

Infusion of 'contra' aid spurs war on Nicaragua

President Reagan's signing of an executive order October 24 did more than formally open the flow of \$100 million in new U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan mercenaries known as *contras*.

It marks a new stage in the five-year illegal war against the 3 million workers and peasants of that sovereign Central American nation.

Reagan is implementing the go-ahead the administration received a few months

EDITORIAL

ago in the bipartisan vote by Congress to renew aid to the Nicaraguan *contras*.

This fresh infusion of funds came after Reagan and top government officials organized a sustained public campaign in support of the *contras*.

The White House's response to the capture of the U.S. mercenary Eugene Hasenfus has been again to praise the mercenary operations. It has denied that the CIA is behind the "private" right-wing organizations that arranged the ferrying of weapons to *contra* forces. But government officials have publicly supported U.S. "patriots" aiding those they call "freedom fighters." And they add that if the CIA had been running the show, no such mess as the Hasenfus affair would have happened!

The *contra* forces have been waging a campaign of terror against the Nicaraguan people. They bomb schools, hospitals, and farm cooperatives; rape women; and pillage villages. But they have been unable to capture and hold any territory in Nicaragua or to win a substantial base of support in the population.

The new injection of U.S. aid is aimed at helping to strengthen the *contras* militarily in their terror campaign against the Nicaraguan people.

The executive order unleashes more than the \$100 million, which can be augmented by as much as \$400 million in CIA and military funds shifted from other sources.

In the short time since Reagan signed the order, the CIA, State Department, and Defense Department have taken steps to substantially increase U.S. involvement. They include:

- Ending the 1984 congressional restrictions on the CIA's operational role in running the *contra* war.

The CIA, under the overall direction of the State Department and Elliott Abrams, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, is now openly and "legitimately" running the mercenary army.

The CIA's only limitation is a provision barring U.S. personnel from operating inside Nicaragua or within 20 miles of its borders.

But an article, "What lies ahead: a deepening U.S. commitment," in the November 3 *Newsweek* notes that "most airdrops of supplies to *contras* inside Nicaragua will have to be done by U.S. crews, probably from the Air Force's First Special Operations Wing, headquartered at Hurlburt Air Force Base in northern Florida."

- Deciding to train the *contras* on U.S. soil and the U.S. colony of Puerto Rico.

This is the first time in many years that Washington will be openly training here antigovernment guerrillas who are attempting to overthrow a sovereign government.

After concluding that Fort Benning in Columbus, Georgia, has too high a public profile, the Reagan administration directed the army, navy, air force, and the U.S. Marine Corps to make detailed recommendations for suitable training sites for the *contra* forces. The site must be remote



U.S. military personnel loading supplies at Palmerola base in Honduras, key staging area for support to Nicaraguan *contras*.

enough that adverse publicity and public protests are minimized.

When word reached Puerto Rico that Ft. Ethan Allan was a possible site, protests came from all segments of society, including the colonial government.

Washington's aim is to build the mercenary bands into an army of 30,000. This would make the *contra* force nearly twice the size of the Honduran army.

- Selling new high-performance jet fighters to Honduras.

Honduras already has the most powerful air force in the region.

The November 2 *Chicago Tribune* reports that the Honduran pilots will be trained at Eglin Air Force Base on Florida's west coast, which "houses several of the most secret squadrons of support aircraft for special forces and counterterrorism units."

- Building up the U.S. military presence on Honduran soil.

Newsweek admits, "There is no doubt that Honduras will be a launching platform for American-backed *contra* troops."

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Feeling anti-apartheid heat, U.S. firms cut S. Africa stake

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Within the space of just two days in late October, two of the largest U.S. companies in South Africa — General Motors and International Business Machines — announced that they were selling off their assets in that country.

Some commentators predicted that divestment by two such prominent corporations would speed up the "flight" of U.S. business from South Africa. Indeed, within several more days a handful of other companies indicated that they would also divest or were considering doing so.

The demand for U.S. corporate divestment has long been a key one in the anti-apartheid struggle, among activists in both the United States and South Africa itself.

