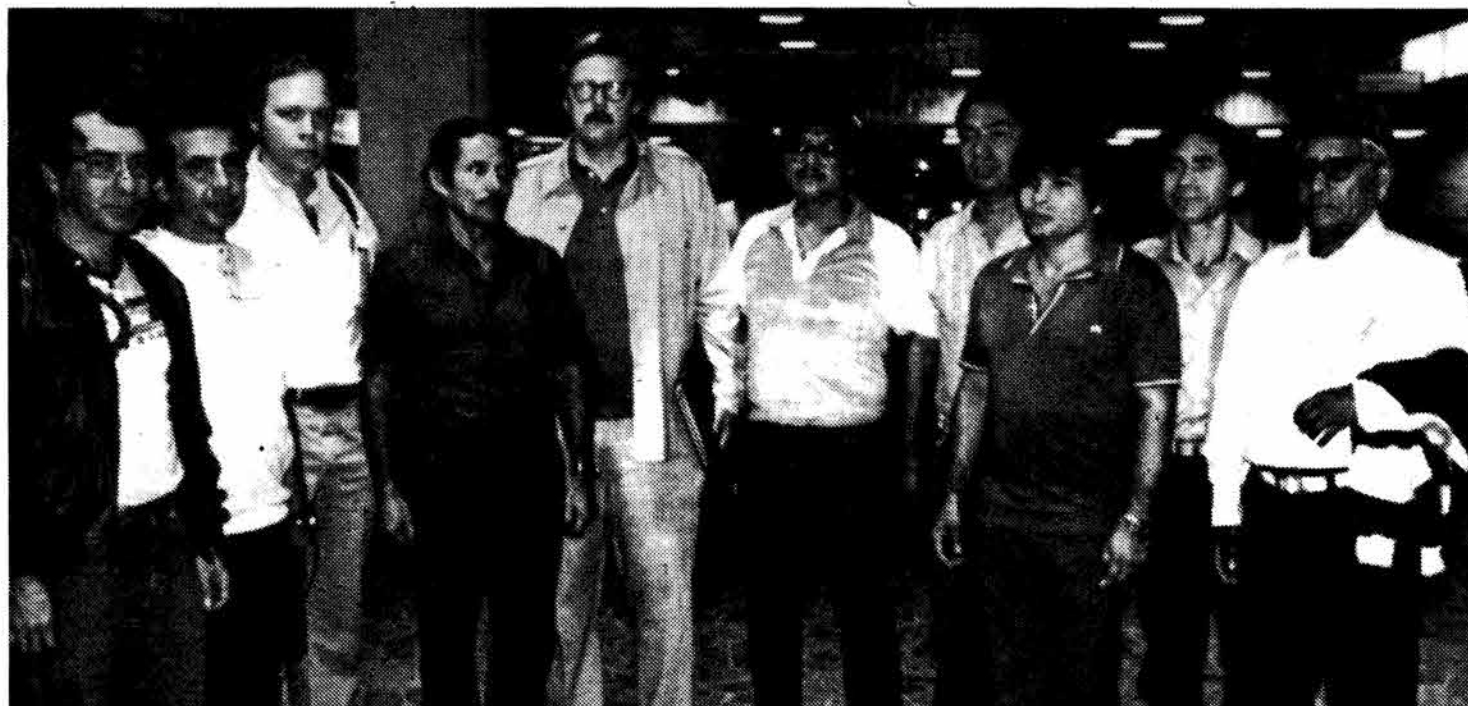
"Pressure from American unionists helped win their release from prison. IUE convention delegates in Pittsburgh passed a resolution calling for their release. Members petitioned U.S. and Salvadoran government officials on the STECEL prisoners behalf. The son of STECEL President Héctor Recinos, Sr., one of the prisoners, met with and received support from IUE Pres. Bywater just prior to his release.

"Similar demonstrations of solidarity came from other American unions, and altogether we did make a difference," the editorial said.

But the editorial also noted that the unionists were forced to flee their country and that the repression continues.

"They are released and are alive but they are not leading their unions anymore. And the reason they are not is because it is not safe to be a unionist in El Salvador," it said.

More information on the STECEL case is available from the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, 15 Union Square, New York, N.Y. 10003. The committee has also published a fact-finding report, *El Salvador: Labor, Terror, and Peace*, which can be ordered from this address.



Leaders of STECEL, Salvadoran union of hydroelectrical workers, shown here after release from prison and just minutes before their flight to the Netherlands. With them are members of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador: David Dyson of ACTWU (third from left) and Don Stillman of the United Auto Workers (fifth from left).

New England unionists discuss Central America

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON, Mass. — A "New England Labor Conference on Central America" here drew nearly 200 activists — most of them trade unionists — for a day of discussion about Washington's escalating war against the people of Nicaragua and El Salvador and how it can be opposed in the labor movement.

Some of the sponsoring organizations for the November 18 conference were: Central America Solidarity Association Labor Committee; Massachusetts Labor Committee in Support of Democracy, Human Rights and Non-intervention in Central America; District 65, United Auto Workers; Local 509 and Local 1475 of the Service Employees' International Union (SEIU); United Steelworkers of America Local 8751; United Food and Commercial Workers Local 616; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Local 402 and Local 1489; and Local 1199, National Hospital Union New England Division.

Francisco Acosta, North American representative of the Salvadoran union federation FENASTRAS, addressed the conference. He explained that the recent negotiations between the freedom fighters and the Duarte regime was a product of the fact that the U.S.-backed dictatorship has been forced to recognize the strength of the revolutionary forces. This recognition has opened some "political space" which has enabled the labor movement to take new initiatives, including the first public congress of FENASTRAS to be held in more than four years.

The congress was held at the University of El Salvador. He said it vowed to build an independent, united labor movement. Even the unions affiliated with the U.S. AFL-CIO, he said, "have become angry with Duarte for failing to keep his promises."

The FENASTRAS congress, he said, saluted the solidarity shown Salvadoran labor by U.S. unionists with a standing ovation, especially for its "decisive" support in winning the freedom of top FENASTRAS leader Héctor Recinos, imprisoned without a trial for four years.

He called on the assembled activists to step up their "educational work" in U.S. unions. "We believe in peace," Acosta said, "but a peace with justice. The only alternative to that is another Vietnam."

Acosta also took the opportunity to comment on the recently concluded elections in the U.S. "Our view from El Salvador is that, to us, it did not matter between Democrats and Republicans. What matters to us is the role of the multinational corporations and the ongoing economic and military war against the working people of El Salvador and Central America." He noted that he hoped the conclusion of the elections would allow for labor activists to unite in spending even more time getting out the truth about the labor movement in El Salvador and saluted those attending the conference.

ference.

Nicaraguan embassy officer Roberto Vargas sounded a similar theme. The U.S. war "apparatus is fully in place for an invasion," he said. "The only question is how and when. But we cannot wait for an invasion to respond."

He especially urged increased educational activity in the labor movement about Nicaragua, including more tours of trade unionists to Nicaragua, and more efforts to get the results of such tours — the truth about trade union rights and the advances for working people in Nicaragua — out to as many unionists as possible.

Danny Cantor, staff representative for the National Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, reported to a workshop that 30,000 copies of the committee's report on the government human rights violations in that country had been distributed by antiwar union activists in the United States.

Carol Doherty, the former chair of the Massachusetts Teachers Association, the statewide affiliate of the National Education Association, reported back on her trip as an observer during the Nicaraguan elec-

tion. At the conclusion of her talk, Doherty introduced Héctor Marroquín to the crowd. A Mexican-born socialist worker who has been fighting deportation efforts by the Immigration and Naturalization Service for the past eight years, Marroquín's warmly received remarks stressed the need for labor solidarity with undocumented workers in building the trade union struggle against Washington's new Vietnam in Central America.

Petitions demanding he be granted permanent residency in the United States were signed by over 125 conference participants.

There was no conference proposal for activity presented, nor were there plenary sessions for general discussion. But in workshops, at lunch tables, and informally, there was a serious exchange of ideas between many of the activists present.

As part of this discussion there was a real interest in literature and reports from the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean. Socialist unionists sold 20 copies of the *Militant* and over \$100 worth of revolutionary literature at the event.

N.J. labor forum held on Nicaragua

BY DAVE PRINCE

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J. — "Two Countries — Two Views" was the topic of a November 27 forum opposing U.S. military intervention in El Salvador and Nicaragua. The forum, held at the Rutgers Labor Education Center, was sponsored by the New Jersey Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador.

The program included a presentation by Ramón Flores, a Salvadoran refugee, on his fight for asylum here; and a slide show of Nicaragua by three members of the Communications Workers of America (CWA). The CWA members had toured Nicaragua this past summer as part of a labor delegation from the Philadelphia area.

It was reported at the meeting that a New Jersey fact-finding labor delegation to Nicaragua is planned for February of next year. The New Jersey Labor Committee made an appeal for funds to help send representatives on the projected tour.

The New Jersey committee was actively involved in the successful national campaign to win the release of 10 imprisoned leaders of the Salvadoran hydroelectrical workers union, STECEL. The group is establishing a speakers bureau to explain to unionists why the labor movement should oppose U.S. military aid to El Salvador.

Among those endorsing the New Jersey Labor Committee are top New Jersey labor officials including from Region 9 of the United Auto Workers (UAW); the International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE);

the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union; the International Chemical Workers Union; the American Federation of Teachers; and the Newark Teachers Union. Also endorsing are the New Jersey Coalition of Labor Union Women and the president of the New Jersey Industrial Union Council, Archer Cole, from the IUE.

Lois Cuccinello from the staff of Region 9 of the UAW introduced Ramón Flores to the Rutgers meeting. Flores and his wife and three children have been given sanctuary by St. Michael's Church in Piscataway, New Jersey.

Flores, a former refugee camp paramedic inside El Salvador, gave a moving presentation of his year-long imprisonment after a government crackdown on refugee camp workers. After his release in June of this year he went to Mexico City where he decided to come to the U.S., crossing the Arizona desert, so he could share his experiences with the American people.

Carlos Santiago, a well-known activist in the solidarity movement in the New Brunswick area, urged support for Flores' fight for asylum.

The Nicaragua slide presentation by members of the CWA reported the gains made by the Nicaraguan revolution in health care, education, women's rights, and the organization of workers into unions. During their tour the unionists found deep support for the Sandinista leadership and a firm commitment to resist any invasion by the U.S. government.

About 40 people attended the forum.

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Anger growing in 'Cancer Valley'

Continued from front page

tute residents from incorporating into a city. This would have allowed them to derive some tax benefits from the chemical giants located in their town.

Two committees were formed at the meeting. One was an investigative committee which would ask Union Carbide for information about all the chemicals used in products made in its plant.

The second committee was formed to deal with the problem of evacuation in case of an accident at one of the chemical plants. It will be responsible for contacting not only Union Carbide but Dupont, FMC, Monsanto, and some smaller companies to demand a coordinated evacuation plan for the whole Kanawha Valley, which Institute is part of.

Residents live in an atmosphere of foul odors, foggy and strange-colored air, and hear sirens going off at all hours of the day.

There are regular incidents of chemical related damage in the area, including acid eating paint off automobiles. Over the years there have been other serious incidents. In 1954, Institute had to be evacuated because of an accident at the Union Carbide plant when a gas tanker blew up. Later, in 1978, over 100 Union Carbide workers were sent to the hospital when they were exposed to a chemical leak at the plant.

In nearby Nitro, West Virginia, over 100 Monsanto workers are currently suing that company for compensation for diseases and disorders resulting from their having to handle 2,4,5-T, which is a component of dioxin. They have been in court a long time because Monsanto keeps bringing in new lawyers and so-called experts to try to discredit the workers' witnesses.

Joan Radin, a laid-off coal miner and 1984 Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senate from West Virginia, attended the Institute meeting. She said the meeting was a good beginning and that "there are lots of retired coal miners living in Institute and West Dunbar who have some experience with social movements on health and safety."

"Many of them participated in the black lung movement which was active in this area. That movement succeeded in winning safety provisions in the mines and monetary compensation for miners suffering from black lung."

One of the best received demands in Radin's socialist campaign was that chemical giants in the area should be forced to turn over to the unions lists of all the chemicals that workers are exposed to in "Cancer Valley."

Duarte government rejects peace plan

Continued from front page

verifiable measures to abolish torture, halt kidnapping and guarantee the safe public political activity of popular organizations, unions and political parties.

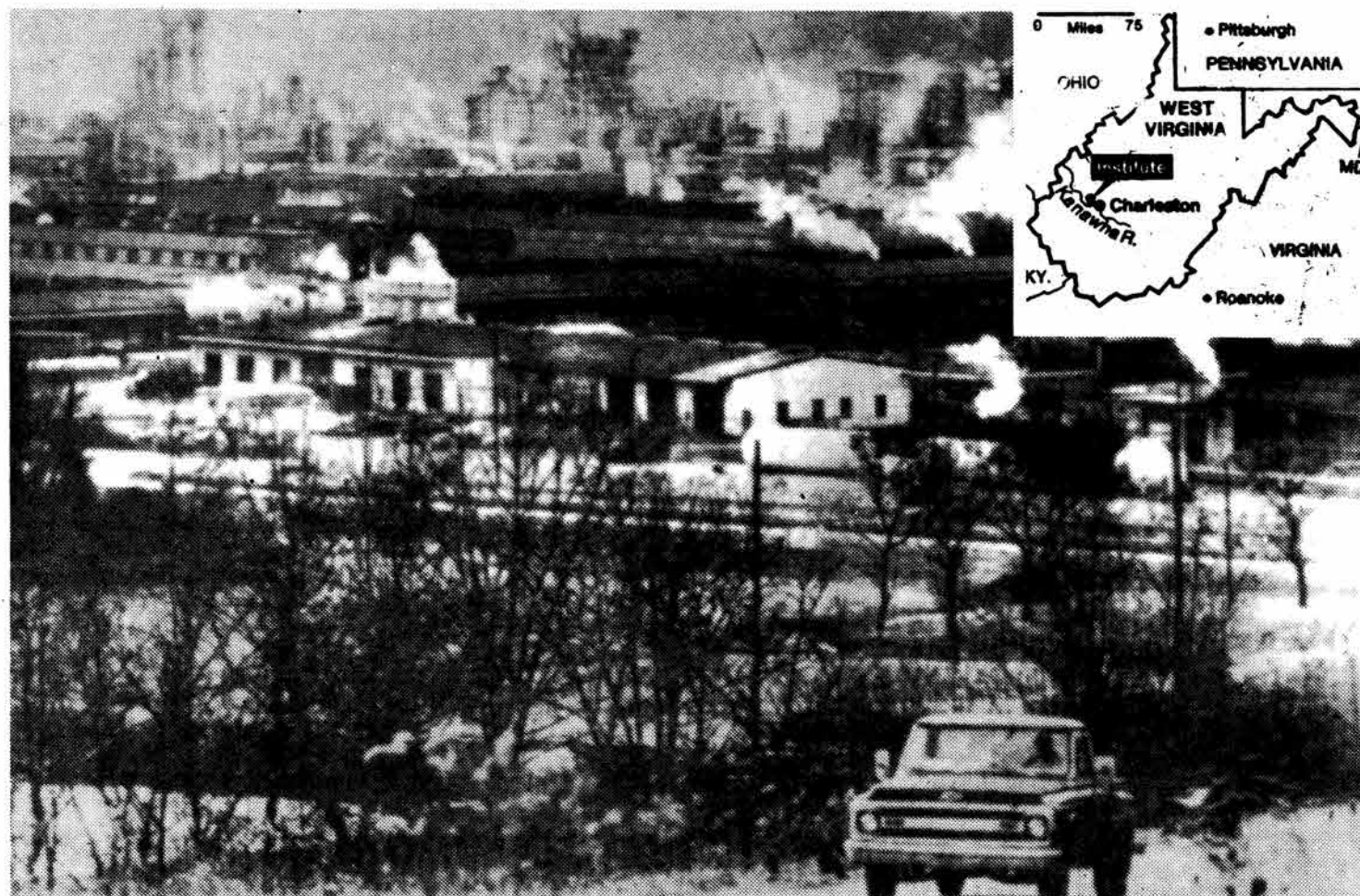
Phase one also contains proposals on the conduct of the war. These include ending the bombing of civilian areas and respect for prisoners' lives.

It calls for the withdrawal of all U.S. military advisers and the suspension of military exercises and maneuvers with U.S. or other foreign troops inside El Salvador. The FMLN-FDR calls for an end to all arms imports into El Salvador.

Phase two involves conditions for a cease fire. It calls for ceasing "the interference of the U.S. and of any other state in the internal politics of the country, the decisions of the government and the conduct of the armed forces." This phase of the proposal also includes a call for "the destruction of the repressive apparatus" as well as the "adoption of an electoral calendar." It demands that the government "attend to the most urgent and immediate necessities of the popular majority and adopt measures to make economic and social structural transformation possible."

Phase three includes a call for the installation of a "government of national consensus."

In rejecting the FMLN-FDR proposals, the government reiterated its demands, previously made at the La Palma meeting,



Union Carbide plant in Institute, West Virginia.



Union Carbide kills thousands in India

Continued from front page

This is complete nonsense. The real purpose of the team is to cover up Union Carbide's criminally unsafe production methods. But plant supervisors in Bhopal have already fingered the cause, and it clearly points to company negligence. They said the 15-ton underground storage tank containing poison had not been tapped since October and so much pressure had built up within the tank that it had "overpassed" a safety filter.

What's clear is that Union Carbide was able to operate its plant without any regard for health and safety.

Workers at the plant, all of whom managed to escape the poison, pointed this out. Two union leaders, Madanlal Ganji and R.K. Yadav, accused Union Carbide and the Indian government of "total apathy and negligence." They said they had warned the company many times that working conditions at the plant had to be improved.

Like workers in the United States, who also face an up-hill fight for safe working conditions, the Indian workers' warnings were ignored.

Union Carbide has a plant in Institute, West Virginia, right outside Charleston, which also uses methyl isocyanate to manufacture insecticides. The plant is also surrounded by low cost housing occupied by poor Black and white workers, many of whom have participated in efforts to win safety concessions from Union Carbide.

A lot of national attention has focused on this plant and it wasn't very reassuring when Union Carbide spokesman Jackson Browning told the press that the seven-year-old Bhopal plant was operating under the same safety standards as the West Virginia plant and that its executives and managers had been trained in the United States.

Just as in India, Union Carbide has great respect for profits and none for the lives and health and safety of employees and residents living near their Institute plant. (See accompanying story).

This fall, for example, the company was fined \$50,000 for burning toxic waste in violation of West Virginia state laws. It has also paid lesser fines for so-called smaller violations like failing to keep records of cases of asbestos-related lung diseases.

Despite Union Carbide's flagrant health and safety violations in this country, it is given a free hand to run its plants. On December 4, for example, Hugh Kaufman, an Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) spokesman, said a Bhopal "accident" could happen here and that his office was not equipped to monitor plants and had to rely



Survivors of poison gas bury victims in Bhopal, India.

on self-policing by companies.

Another EPA official, John Skinner, head of the Office of Solid Waste, said there were no regulations governing underground storage tanks and added, "We do have information that a high percentage of these tanks are leaking. . . ."

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Puerto Ricans resist U.S. war build-up

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

Part of the U.S. government's preparations for deeper intervention in Nicaragua has been stepped-up militarization of Central America and the Caribbean. In these preparations, the U.S. government has not overlooked its colony in the Caribbean — Puerto Rico.

This island, already the site for 15 U.S. military bases, has been increasingly militarized since the victories of the revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada in 1979. The Ramey Air Force Base in Aguadilla — one of the old bases that had been closed down — was recently reopened. Vieques, a small island off the coast of Puerto Rico and part of its national territory, has been the scene of massive U.S. naval maneuvers, including the practice invasion of Grenada in 1981 and this year's Ocean Venture II maneuvers directed against Cuba.

In mid-November, Washington escalated its threats against Nicaragua and stepped up military maneuvers on land and sea around that country. This deepened the debate in Puerto Rico over Washington's use of the island as a base for its aggression and over whether Puerto Ricans should fight and die in a U.S. war against Nicaragua.

At a press conference on November 13, Carlos Gallisá, the general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, reported that Washington has plans to install 5,000 U.S. troops at the National Guard base in Salinas, Puerto Rico.

Enrique Colón, president of the Puerto Rican Committee in Solidarity with El Salvador, said November 12 on a radio show that approximately 60 Puerto Ricans have been recruited as mercenaries for the CIA army fighting against the Nicaraguan government. Colón pointed to the extremely high unemployment rate as the reason that young people agree to go and act as mercenaries against the Nicaraguans.

A number of Puerto Rican independence activists and opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America have charged that there are plans to involve the Puerto Rican National Guard in military attacks on Nicaragua.

In response, General Luis González Vales, commander of the Puerto Rican National Guard, denied that the Guard has been put on alert or designated to participate in military operations in Nicaragua. But, he explained, the National Guard will be participating in a training mission in Panama this year. González Vales also acknowledged that the Guard had participated in exercises in Central America. And he explained that President Reagan has the power to activate the Guard and to decide

Colorado miners win new union contract

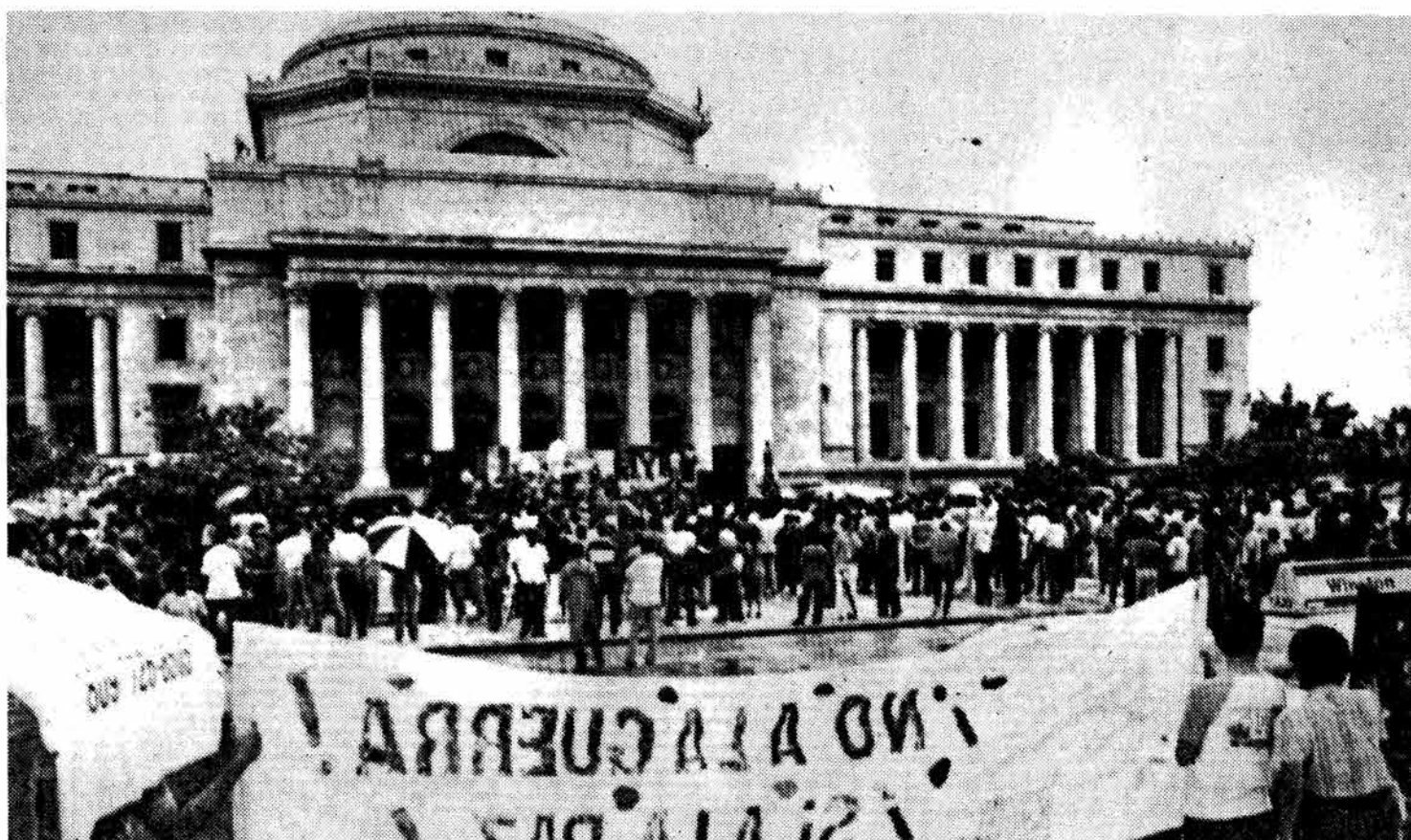
BY DUNCAN WILLIAMS

DENVER — On November 12, after a 75-day strike, the members of United Mine Workers Local 1799 returned to work with a new contract at the Empire Energy mine in Craig, Colorado.

The 42-month agreement registered several modest gains for the union. In wages, the miners won a \$1 an hour increase over the life of the contract. More importantly, the union beat back an attempt to cut medical benefits. The company sought to impose a deductible of \$100 a year. "We knew they would go after the medical coverage," said Tony Grajeda, president of Local 1799. "It was important to fight it because next time they might try to go for an 80-20 arrangement" where the miners would have to pay a full 20 percent of medical bills.

The company's proposal in August had been an 80 cents an hour raise over three years and a \$100 deductible, or a 45 cents an hour raise with no deductible. The miners rejected that offer and struck.

Grajeda also told the *Militant* that the company had proposed bringing in new hires at a trainee rate of \$12 an hour for the first six months (current rate is \$13.31 an hour). The union rejected this. "We didn't like it," he said. "We didn't want the new hires to be isolated from the membership in that respect."



December 2 demonstration of Puerto Ricans in front of capitol in San Juan protested use of Puerto Rican troops in U.S. war against Nicaragua. Press estimated number of demonstrators as high as 3,000.

its participation in any regional conflict.

Antiwar activities — focused on opposition to use of the Puerto Rican National Guard — have been organized across the island. On November 18, dozens of members of the Roberto Clemente Brigade, named after the Puerto Rican baseball player who died while bringing aid to Nicaragua after the earthquake in 1976, organized an action outside the National Guard base at Salinas to educate the guardsmen about the U.S. war in Nicaragua. The activists carried signs that said "Puerto Rican, Nicaragua is not your enemy." They gave out leaflets explaining to the guardsmen that they shouldn't attack

a people who are only fighting for their sovereignty, self-determination, and peace. The youth also gave the guardsmen Christmas cards that said, "don't give your life and your blood as gifts to the aggressors."

On November 15, leaders representing political, civic, and religious organizations held a meeting and decided to join the Puerto Rican Coordinating Committee in Solidarity with the People of Central America and the Caribbean (CPSPPC), one of the many solidarity groups on the island.

Sixty religious leaders called on the government of Puerto Rico to stop at all costs

the use of Puerto Rican soldiers in a fratricidal war against Nicaragua.

Opposition to Puerto Rican involvement in the U.S. war in Central America has put tremendous pressure on the capitalist parties on the island. Rafael Hernández Colón, head of the Popular Democratic Party (PPD) and newly elected governor of the island, publicly supports Reagan's policy in Central America. At the same time, Severo Colberg, speaker of the House of Representatives and another leader of the PPD, has called on the new governor to energetically oppose the utilization of the Puerto Rican National Guard in military operations in Nicaragua.

Canadians discuss affirmative action

The following are excerpts from two articles in the December 3 *Socialist Voice*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the Canadian Revolutionary Workers League.

BY JOAN NEWBIGGING

MONTREAL — More than 400 trade unionists, 75 percent of them women, participated in a conference on affirmative action organized by the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ) here October 28-30. The FTQ is the largest trade-union federation in Quebec and organizes 135,000 women workers.

The decision to hold the conference was made at the FTQ convention last December when a position paper was adopted in support of union-negotiated affirmative action programs. The purpose of the conference, which had been preceded by a series of meetings with trade unionists across Quebec, was to discuss the content of these programs.

The conference took place two months after a federal human rights tribunal found Canadian National Railways guilty of systematic discrimination against women in its hiring practices. This landmark judgement requires CN to hire at least one woman for every four blue collar positions it fills until women hold 13 percent of these jobs.

A resolution was passed at the conference condemning CN's decision to appeal this ruling.

The need for strong measures to combat the discrimination women face at work was evident through the workshop discussions. Women from many different workplaces testified to the unequal treatment they receive.

Garment workers spoke of how the higher-paying jobs of cutter and tailor are reserved for men. Supermarket employees at Steinbergs described how women are restricted to clerk positions. Bell Canada workers explained how women have not been able to break into technicians' jobs.

Conference participants discussed a wide range of measures that need to be taken to correct this situation. One of the most contentious questions was that of hiring quotas, around which a lively plenary discussion took place. Although a document included in the delegate kits presented the CN ruling as an example of how to establish targets and timetables, a number of delegates, including FTQ President Louis Laberge, disagreed with the need to impose hiring quotas.

The resolution adopted on this question was unclear. However, the discussion itself demonstrated that the majority of delegates supported the imposition of quotas.

It is clear that the discussion on this important issue will continue within the Quebec trade-union movement.

BY MARY RAYMOND

VANCOUVER — A panel of speakers from the New Democratic Party (NDP), labor and the women's movement addressed a public meeting in support of affirmative action held here. More than 50 people attended the November 9 meeting to support the Women in Paper campaign launched to protest the refusal of Belkin Paperboard and Crown Forest Industries to hire women as production workers.

Also highlighted was the need to force Canadian National to withdraw its court appeal of a Canadian Human Rights Tribunal ruling ordering it to implement a quota-based affirmative action program.

April Hurmuses, a railworker representing the United Transportation Union Local 701, told the meeting how she had fought against CN's sexist policies for several years. Hurmuses first launched a complaint with the Canadian Human Rights Commission against CN's refusal to hire her in 1979. Today she is involved in a struggle to get CN to build separate shower facilities for women workers. Hurmuses explained that out of CN's total work force of 51,000 only 276 women occupy industrial jobs.

Astrid Davidson, director of Women's Programs for the B.C. (British Columbia) Federation of Labor, told the meeting that the federation would not rest until the two paper companies hired women. Davidson said that the labor movement must start coming to grips with what affirmative action means. She encouraged the beginning of an educational process in the trade-union movement that would begin to dispel fears about hiring quotas.

Davidson also called for a discussion on how seniority provisions in union contracts could be made to work for, instead of against, women trying to break into the industrial workplace.

Representing the Vancouver Status of Women, Susan O'Donnell pointed to how the ruling class uses high unemployment to foster divisions among workers. She called on the labor movement to mount an effective campaign against unemployment as a central way to end competition among workers.

Colin Gabelmann, NDP labor critic in the B.C. legislature, chastised politicians for their verbose but empty rhetoric in support of affirmative action. Gabelmann admitted that the NDP — which is Canada's labor party — was not exempt from criticism. He said that current NDP policy on affirmative action lacks teeth because it relies too heavily on voluntary cooperation from the business sector who have a dismal track record on providing equal job opportunities for women.

Art Gruntman, vice-president of the Canadian Paperworkers Union (CPU), spoke about the CPU's history of fighting for women's rights in the industrial workplace. He said that the CPU was one of the first unions to bargain for equal pay provisions for its women members and described how the union had successfully bargained for plant-wide seniority to ensure that women workers had access to all jobs in paper plants. He congratulated the Women in Paper campaign for the way in which it had educated CPU members and received their enthusiastic support.

BY PAT SMITH

HARLINGEN, Tex. — Five members of the Young Socialist Alliance campaigned in the Rio Grande Valley from October 30 through November 1.

There has been propaganda in the capitalist press that students as a whole are getting more conservative. But this is not what our team of young socialists found to be the case among students we met here at the predominantly Chicano Pan Am University.

In the Valley the cost of education is high, and there is an unemployment rate of approximately 20 percent.

We learned that many students are angry over Washington's war in Central America. Many are worried about the harassment of Chicanos and undocumented workers by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

We distributed a lot of literature on the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign of Mel

Mason and Andrea González. We sold the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist* newspapers.

In addition, we helped to publicize an October 30 meeting for Héctor Marroquín that was being sponsored by the Border Area Association for Refugees from Central America (BARCA), and the American Civil Liberties Union at the university. Marroquín is a Mexican-born worker and a leader of the YSA who is fighting deportation by the INS.

Marroquín's meeting was very successful and following it eight students informally talked with him and other members of the YSA for over two hours, discussing socialist ideas and what kinds of activities the YSA is involved in.

We also sat down and talked with María and Yolanda, two community activists involved in the fight for the rights of farm workers, Chicanos, and undocumented workers.

Both women were active in helping to form the La Raza Unida Party, the nucleus of an independent Chicano party in the 1970s that helped lead struggles to win bilingual education, open enrollment, affirmative action, and other gains the Democrats and Republicans are now attempting to take away from us.