Encouraged by the GM and IBM moves, Black leaders in South Africa have stepped up their demands that other foreign companies do likewise, to further isolate the hated apartheid regime.

An October 22 editorial in the Black-run *Sowetan* newspaper rejected the argument (frequently used by apologists of the apartheid regime) that divestment would only end up hurting Blacks. Although Black workers may lose jobs, the *Sowetan* stated, "we believe most of our people are prepared to sacrifice in the interests of permanent peace and stability in their motherland."

GM employees in South Africa took the

opportunity of the local company's changing ownership to press for some gains. On October 29 about 2,400 workers at GM's two plants in Port Elizabeth went on strike and staged factory sit-ins to back up their demands for severance pay and for the appointment of two union-approved members to the new board of directors.

Besides GM and IBM, 28 other U.S. companies have announced plans to divest so far in 1986. Last year 39 did. At that time, total direct U.S. corporate investment in South Africa had already fallen to \$1.3 billion, just half of what it had been four years earlier.

Why have all these companies pulled out?

Most of the firms that have divested have cited the declining profitability of their South African operations. Roger Smith, the GM chairman, noted that the auto maker's South African subsidiary "has been losing money for several years in a very difficult South African business climate."

He was referring to South Africa's severe economic recession. Its impact has been deepened by the repercussions of the massive anti-apartheid struggle, which has scared off many new foreign investors and made it much more difficult for the South African government to borrow money abroad.

But the economic situation in South Africa has not been the only factor. There is

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Griffin Bell disputes that 'contras' are terrorists

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The mercenaries Eugene Hasenfus was supplying in Nicaragua are not terrorists at all, claimed Griffin Bell at a November 3 press conference here.

Bell was U.S. attorney general during James Carter's administration in the 1970s, and is here with a team of U.S. lawyers to advise Hasenfus' Nicaraguan attorney.

At the news conference, Bell attacked Nicaragua for charging Hasenfus with terrorism. "I don't think he was a terrorist in the sense of terrorism as we know it," Bell said. "He was helping the *contras*. Now, I thought that the *contras* were a revolution-

ary movement trying to overthrow the government of Nicaragua. I did not know they were terrorists."

For further coverage of the trial of Eugene Hasenfus, see page 6.

Asked about the *contras*' long record of attacks against civilians, Bell replied that he had "not heard of any evidence being put in against the *contras* to show what they do."

Bell declared that the question of the connection between the U.S. government and the *contra* supply operation was a "side issue" and that "the only reason I say anything about the CIA and our country is because reporters ask me. I would never mention it."

Bell said that his attorneys had investigated the payments Hasenfus received and found that he had received only the \$3,000 basic monthly salary, but not the \$750 bonus he was due for each flight into Nicaragua. Hasenfus' wife "needs the money, and we wish she would be paid by someone," Bell lamented.

However, Bell claimed that he had not talked with Hasenfus' employers or made any attempt to find out who held the employment contract Hasenfus had signed. "I don't think it would help his case for me to start crawling around trying to find out who was paying him," Bell explained.

As to the trial's outcome, Bell said that "it's obvious he's going to be convicted. After all, he was on an airplane carrying guns."

Bell then explained that he would try to show mitigating circumstances and ask the Nicaraguan courts "to treat [Hasenfus] kindly" and release him.

Hasenfus took the mercenary job because "he had not had a job in three or four months," Bell continued. "He was very low in the organization [of the *contra* supply operation]. And he had been trained to do this very job by our country in Vietnam," Bell explained. "Those are the kinds of facts we think mitigate."



Griffin Bell, U.S. legal adviser to Hasenfus in Managua trial.

Hormel steps up attack on Austin workers

BY BILL LONG

AUSTIN, Minn. — Geo. A. Hormel & Co. has unleashed a new round of attacks on the meat-packers who are fighting to get their jobs back at the company's packing plant here.

In September Hormel imposed a four-year contract settlement at its Austin plant that excluded 850 of the workers who had gone on strike over a year earlier from getting their jobs back.