María and Yolanda have been active in defending immigrant workers and refugees who escape U.S.-backed dictators and misery in Latin America and the Caribbean. Many refugees face harassment, imprisonment and deportation at the hands of the INS. That's why María and Yolanda wanted to support Marroquín's fight against deportation. "Héctor's fight is real and a serious one. And he is speaking for all of us. He deserves the support of *La Raza*," María said.

Overall we got a good hearing from people, and there was interest in further discussions of socialist ideas. We feel that our



Militant/Larry Lukehart
Héctor Marroquín. He joined YSA campaign team in Rio Grande Valley.

team was important, and plan to keep up the contact with the students and working people we have met.

Pat Smith is a member of the Dallas chapter of the YSA.

To find out more about the YSA write to Young Socialist Alliance, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions to the *Young Socialist*, the YSA's bimonthly newspaper, are \$3 for one year.

Framed and jailed 10 years, Tyler seeks freedom

BY DERRICK MORRISON
AND JOHN LINDER

NEW ORLEANS, La. — Gary Tyler is a 26-year-old Black man. He has spent the last 10 years in prison for a crime he did not commit. In the course of his fight for justice, his case has become widely known, nationally and internationally. At present, supporters of Tyler are circulating a petition to Gov. Edwin Edwards for a pardon.

Tyler ended up in jail because of racist opposition to school desegregation through busing. Ten years ago, at the age of 16, he was on such a bus leaving the school grounds in Destrehan, up river from New Orleans. The bus was surrounded by a white mob tossing bricks and bottles at the

Black students inside. A shot rang out from somewhere and a white youth fell dead. Even though the bus driver stated the shot could not have come from his vehicle and no gun was found on the bus at the time of the search, Tyler was tried as an adult before an all-white jury and railroaded to death row at the state prison in Angola, Louisiana.

Louisiana's death penalty was soon after overturned by the courts, so Tyler's sentence was "commuted" to life imprisonment. The death penalty law has since been reworded by state authorities and it is once again in full force.

Even though the U.S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals wrote that Tyler was denied "a fundamentally fair trial," the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the case in April 1982. So now the only legal alterna-

tive is a pardon by the governor.

The *Militant* visited Tyler at Angola last May.

He is now in the maximum security section of the prison, which is just upstairs from the prisoners on death row. The prisoners on death row and in maximum security are segregated from the general prison population.

He reads a great deal and keeps an impressive library. He keeps abreast of current events by reading newspapers, including the *Militant*, and listening to radio news.

Tyler told the *Militant*, "I support the revolution in Nicaragua. The U.S. government is getting more and more involved in Central America and before it is over with, they'll be involved in a quagmire like Vietnam."

Concerning his own case he said, "If I had the support at the beginning that I have now, I would not have been convicted. I've come a long ways, and it is too late for me to give up. My objective is to get out of Angola. Knowing that there are a lot of people out there that support me and are concerned about my situation gives me the inner strength to struggle against adversities."

Militant readers who wish to circulate petitions for Tyler's release may obtain them from the Committee to Free Gary Tyler, P.O. Box 30201, New Orleans, La., 70190-0201. The telephone number is (504) 522-2645.

Messages of support to Tyler himself can be sent to: Gary Tyler, #84156, CCRB-13, Angola, La. 70712.



Militant/Barbara Mutnick
Gary Tyler in prison, 1976.

800 demand Rutgers divest from apartheid

BY DON MACKLE

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J. — A fall campaign demanding Rutgers State University divest from companies doing business in South Africa culminated in a November 20 rally of more than 800 students at the Rutgers campus here.

The students rallied to press their demands at an open hearing of the Rutgers Board of Governors and Trustees. The overwhelmingly Black crowd came from

Rutgers campuses in New Brunswick, Trenton, Camden, and Newark.

As speaker after speaker addressed the board, the audience cheered loudly, often breaking into the chant, "Divest, RU, divest!" The speakers included students from the Rutgers Coalition for Divestment, which organized the event, Rutgers alumni, professors, student government representatives, and clergy.

Representatives from Central America

solidarity groups spoke and connected the U.S. government's support for apartheid to its continued war drive in Central America. A banner from the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador hung at the front of the hall, along with the banners calling for divestment.

The Rutgers Board of Trustees is supposed to vote on Feb. 13, 1985, on whether to divest its \$12 million now invested in companies doing business in South Africa.

This was the third major event the coalition organized at the New Brunswick campus.

At the Rutgers Newark campus a meeting sponsored by the Black Organization of Students, Young Socialist Alliance, Rutgers People's Anti-War Mobilization, Labor Committee Against Apartheid, and the Black Workers Education Center attracted 50 students and community people. They heard presentations by a representative of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC).

The Black Student Union at Seton Hall University in South Orange, New Jersey, organized a November 27 meeting of 50 Black students to see the movie *You Have Struck a Rock* and hear from an ANC representative. Student leaders from Newark and New Brunswick also spoke about the divestment campaign.

The ANC representative described the upsurge currently taking place in South Africa and the savage repression the apartheid government has unleashed against the Black population in response. She also explained the history of the ANC in the South African fight for freedom and the important role the Cubans in Angola played in advancing the liberation struggle throughout southern Africa.

A literature table at the event sponsored by the Newark Young Socialist Alliance sold a large number of books and pamphlets on South Africa, Malcolm X, and slain Grenadian leader Maurice Bishop.

'IP' reviews Polish workers movement

Since the imposition of martial law in Poland in December 1981, the bureaucracy that governs the Polish workers state has inflicted some serious blows against the workers movement there.

The situation in Poland over the past three years is reviewed in the upcoming, December 24, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, which will run the first of two articles on Poland by Ernest Harsch.

Solidarity, the union movement that fought the bureaucracy's anti-working-class policies, has been banned, Harsch notes. But while much of its strength has been dispersed, there is still overt opposition to the government's policies. And while martial law has now been lifted and most political prisoners have been freed, the authorities continue to rely on systematic repression.

In these articles, Harsch also examines the political limitations of Solidarity's leadership and the positions put forward by the various

currents that have emerged since its suppression.

The current, December 10, *IP* includes documents from the first congress of the United Workers Federation (CUT) of Brazil, the 12-million-member union federation that is in the forefront of the Brazilian working class's fight for economic gains and democratic rights.

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Courts put squeeze on British miners

BY CLIVE TURNBULL

SHEFFIELD, England — The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) has come under renewed attack from the courts. On November 30 a High Court judge removed Arthur Scargill, Peter Heathfield, and Michael McGahey, the NUM's three leading officials, as trustees of the union's funds.

This followed an application on behalf of 16 Nottinghamshire scabs, who have been strike-breaking since the nine-month-long strike against mine closures began. Twenty-two percent of the total union membership refuses to join the strike.

The judge appointed a receiver to take charge of the union's national funds, so that not a penny can be spent, or even a phone call made, from the union's national office without his permission.

The courts had earlier ruled that the miners strike was "unofficial," and that the NUM leadership had no right to use union funds, further the dispute, or take disciplinary action against the scabs.

The miners' union ignored the court order, in line with the policy of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), to which 10 million organized workers in Britain are affiliated. This resulted in a £200,000 (£1 equals \$1.20) fine which the NUM refused to pay. The courts responded by sequestrating, or seizing, the NUM's funds so that the fine could be paid.

However, the NUM leadership had anticipated such a move. Back in March, when the strike began, the union's national funds were transferred out of the country. The court eventually tracked the bulk of the money to a bank in Luxemburg, but couldn't touch the cash.

It was at this point that the receiver was appointed to take control of the NUM's funds to instruct the bank to hand over the money.

An emergency meeting of the NUM National Executive was held on December 2, which decided to recall the National Delegate Conference for the following day. NUM Pres. Arthur Scargill stated after the executive meeting that the court action "posed a fundamental threat to every trade union in the country, as well as putting at immediate risk the very existence of the NUM."

"The appointment of a receiver for the first time in the history of the British trade union movement," he said, "threatens us with a situation in which it would become almost impossible for the national union to carry out day-to-day activities. . . ."

Scargill added that it was no surprise that the court had chosen for this task a man who is a Conservative Party councillor (local official) and a member of the Institute of Directors.

The NUM National Delegate Conference on December 3 voted to continue the fight undaunted. The resolution adopted reads: "Following the appointment of a receiver by the High Court last Friday, the union's National Executive Committee and special conference have considered their response in the light of this decision and others imposed by the High Court."

"1. The NUM deplores the decision to remove the union's three trustees and to ap-

point a Tory [Conservative] Party official as receiver with total control over our funds.

"2. The conference is not prepared to sanction the payment of the £200,000 fine levied against the union, although it recognizes that this latest unprecedented move by the court means that the payment will be seized without our consent.

"3. Conference is not prepared to 'purge' this union's 'contempt' and reiterate that at all times the union has acted in accordance with its rules and constitution.

"4. Conference is not prepared to permit either the elected trustees or any other officers of the union to give any assistance whatsoever to the sequestrators or the receiver appointed by the High Court to manage the funds and assets of this union.

"5. The NUM has already asked the TUC to call an emergency meeting of the General Council and asked that General Council mobilizes industrial action to stop this most vicious threat in our history to the freedom and independence of British trade unionism.

"Conference reaffirms that there can be no settlement of this nine-month-long dispute, which has already cost over £4.5 billion, unless the Coal Board's pit-closure program is withdrawn, the five pits kept open, and a definition of exhaustion of reserves agreed in line with Plan for Coal."

The following day, Arthur Scargill addressed a 1,000-strong NUM rally at Goldthorpe in Yorkshire. "We're not yet getting the kind of unswerving support to our union that the Coal Board are getting to their cause — from the Tory government, the Institute of Directors, the CBI [Confederation of British Industry], Fleet Street [where most national newspapers are published], the judiciary, the police, and everybody else.

"It's time the TUC said: Now. We've had enough. We're going to come to the assistance of the National Union of Mineworkers.

"The time for mealy-mouthed resolutions in unions or other organizations is at an end. The time of inactivity must come to a stop. The time when this movement must react is now.

"I'm not asking for moral support or resolutions. We're asking now for practical assistance, and we've asked for the General Council of the TUC to be convened to mobilize industrial action in support of this union, in defense of its organization, as well as its fight against pit closures and job losses."

It is not only the miners who are coming under attack in the capitalist courts. The Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), Britain's biggest union, has been fined £200,000 for supporting its members at the Austin-Rover auto plant who struck in November for higher pay. The company went to court under the 1984 Trade Union Act after the workers took their strike decision, as usual, at mass meetings, instead of by ballot under the new law.

The TGWU executive met on December 4 and decided not to pay the fine, making it liable to attack in the same way as the miners.



G.M. Cookson

Striking British miners are waging determined battle to defeat government Coal Board's attempt to close mines and break their union. Recent British High Court action is escalation of war against miners.

N.Y. Labor Committee Against Apartheid organizes protests

BY PRISCILLA SCHENK

NEW YORK — A public meeting to protest the racist policies of the South African regime was held here November 30 by the Labor Committee Against Apartheid. The meeting was held at the international headquarters of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) and attracted 50 people.

Featured was a slide show on South Africa by Eric Fruman, director of the health and safety department of ACTWU. Fruman spent two weeks in South Africa last March as an invited guest of Black trade unionists.

John Hudson, president of the Headwear Joint Board of ACTWU, chaired the meeting and explained the importance of the event as a response both to the step-up of repression in South Africa and to protest the arrest of Black activists and others protesting at the South African embassy in Washington, D.C. Hudson announced that the Labor Committee Against Apartheid will sponsor a protest at the South African consulate in New York City on Monday, December 10, at noon.

Eddy Fundy, a representative of the African National Congress, gave a brief account of recent events in South Africa. He explained that the South African constitution guarantees a majority vote for whites in the parliament. "It doesn't give the Indians and Coloureds any power at all and it excludes the majority, the Black South Africans," Fundy said.

This divisive and racist system was met with boycotts of the recent elections and mass protests by the Black population. These actions "threw the regime into fits of desperation and they have carried out a reign of terror in the Black communities," Fundy explained. The situation today in South Africa is one of "growing confrontation between the masses of people and the racist regime."

Eric Fruman then presented his slide show detailing the racist policies of the South African government. He explained that Blacks are subject to arrest if they are found to be at any time without their official identification pass books. He also spoke of the brutal strike-breaking and arrests of trade unionists.

John Hudson said the Labor Committee Against Apartheid had been formed about a year ago with the purpose of educating and helping provide material aid for the Black trade union movement in South Africa. The committee has broad sponsorship among trade union officials, including William Lucy, president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65 of

the United Auto Workers; Jack Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer of ACTWU; Josephine Le Beau, vice-president of the New York Coalition of Labor Union Women; and Edgar Romney, manager of Local 23-25 International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The Labor Committee Against Apartheid puts out a newsletter, *Labor Against Apartheid*, and is planning future activities, including a conference early next year featuring leaders of the Black labor movement of South Africa.

For more information, contact New York Labor Committee Against Apartheid, c/o Headwear Joint Board ACTWU, 49 W 37th St., New York, N.Y. 10018.

Indian bank employees give support to British miners

The following item appeared in the Oct. 19, 1984, edition of *Transport Review*, the newspaper of the National Union of Railwaymen in Britain.

With much support from various groups within the United Kingdom, the plight of Britain's miners is also drawing attention and support from abroad. Responding to a vast appeal of solidarity with the miners, the Bank Employees' Federation of India appealed to its local organisations to collect foodstuffs for the miners, including tinned meat, fish, jam, and dried fruit, etc.

In a letter to the NUM the Federation stressed: "The struggle as we see it is a fight between the policies of the government that represents the exploiting classes, and the working class rising in revolt to protect its class interests. This brings us to join in the international working-class solidarity with the British miners to see a victory for their heroic battle."

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BY ART PREIS

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Satur Ocampo in police wagon

Militant/Deb Shnookal

Filipino political prisoner speaks out on growing opposition to Marcos

BY DEB SHNOOKAL

Satur Ocampo is one of the longest-held political prisoners in the Philippines today. Before his arrest in January 1976, he was a well-known journalist, having worked as assistant business editor of the *Manila Times* before it was closed by Pres. Ferdinand Marcos in 1972 when martial law was imposed.

Ocampo, who comes from a poor peasant family of 12 children in Central Luzon, has been charged, along with other alleged members of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) such as Jose Maria Sison, with seeking to overthrow the government by force and importing arms. Most of those accused with him have already been released.

On August 31 Ocampo was allowed to speak in public for the first time in his eight and a half years' detention. Accompanied by military guards, he attended the Press Freedom Day functions at the National Press Club. Ocampo had been vice-president of the press club.

Arriving at the press club, Ocampo was greeted warmly by a crowd of fellow journalists, especially his father-in-law, Dean Armando Malay, a well-known human rights campaigner, and Mochtar Lubis, head of the Press Foundation for Asia.

Later, speaking informally among journalists, Ocampo said, "I don't regret anything I've done. Everything they've done to me only speaks about the system of government we have here."

That night Ocampo addressed a Testimonial to the Working Journalist, concluding his speech by saying: "A furious fight still lies ahead of us journalists, writers, and artists, whether imprisoned behind bars and fettered by repressive decrees or immured in the morass of 'self-regulation' and the stifling political atmosphere. We will prevail in this fight for as long as we remain one with the people in struggle. After all, the people hold the nation's liberation in their hands. Today we struggle to make the media for the people; tomorrow the media will be of the people."

The following interview with Satur Ocampo was conducted under rather unusual circumstances. After attending a hearing of one of his seemingly endless trials at Fort Bonifacio, Ocampo was taken to the press club in a military police van with five armed military guards. I traveled with Ocampo in the van, and thanks to the snarled Manila traffic was able to obtain the following interview.

* * *

Question. What has been the impact of the August 1983 assassination of Benigno Aquino? Has the movement against Marcos become stronger in the last year?

Answer. Definitely yes. This is particularly true of the open, legal, democratic movement, although there has also been an intensification of the armed struggle in the countryside.

Before the assassination of Aquino, the street demonstrations were essentially made up of workers, students, and the more radical side of the opposition to Marcos. But in the wake of the Aquino assassination the so-called legal forces, including the representatives of business, more church people, and more of the dutiful, conservative elements of society, saw the truth — that if a man of Aquino's stature could be done away with in the way he was killed, then it could happen to anybody.

So it was something like a catalyst. The people sought some catharsis for their

hatred, for their pent-up anger against the regime. This became worse as the economic crisis worsened, with the flight of some capital and nervousness in the business community. Then there was also the repatriation of foreign exchange by people who had been investing here or who had been keeping their money in banks here.

Q. The Aquino assassination, of course, has only been one more incident in which the Marcos government has been implicated. There are so many cases of murders, disappearances, and so on. What did Aquino mean to the Filipino people?

A. At first when Aquino was killed, some people thought that he was just one of the victims of the military depredations. But in the course of the popular response of the people, of the protest and anger against the regime, Aquino's murder became an outstanding example that the regime or those responsible for these killings and "salvaging" [summary executions] would not respect even those in the elite of Filipino society.

Q. What would be your balance sheet of the May parliamentary elections? It has been suggested that Marcos used the elections to present a facade of democracy in order to improve his international image.

A. Even before the assassination, the regime was already in need of a political exercise that would improve its image internationally. The election of the regular parliament was one way Marcos tried to prove that there is a workable democracy in this country. Because of the demands of the opposition and of the people who are protesting the undemocratic way the government has been running affairs, Marcos was pressured into granting some electoral reforms.

With the aid of the National Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL), the businessmen, and the Bishops' Conference, they were able to get some improvement in the rules by which the elections were conducted.

The militant monitoring by NAMFREL of the elections provided some credibility to the results of the elections, particularly in metropolitan Manila, where the KBL [New Society Movement] of Marcos was trounced.

Q. What was the significance of the boycott campaign?



Protesters demanding Marcos' resignation.

A. The boycott campaign was the manifestation of the people, the broader opposition to Marcos, which did not consider the parliamentary elections as essentially responding to the need for change.

But as it turned out, the boycott movement had very little time. And while it was able to generate a lot of support, it was not able to counteract the great enthusiasm of the people to go to the polls and repudiate the Marcos government through the ballot.

This indicated that a lot of Filipinos still believe the electoral process may be a way out of this undemocratic government. But Marcos intransigently holds on to Amendment Six, which authorizes him to make decrees and override parliamentary decisions, including on questions of budget allocations. So it's becoming very apparent that the Batasan [parliament] voting might have been a useless exercise from the point of view of effectively eroding or doing away with the dictatorial authority of Marcos.

Of course, I grant that the Batasan can be a sounding board for the people's sentiments. But in terms of achieving significant changes in the government, there's very little chance through parliament.

Q. How do you think that change will come about?

A. The parliamentary struggle will be contributory, but the "parliament of the streets" and the pressure of the buildup of the armed struggle, I think, in combination will be the factors that will initiate changes in the political structure.

Q. What do you see as the main program of reforms needed in the Philippines today?

A. What the "parliament of the streets" has been calling for is the destruction of the dictatorship. But this is tied up completely with the economic strangulation of the Philippines by foreign interests.

The political and economic change must be achieved in tandem, although the key is the dismantling or removal of the Marcos dictatorship and its replacement with a government that would be representative of the various sectors of society. Some, like Jose Diokno and Lorenzo Tanada [opposition political figures], call this a coalition government. Basically I support this kind of transition government.

Q. How united are the anti-Marcos

forces today?

A. Well, compared with the period before the assassination of Aquino they are more united. But there remain some cleavages within the ranks of the opposition, in particular arguments about how to achieve change, through violent or nonviolent means, although I think this could be ironed out through earnest dialogue among all the opposition forces.

Q. What are the options for the U.S. government in the Philippines?

A. From the statements of the U.S. State Department and the U.S. ambassador to the Philippines, they are still opting for a unification of what they call the "democratic opposition." When I talk about the democratic opposition, it is not the same as the terminology of the American embassy. They mean the traditional politicians. When we talk about the democratic opposition we mean the people's organizations.

In the case of the United States, they are trying to tie up all the traditional opposition groups and drive a wedge between the left and the traditional opposition. They know there is a basic influence of the left within the mass movement. Whether they will be able to build an opposition minus the left remains to be seen.

Q. How would you assess the support for the National Democratic Front (NDF) opposition bloc in which the New People's Army (NPA) and the CPP participate?

A. The NDF is better known internationally than it is here. Here the people identify more with the New People's Army, which is a component of the NDF. As an idea, the NDF is very acceptable, even to some sections of the middle forces.

The government accepts that there has been an expansion in both the number of fighters and the strength of armaments of the NPA, although it tries to play this down by saying that the situation is not as serious as 1972, which is not accurate.

Q. What is the effect of the militarization of the countryside by the army, the hamletting of peasant communities, and so on?

A. There are extensive military abuses, particularly "salvaging," hamletting, torture, etc. These activities are helping to politicize the people, driving them against the Marcos government. The only alternative open to them is the NPA, because it is the one most responsive to their basic problems and grievances. However much the government tries to counter the NPA, they will never be successful in their "civic action" programs and counterinsurgency campaigns.

Q. The NPA is said to organize its own local government administration in some areas. Would you describe these as similar to the liberated zones in El Salvador?

A. As far as the level of armed struggle in the Philippines is concerned, there has not been any claim yet of liberated zones. But they are classified as guerrilla zones, that is, guerrilla bases that are relatively advanced. These bases, when consolidated, would get to the level of liberated zones.

But even in the guerrilla zones there is already the infrastructure of a government in the villages, the *barangays* [village councils]. In some areas it is the government structure itself which is utilized; in

Continued on next page

Reagan agrees to arms talks, wages war in Central America

BY DOUG JENNESS

The Reagan administration and the Kremlin announced November 22 that U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko will meet to discuss scheduling talks on the whole range of questions concerning nuclear and outer-space weapons. The meeting is set for January 7 and 8 in Geneva, Switzerland.

President Reagan, like his Democratic opponent Walter Mondale, had called for resumption of arms talks during the recent election campaign. In September a meeting between the President and Gromyko opened a series of exchanges with Soviet officials that led to setting the date for the Gromyko-Shultz meeting.

In the face of massive international opposition to nuclear weapons, the U.S. government is attempting to present itself as a champion of peace by supporting discussions on arms limits. Yet at the very same moment, Washington is carrying out a gigantic arms buildup as part of its war in Central America.

Washington is pouring millions of dollars worth of modern jet fighters, combat helicopters, spy planes, and several thousand U.S. military personnel into the region to try to crush the Nicaraguan revolution and the popular liberation struggle in El Salvador. New U.S. air bases have been built in Honduras, and U.S. warships provocatively cruise the waters off Nicaragua's shores.

In September a shipment of 10 new Huey combat helicopters from the United States brought the total for El Salvador's air force to 34. U.S. officials say that 10 or 15 more of the helicopters, used to conduct terrifying attacks on rural villages, are to be shipped to the regime of José Napoleón Duarte by the end of the year.

At the same time Washington and its NATO partners are mapping out plans to substantially beef up their conventional military forces in Europe. This will be a major point of discussion at a meeting of the defense ministers from NATO countries in December.

The Pentagon projects spending as much as \$100 billion during the next five years for fighter aircraft, more ammunition, and better equipment for U.S. forces in Europe. And Washington is pressing its European allies to boost their arms spending.

Arms programs go ahead

The projected arms talks are the first to be scheduled since late in 1983, when Washington began placing 572 nuclear-tipped cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in five West European countries from which they could hit Soviet targets in about six minutes. In response to this threat, Moscow

withdrew from the discussions with Washington on limiting medium-range and intercontinental arms. With 93 missiles now deployed, Washington has kept to its schedule. It plans to have the rest in place by 1988.

When Moscow pulled out of the arms talks, it said it would resume the broken-off discussions if Washington removed the new missiles. In the face of the Reagan administration's refusal to budge on this question, Soviet officials are stressing that the January meeting is not to prepare a resumption of earlier nuclear arms discussions but to begin "new talks."

The inclusion of outer-space arms in the proposed talks is at the request of the Soviet government, which last June called for a "mutual renunciation" of antisatellite systems and a moratorium on testing of all new space arms. The U.S. Congress responded to this proposal by appropriating \$2 billion for the coming year alone to build antisatellite weapons.

In a speech to the United Nations General Assembly September 25, President Reagan said that he might consider a moratorium on testing of space weapons once talks got under way. In announcing the January meeting, White House officials emphasized, however, that neither a moratorium on testing space arms nor a change in the deployment schedule of nuclear missiles in Europe is on the agenda now. These programs are going ahead at full steam.

Not road to peace

Previous nuclear arms talks and agreements have not proven productive from the standpoint of slowing down or reversing the nuclear arms buildup or in bringing peace.

The first agreement on nuclear weapons came in 1963 with the ban on atmospheric testing. This treaty between the U.S., British, and Soviet governments followed massive protests in North America, Britain, and Japan and served to significantly reduce hazardous radioactive fallout in the atmosphere.

However, this agreement neither curtailed nuclear testing, which has continued underground (the French imperialists, not a party to the agreement, still conduct atmospheric tests), nor slowed the further development and buildup of nuclear weapons.

Arms talks were resumed in 1969, and in May 1972 the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) was signed in Moscow at a summit meeting between U.S. President Richard Nixon and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev. At the time, tens of thousands of U.S. troops were in Vietnam and U.S. bombers were conducting daily attacks against Vietnamese villages.

SALT I was aimed primarily at placing

limits on defensive, antiballistic weapons. The reasoning was that if one side were to try to completely safeguard its cities with defensive weapons, it could be interpreted as preparation for a first strike. These accords also put a temporary ceiling on the number of offensive missile launchers that could be built.

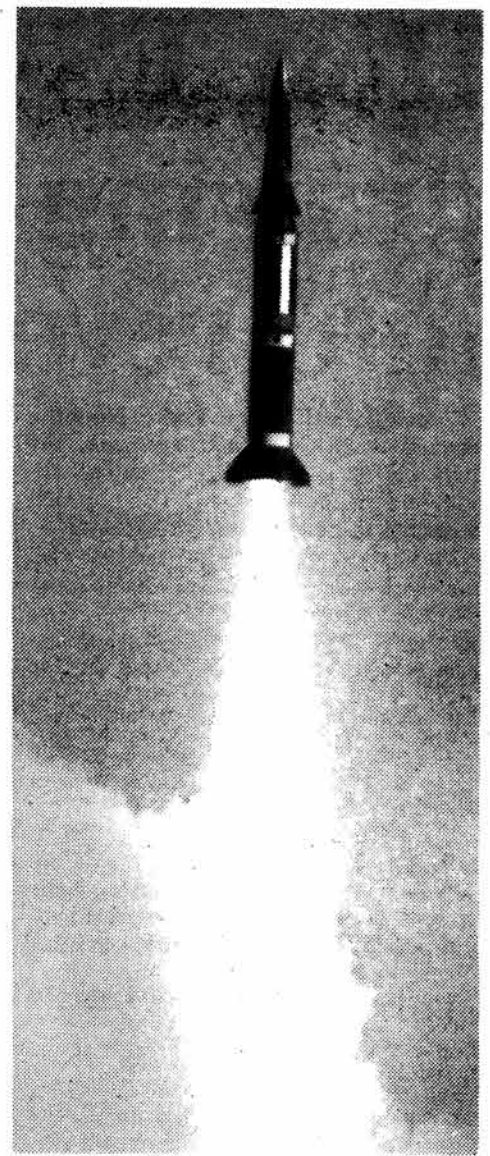
The treaty allowed for a major expansion of offensive nuclear weapons, especially MIRVs (multiple-warhead missiles), which were not included in the agreement. The Pentagon, which had tested MIRVs for the first time in 1968, had a big jump on the USSR, which did not test its first MIRV until 1973. As has generally been the case with nuclear arms, Moscow was forced to develop and expand another new weapons system in order to defend itself from imperialist threats. Between 1972 and 1979 the number of nuclear warheads in the Pentagon's arsenal increased from 4,600 to 9,000. The Soviet stock of warheads went from 2,100 to 4,000.

Another round of arms talks culminated in a SALT II agreement which President Carter signed in June 1979. The U.S. Senate delayed ratification, however, and when Soviet troops went into Afghanistan at the end of that year, it was scuttled.

The SALT II pact was as much of a fraud as SALT I. It, in fact, would have permitted Washington to increase the number of nuclear missile launchers by 200. Carter, attempting to get the Senate to endorse it, admitted that "no operational United States forces will have to be reduced" under the provisions of SALT II.

Regardless of the outcome of the next round of arms talks, they will not affect the shooting war in Central America, the imperialist arms buildup in Western Europe, or the military encirclement of the USSR.

Abstract proposals by imperialist politicians for peace and disarmament cannot serve as an antiwar policy for working people. Working people must start with the fight against the specific imperialist war going on now. They must demand that Washington pull all of its military personnel, combat aircraft, and warships out of Central America and the Caribbean and



Pershing 2 missile. Despite massive international opposition, Washington has already deployed 93 of a planned 572 nuclear Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe, aimed at Soviet Union.

halt its military aid to the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries and the Salvadoran dictatorship. It is the U.S. government's intervention in Central America and the Caribbean that is responsible for the war there and for the threat of its escalation into a much wider conflict.

Within this framework working people should demand that the imperialist governments immediately halt production of nuclear arms, scrap their nuclear arsenals, and stop the testing of antisatellite weapons. **From Intercontinental Press**

Filipino prisoner speaks

Continued from preceding page
others it is an alternative form.

As the area of the armed struggle by the NPA expands, the villages are consolidated into self-governing units with their own defense, health, education, and administration.

Q. Could you tell me something about your case?

A. In the "rebellion" case, it is my contention that I should not be accused because rebellion entails taking up arms against the government. The crime I am alleged to have committed was at a time when I was working as a journalist, that is in 1972. So I could not have been a participant in the armed struggle.

Q. You have been charged with organizing the import of arms from a "foreign power," presumably the People's Republic of China, in this rebellion case.

A. In the case of "subversion" and "rebellion," they want to prove that I am a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines and by implication share responsibility for the arms smuggling.

I deny both accusations, and it is up to the military prosecution to prove that I am a member of the Central Committee and that I am responsible or partially responsible for the bringing in of arms.

Q. Is it true that Jose Maria Sison has not denied that he is the chairman of the CPP?

A. He has a statement which he signed in which he says he was chairman of the CPP. In my case I have refused to sign such

a statement, knowing it would be used against me in the trials.

Q. When I spoke to the military's prosecuting lawyers, I asked them about the use of torture to exact confessions. They denied this, of course. Could you explain your own case?

A. The documentation of my torture has been submitted to Amnesty International and has also been well-publicized by the Task Force Detainees. In 1978 an investigation was ordered after my complaints of torture. But nothing happened because there were no witnesses to corroborate my contentions. But of course there are never witnesses to torture. It's all on their side.

Q. What have been your conditions during your eight and a half years' imprisonment?

A. For the first nine months after my arrest I was in solitary confinement. Then for five months in 1980 and 1981 I was put in solitary again because I was accused of leading a hunger strike of the detainees.

Q. Do you think the hunger strike tactic was effective?

A. Up to 1981 it was effective. The best hunger strike we had was in November-December 1980 when 133 of us went on strike. About 100 of these won their release.

But after that we haven't been able to win many concessions with hunger strikes. So last year we changed our tactics. Instead of the prisoners alone going on hunger strikes, the relatives and friends went on hunger strike outside. But even that did not move Marcos into releasing most of us.

From Intercontinental Press



U.S. plane carrying arms into Honduras. Nicaraguan revolution and popular liberation struggle in El Salvador are target of huge U.S. military buildup in Central America.

How FSLN is drawing women into revolution

Reprinted below is an article from the November 25 issue of *Barricada*, the daily newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), which is published in Managua, Nicaragua.

The article was titled, "Women also backed the FSLN." It was written by Clara M. Martínez.

Integral to the oppression of women in class society is their isolation in the home. This gives women less opportunity than men to work a job or participate in working-class organizations and class battles out of which progressive ideas are formed and take hold.

Martínez points out that the FSLN, recognizing this aspect of women's oppression, used its campaign during Nicaragua's recent elections for president, vice-president, and National Assembly to reach out to women.

The translation is by the *Militant*.

"The revolution, which has created equal opportunity for all Nicaraguans regardless of sex, has redeemed the dignity of women. But social problems still persist, making the full participation of women in the revolution difficult. The FSLN is committed to continuing to drive forward women's participation in society and to open opportunities for them in employment and education so that they may take their place on a footing of complete equality with men." — from the "Plan of Struggle" of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

In the midst of an aggression that, far from calling a truce during the election, stepped up its attacks on all fronts, thousands of FSLN activists, in their majority women, went house-to-house explaining the FSLN's program. In the first free elections in Nicaragua's history, women made up 60 percent of the citizens registered to vote in the November 4 elections.

In addition to their numerical weight, they were the sector of society upon whom two key themes of the last year — Patriotic Military Service [the military draft] and the problem of supplies — have had the greatest impact.

Because of the deep roots of the experience of motherhood among Nicaraguan women, mothers have been the ones who have most resented the mobilization of their children for defense.