Hormel negotiated the contract with the top officialdom of the United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW). Those officials had placed UFCW Local P-9 in trusteeship in June because the local refused to call off the struggle on Hormel's terms.

In January the company had succeeded in reopening the plant with scabs. It was at this point, as part of expanding a nationwide campaign to win a decent contract from Hormel, that the meat-packers initiated a call for boycotting Hormel products.

Some of the original strikers drifted back to work over the course of the struggle. All those employed by Hormel in September as well as the 850 on the outside were eligible to vote on the contract.

Letter to meat-packers

On October 27, D.D. Arnold, general manager of the Austin plant, addressed a letter to "all employees."

"It has come to our attention, as I am sure it has yours," Arnold wrote, "that a number of employees and other supporters are engaged in boycott or boycott-related activities against the Company. This is to advise you that such activities are strictly prohibited by the Collective Bargaining Agreement between the Company and Local P-9, UFCW," he stated.

The letter continued, "Any employee,

whether currently working, or on the preferential recall list, who engages in boycott or boycott-related activities against the Company will be disciplined as outlined in paragraph (d)" of the contract.

Also quoted in the threatening letter is a section of the contract that states, "The Union in its own behalf and on behalf of its membership agrees that during the life of this Agreement there shall be no concerted strikes, slowdowns, refusals to work, sympathy strikes, picketing or boycotts by the Union."

The summary of the contract the UFCW trustees gave to those eligible to vote in September did not contain the contract provisions referred to in Arnold's letter.

The Austin workers first found out about them in a letter published on the cover of the October 1 issue of the trustee's newspaper, the *Unionist*.

Trustee Joseph Hansen informed the union members that the new contract "prohibits, among other things, boycott of Hormel products."

Attempt to divide workers

When the contract was announced in September the big-business press heralded an end to the long dispute.

At that time the company and the trustees said that those who were not taken back would be put on a preferential recall list to be rehired if and when the company needs more workers again.

But the company has never had any intention of letting most of the meat-packers who were involved in the struggle inside the Austin packinghouse again.

The company will use the language in the contract it imposed as legal cover to try to remove workers from the "preferential recall list."

Among the workers who haven't been

allowed back, Hormel is trying to pit some who are no longer actively involved in the fight against those who are.

The provision will be directed at workers inside the plant who might be considering challenging the company's practices on the job.

The Hormel management also wants to drive as deep a wedge as possible between those in the plant and those on the outside.

Another of Hormel's tactics is to "violence bait" the meat-packers. In a poster printed in a local newspaper, the company put up a bounty of \$10,000 "to anyone furnishing information leading to the apprehension, arrest and conviction of any person, or persons, or any of them responsible for certain acts of criminal damage to the property of Geo. A. Hormel & Co., who reside in or around Austin, Minnesota."

Austin Police Chief Donald Hoffman released a "report" to local newspapers November 3 alleging "44 reports of terroristic telephone calls" and "seven vehicles being run off the road or attempts to do so."

Hoffman attributed the alleged violence to the "labor dispute" at the Hormel plant.

Hormel executive's attack

Charles Nyberg, Hormel's executive vice-president, spoke at a seminar sponsored by the Minnesota Association of Commerce and Industry and the Minnesota Chamber of Commerce on October 14. He launched into a rabid attack on the meat-

packers after spotting former P-9 President Jim Guyette and union activist Merrill Evans in the audience.

Nyberg charged that prior to the hiring of P-9 consultant Ray Rogers, "the issues of safety, worker dignity, and hard-headed management were never aired by the union."

Rogers is a consultant hired by P-9 in 1984 who has been active throughout the fight.

Nyberg claimed that before they hired Rogers, the unionists had "always been talking pure economics."

He accused the union of misrepresenting Hormel's safety and accident rate. "The way the union talked, we were back in the days of [Upton Sinclair's novel] *The Jungle*, with people being ground up in our machines."

The Austin plant had one of the highest injury rates in the packing industry in 1984.

Nyberg also accused Guyette of lying about the company's dealings in South Africa and threatened to sue him for libel.