Because of the role that women play in the family, they are still the primary providers of all food and care in the home; they are the ones who suffer from the shortages of basic products and the problems of distribution that are expressed in long lines and exorbitant prices due to speculation and the black market.

Among urban women, housewives have been the sector most critical of the government. Confined to a role of keeping house, they are the ones who have participated least in the gains that the working women have won with the revolution.

Among them, the middle-class housewives have been not only a bastion of support for the right-wing parties, but also a source of all kinds of attacks against the government and the FSLN.

The FSLN's message to women

The FSLN, taking this reality into consideration, decided that in the election campaign it would especially address women and make women a priority in all its propaganda. It went into the streets with a clear and revolutionary message: "Much has been achieved, but there is still a long way to go; in order to continue advancing, the people must continue to fight; the FSLN leads the fight but it does not want to — nor can it — substitute itself for that struggle." How then to translate this message into the language of women, for women?

The best way to present the message was to compare what women have won in these five years with the situation they and their

children suffered under Somoza. In that comparison, the immunization programs, the literacy campaign, the greater opportunities for steady employment and the maternity benefits, the new laws and the dozens of child-care centers in the countryside, the Women's Legal Office and the thousands of untrained midwives who were given training — these things took on their real importance as symbols of the FSLN's concern to begin to deal with the demands of women.

But the FSLN's election message was not limited to reciting a laundry list of things it has done and promising to continue strengthening what has already been accomplished. There is something that cannot be measured in dollars invested or square yards constructed; it is the dignity of women that was recovered thanks to the revolution.

This dignity is reflected in comments like, "now they pay attention to us when we demand our rights," or "now they treat us like people, whereas before they herded us from one side to the other like cattle," or "now we can walk in the streets without concern at any hour of the night."

For women, all this means that they are beginning to be people with dignity, people with rights. This is the Sandinista Revolution's fundamental contribution for women.

This message of the FSLN has not remained limited to the most conscious women or to those who belong to the AMNLAE [Association of Nicaraguan Women 'Luisa Amanda Espinoza'].

Men and women discovered in these three months of the campaign that to "reach" women you must talk with them about what concerns them as working women: where to leave the little ones when they go to pick coffee, how to give birth in sanitary conditions, how to have work all year round, how to arrange things so they don't have to give up militia training, how to demand that the father of their children provide child support, how to overcome the feeling of insecurity when it's time to speak at a neighborhood meeting.

If in the five years since the triumph of the revolution AMNLAE has still not been able to reach the majority of women, these months of the campaign were the perfect bullhorn to spread the FSLN's message of emancipation to women.

The candidates of the FSLN

Peasant women like Benigna Mendiola (legendary collaborator of the FSLN in the mountains of Matagalpa and union organizer), farm workers like María Castillo (leader of the land takeovers in Chinandega in the years before the triumph), guerrilla commanders like Dora María Téllez and Leticia Herrera, religious leaders like Dorotea Wilson (courier for the national leadership during the guerrilla struggle of the Atlantic Coast), market women, student leaders, representatives of the ethnic minorities (Hazel Lau for the Miskitus, Santos Roque for the Indians of Subtiava), teachers, professional women, health workers, leaders of the mass organizations — a total of 34 women appeared on the slate of FSLN candidates, comprising 20 percent of the total number of FSLN candidates for the National Assembly. Three women headed the slates of candidates in three regions. Four others were in the top half of the list of candidates, and the rest were in the last part or in the list of alternates.

If the other parties had a goodly number of women on their slates, the Sandinista women have been the ones who have had the biggest presence in the electoral activities, in the written and oral media.

What did the election mean for women?

The two-fold and overwhelming victory of the FSLN against the abstentionists and for its own program shows that on November 4 women registered their support for the only electoral choice that as-



Militant/Ellen Kratka

Nicaraguan Women's Association celebrating its seventh anniversary this year with the slogan "Proud to be a woman building the future."

sures them the conditions needed to continue fighting for their liberation, for their right to a job and to education, for their dignity as women ("proud to be women building the future" as the poster for AMNLAE's 7th anniversary said).

Just as the economic problems stemming from war did not end with the election victory, so too the obstacles to the total incorporation of women into the life of society were not eliminated with the FSLN's victory on November 4.

But the necessary preconditions for Nicaraguan women to be able to continue fighting in the economic, political, judicial, and ideological spheres against their oppression were firmed up.

The extent to which these preconditions can be firmed up depends on the extent to which these elections and the popular backing gained by the FSLN have been an obstacle to Reagan's intentions to invade, and as a stepping stone to build peace. Without peace it is far more difficult to focus atten-

tion on the specific problems of women and to carry forward the fight against *machismo*.

It depends on the extent to which thousands of men and women in this last period have been thinking about what it means to "be a woman in a revolutionary process."

And above all, it depends on the extent to which the organization, clarity, and combativity of thousands of women of the people has come out of this election period strengthened.

The FSLN's victory has been not only a numerical triumph in the number of votes it received compared to its rivals, and it was not only a political triumph before the world. It has also been an ideological victory over closed-mindedness, ignorance, and outmoded views, which provide the perfect environment for the growth of *machismo* and the oppression of this great majority called women.

The roots of women's oppression

On September 19, 1982, Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge gave a speech to a rally in León, Nicaragua. The rally was a commemoration of the fifth anniversary of the Nicaraguan women's movement. In his speech, Borge presented a Marxist analysis of the origins, history, and features of women's oppression. Excerpts from his remarks are printed below. The full text of the speech is available in the pamphlet, *Women and the Nicaraguan Revolution*, published by Pathfinder Press. It can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. The price is 75 cents plus 75 cents for postage and handling.

The woman question is nothing more than an aspect of social reality in its totality. The definitive answer to the liberation of women can emerge only with the total resolution of the class contradictions, of the social diseases that originate in a society like ours — politically liberated but with the rope of economic dependence still around our neck.

If we read ancient books, we come to know how great the painful discrimination of women has been. In slave society, as in feudal and capitalist society, the working classes were exploited and oppressed.

Women — all women in general — were oppressed, but working women were oppressed and exploited both as workers and as women.

Woman was the first enslaved human being on earth: Even before the state of slavery existed, women were slaves.

As you know, dependence and social oppression is based on the economic dependency of the oppressed with respect to the oppressor. Woman was economically dependent on man even before class exploitation arose.

Experience, however, has demonstrated that relations between the sexes are transformed, like relations between classes, in the process of transforming the means of production and the means of distribution of that which is produced.

Before the revolutionary triumph [July 19, 1979], the incorporation of women in productive work was minimal. The great majority of women were condemned to slavery in the home. When women could sell their labor power, in addition to fulfilling their obligations on the job, they had to fulfill their duties in the home to assure the upbringing of their children. All of this in a regime of political oppression and misery imposed by a dependent capitalist society. And subjected, on the other hand, to exploitation by man — the male of the species — who placed on the woman's shoulders the fundamental weight of household chores, thereby endlessly prolonging her working day.

Did this end with the triumph of the Sandinista People's Revolution, we ask ourselves?

The triumph of the Sandinista People's Revolution eliminated terror and opened the way for the process of national liberation, initiating at the same time economic and social transformations that represented a qualitative advance in the conquest of freedom and development.

It can't be said, therefore, that the situation of women in Nicaragua has in no way changed.

Nevertheless, all of us have to honestly admit that we haven't confronted the struggle for women's liberation with the same courage and decisiveness.

Of course, behind this objective reality there is an economic basis. Workers' living conditions continue to be difficult and incompatible with the political will of the revolution. For reasons that are well-known to you and because barely three years have passed [since the revolution], it has not been possible to meet legitimate expectations for improvement in workers' general living conditions.

What can be done to eliminate this dramatic plight of women?

There is no other alternative except to change the basic economic structure of society. There is no alternative but to develop an economy that guarantees the satisfaction of the fundamental needs of our people.

British miners' wives tell their story

BY KIPP DAWSON

As the British government steps up its attacks on the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), attempting to break the nine-month strike to save coal miners' jobs, it is finding tenacious obstacles among women of the mining communities.

From early in the strike, the wives of striking miners have played a critical role. The June issue of the *Yorkshire Miner*, newspaper of the Yorkshire-area NUM, carried an article headlined, "Women's army on the march, and what a difference it makes."

The article reported, "The miners' strike of 1984 is different from all the earlier struggles because of one factor above all — the women."

"In every village, across the whole coalfield, the women of the mining communities have made the struggle their own, with their own organizations, their own marches, pickets and rallies."

From the beginning, the Conservative Party government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has sought to break the miners strike, partly by appealing to miners' wives to push their husbands to scab.

The media in Britain has consistently played up the relatively small number of wives who have organized against the strike since it started, especially in the Nottinghamshire area. There, a majority of miners have been scabbing throughout the strike, thinking their jobs are safe from the government's plan to close 20 mines.

Kent miners' wives

Early in the strike, the Kent Miners' Wives Strike Action Committee published a pamphlet entitled "Support the Miners; Our Fight Is Your Fight." In it they reprinted a letter written by Kay Sutcliffe on behalf of the wives in Aylesham to the wives of the Nottinghamshire-area scabs. It reads in part:

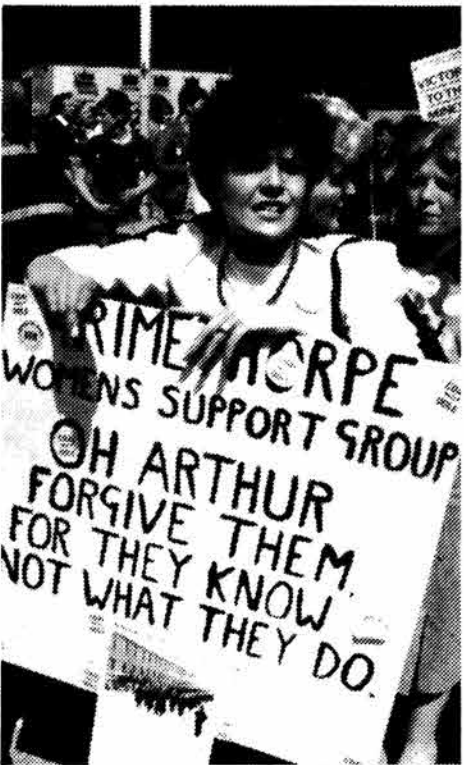
"We are the Kent miners' wives, proud of our men in their struggle against pit closures, and we are sure we speak for many miners' wives throughout the country."

"Recent events have proved difficult and depressing for all miners' families involved in the dispute, but the most distressing point of all is the 'I'm alright, Jack' attitude of the majority of your members."

"This dispute is about pit closures, jobs and a future for all in the industry. It will affect your area as well as the rest of Britain. It should be the duty of all on-line NUM members to support the action taken at the present time in an effort to challenge the NCB [National Coal Board] and the plans for the cut-backs in the industry...."

"We understand the pressures — we are living through it too. We struggled to survive in the 1972 and 1974 strikes because we believed in what we were fighting for. We are willing to struggle again. This case can be won — it must be won."

"Challenge your members to think again and unite behind the leadership in an effort to secure a future for us all."



G.M. Cookson

Participant in recent NUM rally. "Arthur" refers to NUM Pres. Arthur Scargill.

Pressures on the striking miners and their families are real, and growing. As I traveled through the British coalfields during October, it was clear that the organization and activities of the miners' wives are increasingly critical to the strength of this strike.

I visited soup kitchens, canteens, and food distribution centers in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, and South Wales. I heard miners' wives, who before the strike had never dreamed of speaking in public, address meetings and rallies appealing for support.

As Lyn Francis, chairperson of the Kent wives' group, told an October 22 London rally, "This has been a very frustrating strike for me. I work part time in a hospital and not a day goes by without someone saying something about the miners. I can't go home and tell my husband because he's either on the picket line or in jail. If it wasn't for the women, it would be impossible."

"But we will never back down. After all this, we have nothing to lose. Women have been the backbone of the strike. We've proven Mrs. Thatcher wrong. She has been known as the Iron Lady. Well, by god, there are thousands of Iron Ladies out there!"

Lynn Dennett is a leader of the Women's Action Group in Church Warsop. On October 26 she took a half hour from her busy schedule to talk to me in the soup kitchen.

"Though our pit is in Nottinghamshire, we're North Derbyshire NUM and our whole pit's out on strike; we're solid. So we've always had a problem of feeding 1,100 men and their families. But we do it. In the soup kitchen it's every day, one meal a day. With food parcels it's Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, simply because you just haven't got time to do them every day."

I asked her how her group got going.

Women's action group

"At the beginning of the strike," she told me, "my baby was about five months old and my husband was out picketing and would come back with stories about police brutality and I really got angry. So I said to him, 'Well, how about somebody setting a women's action group up?' and he said, 'Well, you do it.'"

"I said, 'I've got a five-month-old baby, don't be ridiculous! How can I do that?' He said, 'Yes, but I'm at home.' So I said, 'Oh.'"

"Eventually I got women around that I knew would be interested in doing it, and I'd never even met half of them. This is what's so funny. I'd spent six years in my house, and at my mother's."

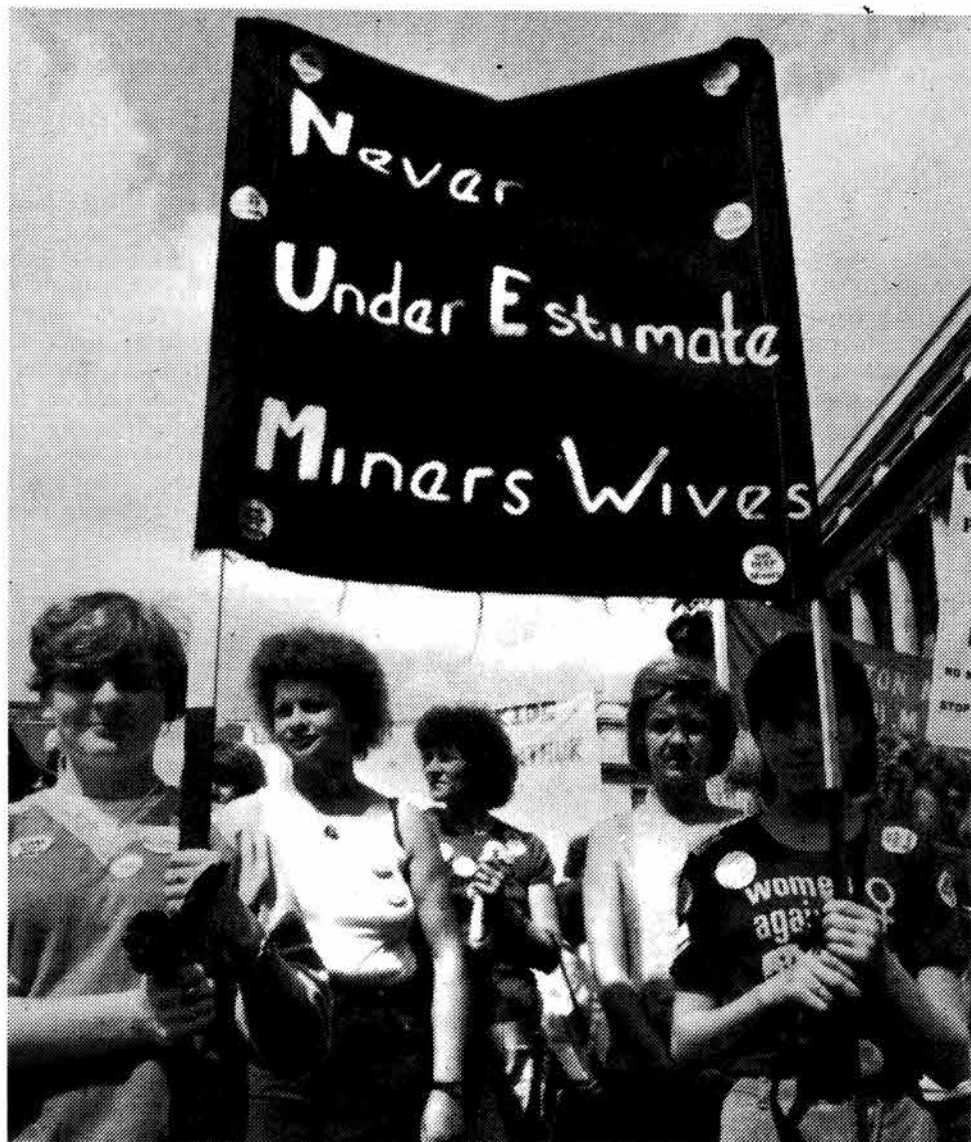
"Anyway, I got these women together and we set up a committee and we held a meeting and we told everybody what we were doing and how we wanted to help them and that. I think basically what made me want to help, apart from police violence, was that I used to meet women in the street who were my neighbors and they'd say, 'How are we going to get through; how are we going to manage?' They were really worried about it. And I thought somebody's got to show some help for them."