On October 29 the trustees called the first union meeting since the ratification vote. They barred entrance to the 50 meat-packers on the "preferential list" who tried to attend.

The trustees have been mailing out letters to the preferential recall workers urging them to take out withdrawal cards in the UFCW. The trustees told the workers on the list who came to the union meeting that they were not eligible to attend since they were no longer Hormel employees.

U.S. firms leave S. Africa

Continued from front page

also the pressure from the U.S. anti-apartheid movement itself. The demand for divestment has been frequently raised through demonstrations, picket lines, and shareholders' resolutions. So far, 15 states, 49 cities, and 120 universities have adopted measures at least partially withdrawing their funds from companies doing business in South Africa.

'Business as usual'

The fact that several dozen U.S. firms have now divested from South Africa is a victory for the anti-apartheid movement.

But some 240 U.S. companies continue to maintain direct subsidiaries there. And many of those that have now divested are also keeping a foot in the door.

Both GM and IBM will maintain exclusive licensing and distribution contracts with the new owners of their former subsidiaries. GM cars and trucks and IBM computers will continue to be sold in South Africa.

"It will virtually be business as usual," commented Jack Clarke, IBM's managing director in South Africa.

A former GM managing director, who is also a U.S. citizen, will be the chief exec-

utive of the new company formed out of GM's South African subsidiary. The new ownership, meanwhile, has announced that it will "not preclude" sales to the South African military and police, which is now forbidden under U.S. law as long as GM owns the company.

An article in the October 22 *New York Times* noted that "many [U.S.] companies that have disinvested have the same cash flow from South Africa as before, but no longer face either political pressure from anti-apartheid groups or financial losses resulting from the South African economy."

While these companies may wish for an end to anti-apartheid protests, activists have vowed to continue the fight for an end to all economic ties with South Africa.

"We aren't fooled, and we aren't going to lift the pressure on these corporations," said Cecily Counts, a coordinator of the Free South Africa Movement.

Calling on IBM to halt its computer sales to South Africa, Richard Knight of the American Committee on Africa predicted that "IBM is going to find that the protests don't end until they do stop selling."

"From now on," Knight continued, "these companies are going to be under increasing pressure to cut their links totally."

Packinghouse workers end FDL strike

BY JIM LITTLE

CHICAGO — On October 29 the majority of workers at the FDL meat-packing plant in Dubuque, Iowa, voted to end the strike that had begun on September 11.

The 1,200 meat-packers, members of United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local 150A, voted to approve FDL's latest contract proposal by a 72 to 28 percent margin.

UFCW Local 1218 at the Rochelle, Illinois, FDL plant had ended its strike October 20 after the company had begun hiring "permanent replacement" workers to take the jobs of the strikers as part of trying to resume the hog-kill operation at that plant.

The Dubuque workers had rejected a contract offer from the company on Oc-

tober 20. A week later the company began running ads for "replacement workers" in the *Dubuque Telegraph Herald* and the *Des Moines Register*. The company threatened to begin bringing scabs into the Dubuque plant on October 29. Each striker also received an individual letter containing FDL's threat.

Local 150A President Mel Maas urged union members to accept the company's latest contract proposal.

The contract that was rejected earlier had called for a \$1.25 an hour raise over the life of the three-year agreement and an end to the profit-sharing plan.

The offer accepted on October 29 included \$1.05 in wage increases over the three-year period but retained the profit-sharing provisions.

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November 15

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The Militant

Closing news date: November 5, 1986

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Published weekly except one week in August and the last week of December by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S., Canada, Latin America: for one-year subscription send \$24, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$60. Britain, Ireland, Continental Europe, Africa: send £25 check or international money order made out to Pathfinder Press and send to Pathfinder, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England. Australia, Asia, Pacific: send Australian \$60 to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 37, Leichhardt, Sydney, NSW 2040, Australia. New Zealand: Write to Pilot Books, P.O. Box 8730, Auckland for prices.

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Coal union officials propose continuing 'selective strikes'

BY JOHN GAIGE
AND JOHN HAWKINS

ATLANTA — After less than two hours of debate, the 1,500 delegates attending the first Special Convention in the nearly 97-year history of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) voted overwhelmingly to approve four proposals presented by the union's leadership.

UMWA President Richard Trumka and the members of the International Executive Board (IEB) motivated the package at the October 27 and 28 convention as an essential tool in upcoming negotiations with the mine owners.

Taken as a whole, the proposals reaffirm and extend the approach to contract negotiations adopted at the union's last regular convention in 1983. At that convention, for the first time in recent history, the union officialdom was empowered to call selective strikes against individual coal companies as an alternative to a nationwide shutdown of the mines upon the expiration of the national coal contract.

That convention also established a \$70 million selective strike fund to provide "monetary and medical benefits" to those on strike.

In 1977-78 and again in 1981, UMWA members were forced out on long strikes to fight off the employers' bid to wrest deep concessions from the union. In 1984 the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association (BCOA) agreed to a no-concessions contract without a strike.

More than 90 percent of the UMWA members currently working are covered by the BCOA contract or ones modeled on it.

Some of the operators, however, refused to sign that contract and 7,300 UMWA members have been forced out on selective strikes since 1984. The strike at A.T. Massey Coal Co. mines in southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky lasted more than 14 months. There is still no contract at the Massey mines and UMWA miners are working alongside the scabs Massey hired during the strike.

The strike at the Canterbury Mines in Pennsylvania has gone on for over a year.

Four proposals

The four proposals the IEB submitted to the delegates at the Special Convention were:

- to adopt job opportunity and economic security as bargaining priorities for 1987 and 1988 (when the bulk of UMWA contracts expire).
- "to remove the \$70 million maximum level of the Selective Strike Fund."
- to amend the UMWA constitution "to specifically authorize the International Executive Board to approve any affiliation or merger with an existing labor organization, presented to it by the Executive Officers, so long as such action preserves the character and integrity of the Union and is in the best interest of the Organization."
- "that the next Constitutional Convention of the United Mine Workers of America be held in the year 1990 to commemorate the 100th anniversary of our founding."

Trumka and the other UMWA Interna-

tional officers presented the proposals as part of a game plan for tough upcoming negotiations.

The officers said the UMWA is weaker in relation to the mine owners, who they contended are not simply the coal operators of yesterday, but part of large multinational energy conglomerates with huge assets. UMWA Secretary-Treasurer John Banovic said the multinationals can more easily withstand a strike. "Were we to strike nationally, as long as we did in 1977-1978," he said, "our membership would lose nearly one billion dollars."

He used these arguments as a motivation for having more than \$70 million on hand for selective strikes.

Merger authorization

The proposal to grant the IEB power to merge or affiliate the UMWA with other labor organizations was also explained in part by the confrontation in contract talks with the multinational energy companies.

Joseph Misbrenner, president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW), noted that the UMWA and OCAW face coinciding contract expiration dates with many of the same companies. He announced that the two unions would begin sharing information.

OCAW has been mentioned as a possible merger partner for the UMWA by the big business press.

Another motivation for the merger and affiliation proposal was the union's need for solidarity in its fight with the mine owners.

Trumka pointed to the aid the UMWA, which is not part of the AFL-CIO, received from AFL-CIO unions during the 1977-78 strike. "At no time in our recent history has this union needed help more than it did during that 111-day strike. When we needed



Militant/Nancy Cole

UMWA officials claim that multinational energy companies that own mines could withstand strikes such as those the union went on in 1977-78 and in 1981. Above, miners demonstrate in Pittsburgh during 1977-78 strike.

help, when we were faced with extinction, only the labor movement was there. This union, our union, the mother lode, can never afford to forget those tremendous acts of solidarity extended towards us."

Though it was never stated by the UMWA officialdom, the merger-affiliation proposal is being pushed because of the UMWA's declining size. Compared to more than 150,000 employed union miners seven years ago, there are currently between 110,000 and 115,000 UMWA members working and another 35,000 to 40,000 unemployed.

Many trade union officials today are pushing mergers as a solution to the decline in dues money coming into the union treasuries. OCAW officials, for example, just last year tried unsuccessfully to pull off a merger with the Paperworkers union.