"So we set it up. Originally we had food parcels. We started with about 10 parcels a week, then 20, and now we've gotten to a stage where it's 450. So it's got harder and harder and still we keep it up."

"I think to have been through what we've been through, that shows that we've got a lot of determination. As a group, and as individuals as well. We have built a bond we'll always have."

Like many of the women I talked with, Lynn thinks her group's work has been vital to the strike, and not just in feeding the miners and their families. "We've found a lot of women who weren't for the strike, sitting here and talking to us, and cooling off, change their views. And we also look at it as a place where women who aren't active in anything, if they want to can come down here and have a talk and get things off their chests. Because we all get to a stage at some point where we want to scream and shout, and it's helpful if you can go somewhere, especially where there's women."

This activity is new for just about all the



G.M. Cookson

Group of women from a miners' wives march held in London earlier this year. Groups such as these are providing crucial support and organization for strike. Women involved are becoming more politically aware and self-confident.

women involved. "It's been good for the women," Lynn said. "Because a lot of them would never have dreamed of going out, speaking, or just going out to a place to give food out. There's no way they could have done it, with kids, like me. And that's been one brilliant thing, that no matter if it's 10 minutes, they've had that 10 minutes on their own, away from just being a mother."

In the process of becoming strike leaders and organizers, many women have found themselves taking new looks at themselves and their world.

Nearly every active wife I spoke with told me what Ann Jones did. Jones is a leader of the Tower colliery wives' group in South Wales. "I didn't use to take any notice of what was happening in the world. I mean, the news came on and I used to think, 'Well, I've got enough to think about on my own, leave the rest of the world sort itself out.' But you do start listening to things that are happening around you more."

In addition to doing many new things, she, like many others, is now thinking about new things as well. "My own opinion of this strike is that Thatcher is not after just the coalfields, she's after the union as the union. If she can smash the NUM, which is the strongest union, the little unions will fall down one after another," said Jones.

Cop violence

For many of the wives, feeling the blows of the police violence against their picket lines, the police occupation of their communities and violence against their homes was a sudden beginning to taking a whole new look at the world. Every wife I spoke with told me stories of shock and disbelief at seeing the cops at work. For many this has led to a new sense of solidarity with other victims of police violence, from Blacks in Britain and South Africa to Republicans in Northern Ireland to the revolutionists in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Cuba.

Many of the most active of the wives are also thinking through their own role in the world. Some of them have worked outside the home. Ann Jones, for example, has been a shop steward in two different garment workers unions. Many, however, have never held paying jobs, and up until the strike never thought about doing so.

But, as Lynn Dennett told me, this is changing for some.

"When we've won this strike, there's going to be a lot of problems, to be honest with you. Because we've had eight months when we've had a bit of freedom, and then all of a sudden, we're going to be pushed back."

"I can't talk for the women as a whole, but I know myself, in a way I want the strike to be over, and in another way I don't. You know, every so often you just feel trapped, and you know you're going to be trapped once the strike's over with. And you've been enlightened to another life that you know is there. You realize there's more to life than kids. And for the women who work, I find that exciting, because from one day to the next you don't know what's going to happen. I couldn't see me being a little housewife sitting at home forever."

Women do not work in the mines in Britain. Most miners and their wives I talked with consider it a victory that women had been freed — through union struggles decades ago — from having to work in coal mines, where they were paid a pittance and often literally worked to death. But the women's activities in this strike have spurred new discussions about whether women who want to should be allowed to work in the mines when the strike is over.

I participated in many informal discussions on this topic, but the point was most graphically driven home to me in South Wales.

On November 1, I was invited to address a meeting of 300 miners' wives in Cardiff in South Wales. "Thank you, sisters," I began. "My name is Kipp Dawson. I'm an underground miner from the United States."

Immediately all 300 women were on their feet, yelling and waving and cheering. They were applauding the solidarity I represented to them, from members of their class in the United States. They were applauding the women who work in the mines in the United States. But they were also applauding a new breed of women workers, which many of them see themselves maybe becoming a part of.

Kipp Dawson is a laid-off coal miner from Pennsylvania and a member of the United Mine Workers of America. She spent two weeks in Britain's coalfields in late October and early November.

THE GREAT SOCIETY

CIA job? — Sixty-eight students at Brown University face suspension or expulsion for trying to make a citizen's arrest of

being asked to sign a petition against the CIA's appearance on campus.

Start them off right — Perceiving a shortage of imaginative copy writers, J. Walter Thompson, the Madison Avenue huckster folk, is running recruitment ads with aptitude tests for applicants. Sample item: "The ingredients listed on the tin of baked beans read: Beans, water, tomatoes, sugar, salt, modified starch, vinegar, spices. Make it sound mouthwatering."

A-rations — The U.S. Army is developing light-weight, vacuum-packed meals of compressed food on the supposition that in wars of

the 1990s opposing armies will be able to target and destroy field kitchens before the water boils. And to deal with biological and nuclear contaminants, they're working on a liquid food GIs can drink through a valve in their gas masks.

Good thinking — Philosophers are finding new employment opportunities as house "ethicists" for corporations and hospitals. They're supposed to help cope with modern-day ethical problems. However, one recruiter in the field was quick to assure, they only ask the big questions, not answer them.

Cooing like a dove — There

was an added point to that recent speech in which war secretary Weinberger said the U.S. should go to war only when it was ready to go in with fists and feet flying. An administration source confided it was intended to "repair his image" as a superhawk.

Ah, for a sane 7-day work week — "The introduction of the five-day working week in Japan has been blamed for a rise in neurotic illness among employees, who are not used to lying in bed on Saturday." — The London *Economist*.

Selling the salesman — The Limited Editions Club has published a new edition of Arthur Mil-

ler's *Death of a Salesman*. Printed on quality paper, it's bound in a goatskin cover, stamped in 24-karat gold. \$400 a copy.

Oh — Treasury aides were busy drafting the administration's tax scheme during the election campaign, but were instructed not to brief Reagan so he could "honestly" plead ignorance.

Un-British — An unemployed London teenager was fined \$126 after being found guilty of using threatening and abusive words and behavior. He was among a group of youth told to move by a cop. He allegedly then looked at the cop and said "meow" to his police dog.



Harry Ring

CIA recruiters on campus. The university has the names of participants on a roster that they insist they didn't obtain by trickery. Students say they thought they were

CALENDAR

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Agent Orange Settlement: No Justice for Veterans. Speakers: a panel of Vietnam veterans. Sat., Dec. 15, 7:30 p.m. 205 18 St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Crisis Facing Family Farmers Today. Speaker: Don Horton, American Agriculture Movement state representative. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 8, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Weekend Socialist Educational Series.

1. "Nicaragua Is Not Alone — International Fighters Speak Out." A panel of speakers from Quebec, Palestine, Dominican Republic, and South Africa. Sat., Dec. 15, 7 p.m.

2. "Nicaragua Today." A slide-show presentation by people who recently returned from revolutionary Nicaragua. Sun., Dec. 16, 11 a.m.

3. "After the Elections: What Next in the Fight for a Socialist America?" Speaker: Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party 1984 presidential candidate. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$6 for series or \$2 per session. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and SWP. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Six Days in Soweto. A film on the South African uprising. Sun., Dec. 9, 4 p.m. Northwest Activities Center, 18100 Meyers (at Curtis). Donation: \$2. Ausp: National Black Independent Political Party. For more information call (313) 895-6016 or 837-1025.

Abortion Rights Under Attack. Speakers: representative, Michigan Abortion Rights Action League; a Canadian supporter of Dr. Henry Morgentaler; representative, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Dec. 9, 7 p.m. 4176 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

South Africa Protest at General Motors. Demonstration demanding release of 13 impris-

oned Black South African labor leaders and withdrawal of GM from South Africa. Fri., Dec. 14, 3-6 p.m. GM headquarters, W Grand Blvd. Ausp: New Bethel Baptist Church, Midwest Coalition Against Apartheid, Pan-African Students Union, Wayne State University. For more information call (313) 869-8383 or 342-5678.

Celebration of South African Heroes Day. Program and film presentation. Sun., Dec. 16, 3 p.m. New Bethel Baptist Church, 8450 Linwood (cor. Philadelphia). Ausp: New Bethel Baptist Church, Midwest Coalition Against Apartheid, Pan-African Students Union, Wayne State University. For more information call (313) 894-5788.

Famine in Africa. Speakers: Kibwe Diarra, member Socialist Workers Party and United Auto Workers; Margaret Weber, Bread for the World. Sun., Dec. 16, 7 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

The Soviet Union: A Worker's Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Natasha Terelexis. Sun., Dec. 9, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Minnesota Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

The British Miners Strike: An Eyewitness Account. Speaker: Lisa Ahlberg, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and Socialist Workers Party. Showing of National Union of Mineworkers video on strike. Sun., Dec. 16, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Minnesota Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Dairy Queens. A videotape on farm women in struggle. Sun., Dec. 9, 7 p.m. 3109 S Grand, room #22. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

NEW YORK

New York City

The Fight Against Police Brutality. Speakers: Sara Davis, Eleanor Bumpurs Justice Committee; Michael Warren, Attorney for family of Michael Stewart; others. Fri., Dec. 14, 7:30 p.m. Translation to Spanish. 79 Leonard St.

Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Message From the People of Nicaragua. Speaker: Kathy Carpenter, recently returned from study tour of Mexico and Nicaragua. Sat., Dec. 8, 7:30 p.m. Church of the Covenant, corner of Walker and Mendenhall. Ausp: Association of Women Students, Carolina Interfaith Task Force on Central America, National Organization for Women, NAACP, Students Concerned About Central America, Triad Citizens Concerned About Central America, Resource Center for Women and Ministry in the South.

U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua! Eyewitness report with slide show and discussion. Speaker: representative of Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Dec. 15, 7:30 p.m. 301 S Elm St., room #522. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Nicaragua: Why the U.S. Government Wants to Overthrow the Nicaraguan Revolution. Speakers: Dave Wills, member of Young Socialist Alliance recently returned from Nicaragua; Juanita Jenkins, member of Hospital Workers District 1199, participated in health-care tour of Nicaragua. Sun., Dec. 9, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Toledo

Uprising in the Philippines. Speaker: Joe Calahan, member Socialist Workers Party and United Auto Workers Local 12. Wed., Dec. 12, 7 p.m. 2120 Dorr St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

TEXAS

Houston

Human Rights in El Salvador: An Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Russ Christensen, attorney recently returned from fact-finding human rights commission tour. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 8, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Trade Unions and Nicaragua: Democracy and Peace. A report back from U.S. trade union leaders' fact-finding tour of Nicaragua. Speakers: Nita Brueggeman, secretary-treasurer of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, Northwest Region; Juan Lombard, president Service Employees International Union Local 616 and member of Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Teri Mast, president of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 37 and cochair of Philippine Labor Task Force. Sat., Dec. 8, 7:30 p.m. 722 18 Ave. Donation: \$4. Ausp: Seattle Labor Committee on Central America. For more information call (206) 723-6511.

Perspectives for Black Liberation. Panel discussion with Leroy Watson, others. Sun., Dec. 16, 7 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Stop the Bombings: Antiabortion Terrorists Attack Women's Right to Choose. Speakers: Amy Shannon, Planned Parenthood; Ricki D. Grunberg, Coalition for the Protection of Women's Health; Julie Steiner, American Civil Liberties Union; Reba Williams, member International Association of Machinists Lodge 1784 and Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 15, 8 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Eyewitness Report From Nicaragua. Speaker: Ellie Garcia, member Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from two-week tour of Nicaragua. Showing of film: *Nicaragua: Report From the Front*. Sat., Dec. 8, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

The Case for Native American Treaty Rights. Speakers: James Schlender, vice-chairperson, La Courte Oreilles Indian tribe; Dave Morrow, Socialist Workers Party. Sat. Dec. 15, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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

CALIFORNIA: Bay Area District: 3808 E 14th St., Oakland. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 534-1242. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: SWP, YSA, 1184 Broadway. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

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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.

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

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 7146 W. McNichols. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 862-7755.

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A 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.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 301 S. Elm St., Suite 522. Greensboro. 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, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. 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, 141 S. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409

Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. **Dallas:** SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. **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. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, Md. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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

D.C. Blacks and unionists hit apartheid



Unionists, Black rights activists, and students have been demonstrating daily in Washington, D.C., against apartheid.

tice Department to belittle the importance of what we are doing . . . to get out from under the pressure of all the people on the picket line."

Sources in the U.S. Attorney's office told reporters that the charges were dropped to avoid "show trials" that would focus on the policies of the South African and U.S. governments.

Red ribbons

The protests have received broad popular support in this 70 percent Black city. The wearing of red ribbons to protest apartheid — a campaign begun by Howard University students — has spread throughout the city.

Thousands of people picketed the embassy during the first week of protests.

The largest crowd assembled on November 30, when 800 people picketed on both sides of the street.

Signs — both printed and handwritten on cardboard and paper — express demands of the protesters: "Free all South African political prisoners," "Free Nelson Mandela," "End U.S. support to apartheid," "Soweto means murder," "South Africa terrorists out of Namibia."

In a recent speech at the University of Maryland, AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland pledged the AFL-CIO's support to the protests. McEntee of AFSCME called on the 1.2 million AFSCME members to participate in scheduled protests at the 13 South Africa consulates across the country on December 3.

Rank-and-file members and officials from unions in the D.C.-Baltimore area have participated in the protests from the beginning. They include AFSCME District 20; AFSCME Local 1072; National Education Association; Washington Teachers Union; Amalgamated Transit Union; Newspaper Guild Local 35; Graphic Arts International Union; United Auto Workers; and the United Steelworkers of America.

At a news conference prior to his arrest, Marc Stepp of the UAW noted the hypocrisy of the Reagan administration which claims to be "in favor of free trade unions in Poland, but is silent on the vicious repression of labor in South Africa."

Student support

Students from Washington campuses have been on the picket line. Sizeable contingents from the predominantly white campuses of Georgetown, George Washington, and American universities have joined with Black students from University of District of Columbia, Howard University, Bowie State College in Bowie, Maryland, and Morgan State University in Baltimore.

Activists from Central American solidarity and antiwar groups have also joined the line.

In an interview with the *Militant*, entertainer Harry Belafonte, the cochair of Art-

ists and Athletes Against Apartheid, said:

"We feel it is unconscionable that millions of Black people are oppressed by a handful of whites and that Black Americans have had no voice to oppose this. . . . We know that as the people of the USA find out what is really going on they will be with us. I am particularly happy to stand with the labor movement in this struggle."

Belafonte also noted that when the Nicaraguan government expelled two U.S. diplomats caught in an assassination attempt, the U.S. government responded by closing down all the Nicaraguan consulates, yet when South Africa brutally murders hundreds of workers and students, Washington is silent.

Howard University rally

At Howard University more than 300 students and workers rallied to protest U.S. policy in South Africa. The rally had been planned weeks earlier as part of a month of programs dedicated to "The Struggle Abroad."

Christopher Cathcart, president of the Howard University Student Association, urged students to join the protest at the embassy.

He said, "We must take the vanguard of the struggle. If you support this government, then you support the destruction of our people . . . in Africa, in Grenada, in the United States, everywhere."

Other speakers at the rally included Dessima Williams, former Grenadian ambassador to the Organization of American States; D.C. Delegate Walter Fauntroy; Annie Alexander of Shiloh Baptist Church; Cassandra Hill of Southern Africa Support Project; and representatives of the National Black United Front and Bowie State College.

Dessima Williams's last visit to Howard ended abruptly the night of October 25 when she was brutally arrested by agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service who claimed she was in this country "illegally." Williams thanked the Howard student association for inviting her back, and thanked them for their "total support during my arrest."

Manotti Jenkins, vice-president of the student association ended the rally by reminding the students to aim their fire at the U.S. government.

"This country supports the most ruthless regimes in the world, Pinochet in Chile, and dictators in Haiti and El Salvador," he said. "This country is the most hypocritical in the world today. We as a people must organize and we must study. We must know that capitalism is a destructive system."

Jenkins drew cheers from the crowd when he said, "We must study Fidel Castro. We must study the Sandinistas, and study all the movements on the African continent fighting for our liberation."

The protests at the South African embassy are continuing. The picket lines begin at 3:30 p.m. every weekday.

Continued from front page

Leonard Ball, national coordinator of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; were arrested.