The striking power of the UMWA will not be strengthened by a merger that dilutes the industrial character of the union based

on coal miners. There are currently thousands of miners who are not UMWA members and half the U.S. coal production comes from nonunion mines.

Orienting toward organizing the nonunion mines is crucial for the future of the UMWA. By extending the UMWA's tradition of "no contract, no work" and union democracy and functioning safety committees in the mines to the nonunion operations, the fight against the operators would be greatly strengthened.

Although the course outlined in the speeches of the International officers and embodied in the four proposals were not agreed to without dissent, an overriding sentiment for unity dominated the brief convention.

John Hawkins is a member of UMWA District 20 and works as an underground miner at Jim Walter Resources No. 5 mine in Brookwood, Alabama.

Calif. Machinists vote on contract

BY GREG NELSON

SUNNYVALE, Calif. — Faced with a bleak report from district President Ken Benda, Machinists here voted by an 86 percent majority to accept a contract at Lockheed Missiles and Space Corp.

The ratified contract was in most respects the same as the contract that International Association of Machinists (IAM) District 508 members had rejected two weeks earlier.

This time around, however, the workers were promised that they would not have to pay for increases in medical coverage.

The November 2 meeting was smaller than the one held two weeks earlier. The negotiating committee still did not recommend ratification of the contract, but no longer called for its rejection and a strike sanction vote as they had at the first meeting.

"It's up to you," was the way Benda put it. He also stated that the contract's rejection was useless without a strike sanction, and that a strike would be long and miserable.

On October 27, some 70 workers circulated a leaflet in the plant calling for a strike vote. Most of these workers were hired after 1983 and have worked under the provisions of the two-tier contract Lockheed imposed during the previous contract negotiations.

Two other leaflets were then circulated in the plant calling for ratification. The company circulated a slick four-page summary of the contract signed by the president of Lockheed.

But the union officials issued only one report, saying that if "the 67 percent strike authorization vote is not received, the contract will be considered accepted."

Under the ratified contract, wages will be frozen for three years and workers will instead receive lump-sum bonus payments. The two-tier set-up established in 1983 will be maintained.

Twenty workers met at the union hall a

few days before the contract vote to call for the formation of a district "Equal Pay Committee."

This committee's goal is to prepare the IAM membership to fight for the elimination of the two-tier contract in the next round of contract negotiations three years from now.

Meanwhile, thousands of IAM members at McDonnell Douglas' Torrance, California, plant voted by a 98 percent majority to reject that company's contract offer at a meeting also held on November 2.

IAM District 720 President Mike Smith characterized McDonnell Douglas' offer as the most "substandard offer in the aerospace industry."

McDonnell Douglas was offering

meager wage increases for the first two years of the contract and trying to force the workers to begin paying hundreds of dollars for medical coverage. Workers in lower-paid labor grades were going to be excluded from the company's pay increase altogether in 1987.

McDonnell Douglas is also trying to force the IAM members to perform jobs outside of their job classifications.

A new round of negotiations with the company is expected. The IAM members are continuing to work in the meantime.

Greg Nelson is a member of IAM District 508 at the Lockheed plant in Sunnyvale, California.

Hardhats march in Pittsburgh

BY BARRY SHEPPARD

PITTSBURGH — Tens of thousands of construction workers demonstrated in the downtown area here November 3 in a protest against union-busting. Police estimated that 45,000 workers took part in the action, far exceeding expectations of officials of the 28 building-trades unions that sponsored the action.

"This is not a union hierarchy thing," one worker said. "It was built this past week by word of mouth."

Union workers from the many downtown construction projects, as well as from the Greater Pittsburgh area, took off from work to join the protest. Chanting, "We are one!" the marchers stepped off at 7 a.m. from the Civic Arena and wound through the downtown streets, snarling morning rush-hour traffic.

Although the workers had no parade permit, police backed off from any confrontation with the huge throng that had taken over the streets.

The immediate issue was the use of nonunion labor on the renovation of the old

Pennsylvania Railroad station.