Others arrested include Congressmen John Conyers of Michigan; Ronald Dellums of California; George Crockett of Michigan; Charles Hayes of Illinois; and Donald Edwards of California; Gary, Indiana Mayor Richard Hatcher; Yolanda King, daughter of the civil rights leader

Martin Luther King, Jr.; and Joseph Lowery, executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

On November 30, the U.S. attorney's office dropped charges against 16 of those who had been arrested. Local charges against Conyers and Ball remain.

Representative Crockett characterized the dropping of the charges as "part of an effort by the Reagan administration through the State Department and the Jus-

Larry Stewart: over 4 decades in the struggle for socialism

BY BARRY SHEPPARD

NEW YORK — Larry Stewart, a member of the Socialist Workers Party for 44 years, died in Newark, New Jersey, on November 16.

Stewart was first attracted to socialist ideas in 1938-39 while a high school student in New Haven, Connecticut. There he met members of the recently formed Socialist Workers Party. One of those who made an impression upon him was the noted Caribbean author, C.L.R. James, who was lecturing in New Haven and was a national leader of the SWP at the time.

In 1939 Stewart joined the SWP in New Haven, and later that year moved to the New York area. He settled in Newark, where he lived the rest of his life.

He was an activist in the Newark branch of the SWP throughout the 1940s and '50s. In the mid-1960s it was no longer possible to sustain a branch in Newark, but Larry remained a member-at-large of the party, advancing the SWP's work in New Jersey in that capacity. He played a role in reestablishing the branch in 1975 and served for a time on the branch executive committee.

From 1976 to 1979, Stewart was elected by the party's national conventions to serve on the national Control Commission.

From the time he graduated high school, Larry worked in a variety of industrial jobs, including in iron and steel foundries, an aluminum extrusion plant, and as a construction worker. In the last period of his life, he worked driving both trucks and cars.

Stewart was active in the trade unions where he worked. He participated in party industrial trade union fractions, especially in the electrical industry after World War II. He was involved in strikes at Westinghouse and Western Electric during the postwar labor upsurge. He was arrested a few times in connection with strike activity.

Stewart was also active in the struggle for Black rights. In 1941 he was part of the movement for a March on Washington, which won concessions regarding equal treatment for Blacks in the war industries.

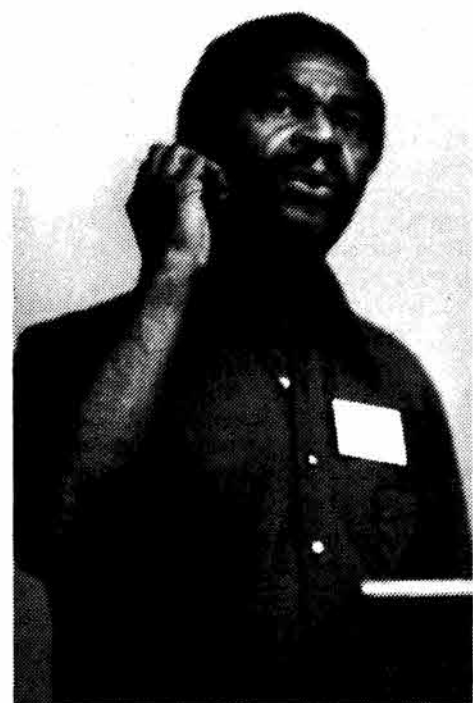
Stewart helped build support for the Freedom Now Party in the early 1960s, and was a founding member of the National Black Independent Political Party in 1980. He worked on other campaigns the SWP was involved in, from the defense of Robert F. Williams and the Monroe, North Carolina, NAACP when they were under attack from Ku Klux Klanners and the state and federal governments in the early 1960s, to the 1963 March on Washington for civil rights.

In 1967 he wrote and spoke on the Black rebellion in Newark as an eyewitness and participant. An extensive article on the rebellion by him appeared in the *Militant*.

Stewart also served twice as an SWP candidate for public office. He ran for U.S. Senate from New Jersey in 1964 and for Congress from the 10th C.D. in the Newark area in 1976.

In the last few years, health considerations forced him to be less active politically. In early 1983 Stewart left the SWP as part of a split over organizational and political differences.

Larry Stewart will be remembered as a revolutionary worker who devoted his life to the struggle for socialism and for his many contributions to building the SWP for over four decades.



Larry Stewart in 1976

Militant

Crackdown on South African unions

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

In the wake of a massive strike by Black workers in early November, the South African government launched a wave of brutal repression. The new crackdown has sparked a series of protests here in the United States (see article on front page).

The immediate demand of these protests is the release of 13 South African trade union leaders. They were arrested following the November 5-6 strike in the Transvaal, which involved one million Black workers — the largest political strike in South African history. Cops killed some 24 Blacks during the two-day strike. The general strike capped weeks of sustained massive mobilizations against apartheid rule.

Many of these protests were organized by the United Democratic Front (UDF), a broad coalition of more than 600 anti-apartheid organizations whose combined membership totals more than 2 million.

The November 5-6 strike was called by the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), a UDF affiliate. The call won the support of 37 organizations, including the UDF, the Federation of South African Women, and several community groups.

Most significantly, the strike call was backed by the predominantly Black Feder-

ation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), and the South African Allied Workers Union, which between them organize the majority of the more than 500,000 members of independent Black unions.

The demands of the two-day strike included the withdrawal of troops and cops from Black townships, the release of all political prisoners, an end to rent and bus fare hikes, and reinstatement of all dismissed workers.

The apartheid regime cracked down immediately in the days following the strike. Cops jailed leaders of COSAS, the UDF, and the strike organizing committee.

Leaders of the key unions taking part in the strike, such as FOSATU President Chris Dlamini, CUSA General Secretary Piroshaw Camay, and Moses Mayekiso of the Metal and Allied Workers Union, were also arrested.

"Order shall be maintained," insisted Home Affairs Minister F.W. de Klerk. "South Africa cannot afford to allow its labor and economic spheres to become a battlefield." But that's precisely what they are.

Applying Weinberger's 'criteria'

On November 28 Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger gave a speech before the National Press Club titled "The Uses of Military Power." The focus of the speech — which was approved by both President Reagan and the National Security Council — was what criteria Washington should use in deciding to commit U.S. combat troops to Central America.

Weinberger's speech was a frank statement of the key factors that the U.S. imperialists must take into account in any decision to send thousands of U.S. GIs to fight in Central America.

The heart of Weinberger's view was contained in one sentence: "When we commit our troops to combat we must do so with the sole objective of winning."

There are two keys to "winning" that Weinberger pointed to. One was to avoid the mistake of "the use of insufficient force." When U.S. troops are used, said Weinberger, "we must commit them in sufficient numbers" to win.

The second key is to organize the maximum public support — especially from the people of the United States — for the war. "Before the U.S. commits combat forces abroad, there must be some reasonable assurance we will have the support of the American people . . ."

The U.S. invasion of Grenada, Weinberger declared, was an example of an intervention that fit his criteria. In Grenada, he said, Washington committed "every ounce of strength necessary to win the fight to achieve our objectives."

It was the internal counterrevolution in Grenada one week before the U.S. government's invasion that convinced Washington it could pay a relatively low political and military price for such a move.

Prior to these events, Washington carried out provocative actions against the workers and farmers government led by Maurice Bishop. But the U.S. rulers felt that they would pay too high a political price if they carried out an invasion of this Black, English-speaking island of armed workers and farmers and overthrew its popular government. But once that government was replaced and the Grenadian masses were demobilized and terrorized, invading Grenada became a different story. The U.S. troops were at first welcomed as "liberators" by the majority of the population. The actual combat lasted less than a week and there were very few U.S. casualties. These factors prevented any significant mobilization of opposition to the invasion inside the United States.

The problem facing Weinberger and company in Central America is that Nicaragua is not — and will not be — another Grenada.

The only way Nicaragua could become another Grenada would be if a majority of the Sandinista National Liberation Front leadership developed into a privileged bureaucratic clique, like the Coard group in Grenada, and then overthrew the workers and farmers government.

Since 1981 the CIA has been financing, organizing, training, and arming the remnants of the National Guard of former Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza. The ultimate goal of this mercenary war is to overthrow the Nicaraguan government and re-establish a pro-imperialist regime.

The *contras*, as the U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries are called, have carried out many invasions and other attacks against Nicaragua in the last several years. Each time, the armed workers and peasants have succeeded in dealing them blows and pushing them back.

But the fact that the Nicaraguan people keep pushing the *contras* back does not mean the *contras* are going to pack up and go away. They are constantly being rearmed and revived by their CIA masters. The *contra* attacks are again escalating. The imperialists don't get tired and they don't give up.

Why U.S. sent 'Nimitz' to Cuba

When Washington dispatched the *Nimitz*, one of its most powerful warships, to retrieve a small U.S. vessel adrift in Cuban waters, the *Washington Post* dismissed the incident as a "Keystone Kop" caper.

The deliberate violation of Cuban territorial waters by the 95,000-ton nuclear-powered battleship was an arrogant and dangerous exhibition of U.S. military muscle. It was one more aggressive act in Washington's war drive against Cuba.

The incident began November 30 when the *Seaward Explorer*, an oceanographic vessel, radioed it was adrift in Cuban waters.

The *Nimitz*, anchored in St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands, was dispatched with such speed that more than 1,000 of its crew members were left behind.

The dispatching of the *Nimitz* had prior White House approval.

The disabled *Seaward Explorer* had been hired by a subsidiary of Honeywell, a top military contractor. Its asserted mission was to chart Haiti's coastal waters.

A Honeywell spokesperson cryptically declared, "As far as the *Seaward Explorer* is concerned, we're under

And it's not just the *contra* operation that the U.S. government is running against the Nicaraguan people. The *contra* war is the centerpiece in Washington's multifaceted campaign of aggression, which includes threats of direct U.S. military moves, economic sabotage and pressure, and a concerted propaganda campaign against alleged Nicaraguan "subversion" and "totalitarianism."

Washington keeps turning up the pressure to try to isolate the Nicaraguan revolution from the people of the world and to try and sap the energy, morale, and resources of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants — to soften them up for the kill, so to speak.

This is all part of preparing the ground for the massive deployment of U.S. combat troops when Washington decides such a move is possible and worth the political risks involved.

But, despite Washington's vastly superior firepower and economic resources, it is *losing* the war. The revolution is getting stronger, not weaker. The workers and peasants are becoming more confident in their ability to run the country. And they are determined to give their lives rather than let the Yankee imperialists overthrow their government and their revolution.

On an international level as well, Washington is losing the war for the "hearts and minds" of the world's peoples. The Nicaraguan government is carrying out a successful international campaign to expose the U.S. aggression and to make it clear that the Nicaraguan people are ready, willing, and able to defend their homeland if necessary, while they make clear that they prefer peace.

Weinberger and company also know that a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua could not be sold to the U.S. people for long as a quick war of "liberation" in which U.S. troops are welcomed by the masses. The overwhelming majority of the Nicaraguan people hate the *contras* and are opposed to an invasion of their country by Yankee imperialists.

A U.S. commitment of combat troops in Nicaragua would be a long, drawn-out war with huge casualties. That's because, like in Vietnam, it would be a war against an armed, determined, and heroic people. The recent massive mobilizations for the defense of the capital city of Managua, in the face of U.S. threats, show once again that the introduction of U.S. troops into Nicaragua would turn into a regional war, as the other peoples of Central America also turned against the U.S. invaders.

As the U.S. death toll mounted, Washington would also begin to lose the battle for the "hearts and minds" of U.S. working people. Opposition would mount in the United States, especially among the workers and farmers, and the oppressed Black and Latino communities.

None of these things are guaranteed to stop Washington, which is hell-bent on destroying the example of what working people can accomplish when they kick out the imperialists and take political power into their own hands.

But these are the factors the U.S. rulers must weigh. The Nicaraguan government has sounded the alarm against every new U.S. threat, provocation, and terrorist attack. By making clear the price Washington will pay, they buy precious time for their revolution, and time to get out the truth about the war to the world including to U.S. working people.

"The time that the Sandinistas are buying can and should be put to good use by opponents of Washington's war in this country."

We can't wait for "the" invasion. As the Nicaraguans have explained over and over, *the invasion has begun. The war is already on.* There are 15,000 *contras* on Nicaragua's borders that carry out daily attacks. The biggest task that opponents of this war have is to reach out to the ranks of labor, to the Black and Latino communities, to the youth and tell the truth about the war going on today.

contract to do a hydrographic survey. That's all I can tell you."

When the *Nimitz*, accompanied by a nuclear-powered escort ship, the *Arkansas*, set out, a Cuban ship had already responded to the *Seaward Explorer*'s distress call and was on the scene, along with a U.S. coast guard cutter.

Cuba had informed U.S. authorities that if the ship was not seriously damaged, it would tow it to the coast guard cutter. If the boat was seriously crippled, the Cubans said, they would bring it into a Cuban port for repair.

The Navy responded, "We did not want the Cubans to take that ship."

The reason given was that Cuba might make a "political show" of the incident and hold the ship and crew.

After the *Nimitz* had the disabled craft safely in tow, the State Department moderated its tone, cynically declaring that "we thanked the Cubans for their offer of assistance."

The "thank-you" hardly squares with Washington's action. The incident was utilized as a further attempt at military intimidation of Cuba and to promote anti-Cuba sentiment by portraying Cuba as so "dangerous" that such extreme measures are necessary.

Fidel Castro: why revolutions are not exported

One of the current U.S. charges against Nicaragua is that the workers and farmers government of that country is "exporting revolution" to neighboring countries. This charge has been used against Cuba as well, ever since its 1959 revolution.

In February 1962, Cuban leader Fidel Castro, addressing a crowd of 1 million, explained why neither Cuba nor any other country can "export" revolution and what lay behind the imperialists' accusations. The following excerpts are taken from his speech at that time, which is known as the "Second Declaration of Havana." (In next week's "Learning About Socialism" column we will resume selections from the book *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International* and the accompanying articles on that book).

What is it that is hidden behind the Yankees' hate of the Cuban revolution? What is it that rationally explains the conspiracy, uniting for the same aggressive purpose the most powerful and rich imperialist power in the contemporary world and the oligarchies of an entire continent, which together are supposed to represent a population of 350 million human beings, against a small country of only seven million inhabitants, economically underdeveloped, without financial or military means to threaten the security or economy of any other country?

What unites them and stirs them up is fear. What explains it is fear. Not fear of the Cuban revolution but fear of the Latin-American revolution. Not fear of the work-

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

ers, peasants, intellectuals, students and progressive layers of the middle strata which by revolutionary means have taken power in Cuba; but fear that the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and progressive sectors of the middle strata will by revolutionary means take power in the oppressed and hungry countries exploited by the Yankee monopolies and reactionary oligarchies of America, fear that the plundered people of the continent will seize the arms from their oppressors and, like Cuba, declare themselves free people of America.

They imagine in their delirium that Cuba is an exporter of revolutions. In their sleepless, merchants' and usurers' minds there is the idea that revolutions can be bought, sold, rented, loaned, exported, and imported like some piece of merchandise. Ignorant of the objective laws that govern the development of human societies, they believe that their monopolistic, capitalistic and semifeudal regimes are eternal.

Educated in their own reactionary ideology, a mixture of superstition, ignorance, subjectivism, pragmatism and other mental aberrations, they have an image of the world and of the march of history conforming to their interests as exploiting classes.

They imagine that revolutions are born or die in the brains of individuals or are caused by divine laws and moreover that the gods are on their side. They have always thought that way — from the devout patrician pagans of Roman slave society who hurled the early Christians to the lions at the circus and the inquisitors of the Middle Ages who, as guardians of feudalism and absolute monarchy, burned at the stake the first representatives of liberal thought of the nascent bourgeoisie, up to today's bishops who anathematize proletarian revolutions in defense of the bourgeois and monopolist regime.

Today persecution rages over the proletarian fighters and this crime brings out the worst calumnies in the monopolist and bourgeois press. Always, in each historic epoch, the ruling classes have committed murder — invoking the defense of society, the country, order — to defend the privileged minorities against the exploited majorities: "Their class rule," maintained by blood and fire against the dispossessed; "the country," whose fruits only they enjoy, depriving the rest of the people of those fruits, in order to repress the revolutionaries who aspire to a new society, a just order, a country truly for all.

But the development of history, the ascending march of humanity does not hold back, nor can it be held back. The forces which impel the people, who are the real makers of history, determined by the material conditions of their existence and the aspirations for higher goals of well-being and liberty, which emerge when the progress of man in the fields of science, technology, and culture make it possible, are superior to the will and the terror unleashed by the ruling oligarchies.

To the accusation that Cuba wants to export its revolution, we reply: Revolutions are not exported, they are made by the people.

What Cuba can give to the people, and has already given, is its example.

And what does the Cuban revolution teach? That revolution is possible, that the people can make it, that in the contemporary world there are no forces capable of halting the liberation movement of the peoples.

Canadian farmers aid – and learn from – Nicaraguans

The following is an excerpt from an article that appeared in the September 1984 issue of *Union Farmer*, the monthly newspaper of Canada's National Farmers Union.

BY BRIAN TOMLINSON

New Brunswick seed potatoes are making a direct contribution towards Nicaragua's goal of food self-sufficiency.

Over the past year more than 200 tons of Kennebec seed have been planted by agricultural cooperatives in northern Nicaragua. The project is the joint effort of Grand Falls members of the National Farmers Union (NFU) and co-op members of the Nicaraguan National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG).

Members of the NFU in Grand Falls organized the shipment of potatoes, and one member, Conrad Toner, visited the potato-growing cooperatives in February of this year.

Toner was invited to Nicaragua by the UNAG. The UNAG's Director of Horticulture, Julio Carballo, pointed out in a letter to the NFU in Canada that "the great importance which farmers play as providers of foodstuff in all countries is a fact which identifies the common basis for solidarity and cooperation."

Toner was very impressed with the progress made in potato production at the co-ops he visited in the regions of Estelí and Matagalpa. While they faced many problems and lacked resources, yields compared favorably with Canadian yields and the crops looked good in the fields.

"I feel there is much Canadian farmers can learn from the Nicaraguan experience," he said on his return. "The Nicaraguan people have lived under a dictatorship that promoted corporate takeover of their land, and they know the value of working together to preserve the continuance of family-owned farms. Both on their individually owned and cooperatively owned lands, the Nicaraguans practice land management very extensively and wisely."

The transformation of Nicaraguan agriculture has been a central goal of the Sandinista government since July 1979. During the 1970s nearly 40 percent of the economically active rural population were landless wage laborers. Most were employed for four months of the year during the coffee, sugar cane, and cotton harvests.

Another 38 percent were small landowners who barely produced enough food to feed their families. Most fertile land was occupied by a small group of large landowners (many of whom were associated with the former dictator Anastasio Somoza and his family), while the majority of the rural population lived a precarious existence on marginal lands and surrounding mountains.

Five years after the fall of Somoza, some 10.5 million acres of land have been distributed to more than 45,000 campesino families through the Agrarian Reform Program. Another 5.7 million acres, belonging directly to the Somoza family, were transformed into publicly-owned agricultural estates, devoted to the production of export crops.

In addition to changes in land ownership, the peasants have also benefited from the government's priority to bring improved medical services, better roads, accessible drinkable water, new agricultural machinery, education, and literacy programs to the rural areas.

But CIA-backed *contra* attacks from Honduras (mostly ex-members of Somoza's National Guard) and the economic blockade supported by the United States have meant less resources available for these types of social investment. Self-sufficiency in food production becomes a critical national objective as foreign exchange to import food is less available.

Traditionally, 90 percent of Nicaragua's potatoes were brought in from Guatemala. After the revolution's victory in 1979, imports of seed from Canada and Holland have helped build an indigenous potato industry and consumption has increased over the past few years. Yet numerous obstacles remain in achieving self-sufficiency.

The absence of sufficient storage facilities for both seed and table potatoes is one critical problem. It leads to waste and spoilage as well as seasonal oversupply and out-of-season scarcity.

Another problem facing the development of potato farming in Nicaragua is the difficulty in obtaining good quality seed. The absence of storage for seed in the co-ops limits the carry-over from one crop to the next. Indigenous bacterial diseases will make it essential for several years that the co-ops import disease free varieties until high quality "elite" seed production can be



Nicaraguan peasant displaying his new title just received at special government land-title ceremony. Sandinistas are carrying out pledge that "not a single campesino will be left without land."

established in Nicaragua. A major advantage of the New Brunswick "Kennebec" variety is that they are free of golden nematode disease.

The seed potato project is only one aspect of a larger program of collaboration with the Nicaraguan program to increase potato production. The Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) and other Canadian agencies are presently providing financial support for training courses for 25 Nicaraguans to learn agricultural extension skills. They will in turn train co-op members in more effective methods of potato production. Canadian agencies will also

contribute to the improvement of irrigation and provide tools and fumigation protection equipment to the co-ops. A technical exchange program is also being investigated between Canada and Nicaragua to develop research knowledge in potato production.

Since returning to Canada, Toner and CUSO have been promoting the potato project with farmers' groups, religious communities, and development agencies throughout the Maritimes. Donations can be sent to CUSO, Seed Potatoes Campaign, CUSO Program Funding, 151 Slater Street, Ottawa, Ontario, K1P5H5.

LETTERS

Internment camps

Recently, the Militant Forum in Oakland, California, sponsored a special forum on the internment in 1942 of over 120,000 Japanese-Americans who were sent to concentration camps located in the desert areas.

One of the speakers was Ernie Iiyama, who is an executive board member of the Japanese-American Citizens League. Iiyama was one of the 120,000. He described how he and his family were forced to give up their homes and sent to live for eight months in a racetrack horse stall. "It was an old stall where the horse urine had soaked in and the smell was terrible," he explained. From there they were shipped to camps far away, with guard towers and barbed wire and where many had to live in buildings without roofs.

A second speaker was Don Tamaki, an attorney representing the National Coalition for Redress and Reparations. Tamaki provided much historical background to the internment and the fact that the government's contention of "security risks" and fear of "sabotage" were totally untrue. *Not one single case of this was ever demonstrated then or later.*

He also demonstrated how racism against Asians played a very big role in this along with a greedy desire on the part of many to get their hands on the farms and businesses the Japanese-Americans had. A major culprit in all this was the Associated Farmers of California.

Tamaki showed how a "conspiracy right up to and into the White House" worked to falsify facts and information. He described how the press, the government, and agribusiness representatives built up this hysteria. He described how Lt. General John L. DeWitt, Commanding General of the Western Defense Command, called for the rounding up of all Japanese-Americans to "prevent them from engaging in sabotage" and said that, "The very fact that no sabotage has taken place to date is disturbing and a confirming indication that such action will be taken."

Also, Iiyama has made it clear that he and others are available to speak to "any audience, large or small," presenting their case. For more information, Militant readers are urged to contact: Japanese-American Citizens League, Fred Takimiya, President, 420 Coluso Ave., El Cerrito, Ca. 94530, (415) 524-3255; or Don Tamaki, National Coalition for Redress and Reparations, 300 Montgomery St. Suite 1000, San Francisco, Ca. 94104, (415) 788-9000.

Paul Montauk
Oakland, California

Karen Silkwood

November 13 marked the tenth year since Karen Silkwood, a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, died in an auto crash. Silkwood was a leader in her union's battle against the deadly working conditions in Kerr-McGee's plutonium plant in Oklahoma.

Despite an FBI cover-up, Kerr-McGee's involvement in causing Silkwood's death became known. It was clear that her auto crash was no accident and there was a lot of evidence that Kerr-McGee had caused her plutonium poisoning.

Ten years after her death, Karen Silkwood's life and death are still the subject of debate.

At a recent Militant Forum here, three white-collar employees from Kerr-McGee showed up to argue Kerr-McGee's innocence. Kerr-McGee had prepared them with an "informational packet" first given out to Kerr-McGee employees one year ago in an attempt to refute all the facts brought out by the movie *Silkwood* starring Meryl Streep.

An OCAW member who also belongs to the Young Socialist Alliance addressed the forum and answered Kerr-McGee's lies. She was only 13 years old at the time of Silkwood's death, but like many others found inspiration from her struggle.

Liz Ziers
New Orleans, Louisiana

Virgin Islands prisoner

As a Virgin Islands prisoner incarcerated in the federal prisons system in America, I am demanding an investigation by the Department of Justice and the Virgin Islands government. I am demanding the investigation into discrimination against me and other Virgin Islands prisoners because of our nationality.

A prisoner
Oklahoma



Stay in contact

I have received my first *Militant* paper. I take advantage of this opportunity to thank you and the rest of the brothers and sisters out there that make it possible for us inmates to stay in contact with the world and its systematic problems.
A prisoner
New York

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to

prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Yale workers' fight continues

Strikers return to work over holidays vowing battle is not over

BY TOM LEONARD

On November 29, striking members of Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 34 voted to return to work at Yale University after more than two months on the picket line. The union, however, has not given up its fight for a new contract that would provide "comparable worth" wage increases.

Eighty-seven percent of Local 34's members are women, and 17 percent are oppressed nationalities. The average pay is \$13,424 a year, but many members earn far less. The union's demand of comparable worth refers to the fact that these low-paid workers perform comparable work to higher-paid employees at Yale. The union wants pay increases to reflect this.

During the strike one picket sign read, "Try living on \$9,700" a year. Another said, "My strike pay is more than my pension" (strike benefits were \$50 a week).

According to Local 34 members, the decision to return to work was the result of two weeks' discussion involving all striking members of the local, and only then did they vote to return to work.

At the same membership meeting, workers also voted down Yale's final contract offer, and set a date of January 14 to resume the strike if negotiations fail during the return to work period.

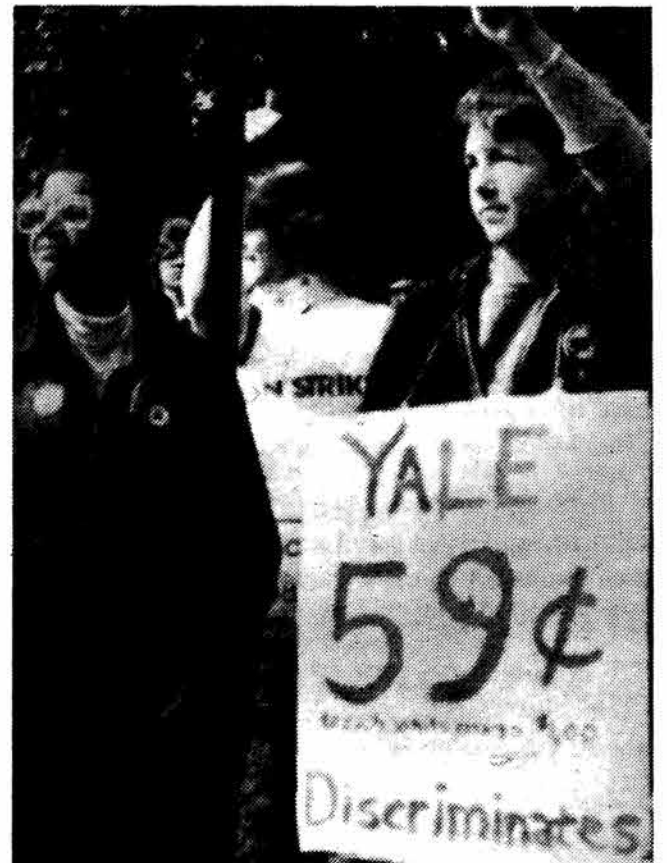
That is the same time that the contract of Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 35 expires. The overwhelming majority of Local 35's members have been honoring the picket line of Local 34 since the strike began. As a result, Yale is currently suing Local 35 for violation of its contract. Yale has forced Local 35 to go out on strike five times in the last 15 years.

Returning strikers view their new January 14 strike deadline as an act of solidarity with Local 35, whose contract expires in January. Should Yale again force a strike it will have to face the combined strength of both union locals.

Strikers plan to use the next period at work to discuss with and win over members of Local 34 who did not join the strike, and to win them to the ongoing struggle for comparable worth increases. The union re-



Labor Unity



IUE News

Member of Local 34 (right) carries sign with 59-cent logo that became the symbol of Yale's strike against pay disparity between men and women. The largely female technical and clerical workers local is fighting to achieve equal pay for equal work, known as comparable worth. Local 34 has won support from the Black community surrounding Yale, and many students and professors. Students (left) show their support for struggle.

fers to this effort as "taking the struggle inside."

On November 15, Local 34 had attempted to end the strike with its second offer to reduce wage demands since the beginning of negotiations in October 1983. The latest union offer was a 25 percent reduction of cost from its previous one. Yale has arrogantly refused the union on both occasions.

The union responded by taking out a full page ad in the *New Haven Register* on November 18, where it publicly explained and defended the union's position.

It accused Yale of rejecting its offers to compromise, and of refusing to accept binding arbitration — even refusing to let

members of the faculty at Yale serve as a "third party" in arbitration. It also said Yale had turned down a student proposal for inviting community observers to attend negotiation meetings.

"You refuse to open Yale's books," the union charged. "They would prove that settling this contract would not force tuition increases and other financial distortions at Yale. Last year alone, you had a \$35 million surplus." (The union has said its proposed wage increases would total less than half of Yale's yearly surplus.)

The union ad raised the central issue in the strike. "The full time members of Local 34 average only \$13,424 per year, includ-

ing many with skilled jobs and long service. You pay women less than men, and blacks less than whites. Your pension plan, because it is based on our low salaries, forces many of us to retire in poverty."

This continuing struggle for comparable worth has been the cornerstone for solidarity received by Local 34. From the beginning the unionists have had support from the Black community surrounding Yale. Local 34 has also received support from students and faculty members on the campus and from women's organizations and trade unions that have a big stake in combatting racist and sexist employment practices.

Boston-area CLUW discusses pay equity

BY HELEN LOWENTHAL

BOSTON — Over 75 women trade unionists gathered here on November 18 to express their support for pay equity for women, Blacks, and Latinos and to solidize with striking clerical and technical workers at Yale University.

The meeting was sponsored by the Boston Organizing Committee of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), which is forming a chapter in Boston.

Unions represented by the women participating include United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), United Auto Workers (UAW), American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), Boston Local 26 and Yale Local 34 of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees, International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE) Local 201, Local 1505 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Service Employees' International Union, Carpenters Union Local 33, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), and others.

The program addressed the issue of pay equity, sometimes called comparable worth for work of comparable value. It addressed the discrepancy between wages earned by women, who are segregated into jobs which pay less, and wages earned by

men who do work requiring similar skill and responsibility. Blacks and Latinos suffer similar discrimination.

The role that unions play in achieving pay equity was a theme that ran through the program.

Gloria Johnson, IUE director of education and women's activities, was the keynote speaker. She pinned the blame for these inequities on sex discrimination and said that women are not asking for special favors, but simply for what they deserve. She pointed out that pay inequities work to benefit the employers, who historically have fought against closing the pay gap, claiming that it would disrupt the entire economy and that existing laws weren't designed to address this issue. She recalled that these were the same arguments used to resist minimum wage legislation.

In fact, that very week, the chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Clarence M. Pendleton, Jr., discussed comparable worth and said, "I think you cannot just begin to do things to the marketplace that have served this country well." He also said that comparable pay for women is "the looniest idea since Looney Tunes came on the screen."

Johnson pointed to a study done by the National Academy of Sciences in 1981

which found that pay differentials are due to sex discrimination, not differences in education or other factors. It found that the more an occupation is dominated by women, the less that occupation is paid.

Jackie Cooke, the legislative and political action representative of AFSCME Council 93, discussed the history of the comparable worth issue in the public sector. She described how the state of Washington did a job study in 1973 to rate the jobs held by state employees. After the study showed that jobs dominated by women paid 20 percent less than those held by men, the state ended up with a \$300 million settlement to pay women 10 years retroactively for wage disparities. The City of San Jose, California, did a similar study, met with similar results, and after refusing to correct inequities was faced with a strike of city workers. The city paid \$1.5 million over 2 years.

General Electric's history of discrimination goes back to World War II, according to Marcia Hams, former chair of the IUE Local 201 Women's Committee. "In 1945 the War Labor Board, using data from the General Electric Company, noted that the job-evaluation point value at General Electric was reduced by one-third for women's jobs." Management manuals from this era

directed managers to reduce female job rates by 33 percent, clearly showing the intention of discrimination on GE's part."

Hams described how women are segregated into light manufacturing jobs, which pay five to seven levels lower than jobs in heavy manufacturing. She traced the union's struggle against management to end this discrimination, which resulted in a negotiated settlement in 1982 with increased pay rates.

The average Yale University clerical and technical worker earns only \$13,400, according to Valerie Abbot, a representative of the striking Yale workers, who also spoke at the CLUW meeting. She compared this to the \$18,400 that a truck driver makes, adding that women workers deserve comparable pay when their work requires comparable skill and requirements. She also expressed appreciation to the members of Local 35 of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union at Yale who have gone out in support of their striking sisters and brothers.

Future CLUW programs will be on organizing for child care and for affirmative action. The next organizational meeting of the CLUW committee will be on December 8. For more information, call (617) 426-0410.