"But that's only one situation," a worker told the *Militant*. "They are trying to use scabs on many projects here. They are trying to destroy the unions."

"We don't want to be like other unions," another said, "which have been beaten and broken without a fight." Many workers expressed readiness to continue massive actions.

Mayor Richard Caliguiri moved quickly to try to defuse the situation. He appeared on television the same day to announce that an agreement had been reached with the contractor on the railway station project to use union labor. He claimed the agreement had been reached the night before, making the protest "unnecessary."

What this agreement really means remains to be seen. Caliguiri also said that union officials had agreed to "keep labor costs within the budget" of the contractor.

One thing is certain. The workers came away from the march with a new sense of their own power.



Richard Trumka

Militant

Steelworkers eager for news of a labor fightback

BY DAVE SALNER

ASHLAND, Ky. — Armco is producing more steel now than during boom times, a member of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1865 told me on

step up production to keep up with the orders coming in as a result of the USX lockout.

One of his concerns was why the USWA International tops weren't letting other steelworkers

and the company had just finished installing a new blast furnace.

I asked him what he had heard about the negotiations. "Nothing, they've just been keeping us in the dark," he said.

This is what other steelworkers also told our sales team as they poured out from the plant after working day shift that Saturday. The steelworkers were thirsting for news of a labor fightback. As they stopped, the members of our team would quickly say something about the *Militant* as the traffic started to build up. We showed them the paper and a copy of *The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota* pamphlet.

The workers who stopped wanted information on the meat-packers' struggle. Many workers also had nothing good to say about the U.S.-backed *contra* war against Nicaragua. Others expressed strong opposition to the apartheid system in South Africa.

After selling for a few minutes it became clear that we hadn't brought enough literature — only 13 copies of the *Militant* and 13 pamphlets on the fight against Hormel. So we switched over to stressing the introductory subscriptions.

The seven steelworkers who subscribed needed little convincing. Although none of them had ever read the paper before, they were willing to try it because it

covered workers' politics.

I was introduced as a steelworker and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in West Virginia.

We gave many of the steelworkers an extra subscription blank. "If you like the *Militant*, sign up a friend," we said. We also passed out leaflets for the new Pathfinder bookstore in Charleston.

This Ashland Armco sales visit was experimental since the mill is 60 miles from Charleston. The good response we received means that we are now going to sell at Armco regularly while continuing our sales at union-organized coal mines and at steel and chemical plants closer to Charleston.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

the first sale of the *Militant* at the gate of that company's huge steel mill here.

While filling out a subscription to the *Militant*, the steelworker described the way Armco is putting the heat on the unionists at the plant. The company is trying to

know what was happening with the lockout. He agreed that massive labor solidarity was necessary to fight takebacks.

He didn't think Armco was going to press his local for concessions when the contract expires. Armco, he said, had too many or-

How 'asking everyone' wins new readers in Chicago

BY MALIK MIAH

CHICAGO — When I arrived at O'Hare airport early Saturday morning, November 1, it was pouring down rain. I had come here to participate in the campaign to win new readers to the *Militant* and our Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Nationally the goal is to win 10,000 new readers by November 15. As the scoreboard below shows, we are ahead of schedule with a total of 8,475 subscriptions — 6,762 *Militant* and 1,713 *PM*.

I was met at the terminal by Dennis Chambers, a member of the International Union of Electronic workers employed at Litton Precision Gear in Chicago. We were supposed to go directly to a sales table. But things were getting organized late, so we went to the sales distribution center on the near South Side.

Because of the weather, expectations weren't too high. Salespeople slowly came in and got their newspapers, boxes of literature, and folding tables before going out for sales. A couple of teams went door-to-door, including one to Gary, Indiana, and three teams set up tables in working-class neighborhoods.

Dennis and I went to a couple of spots to join the teams and see how sales were going.

Our first stop was in the Pilsen community, a mostly Mexican area. The team could not sell at its normal spot — in front of a Fairplay Finer Foods store — because the workers there were picketing the store. Members of the United Food and Commercial Workers union told the team that the store had been under a union contract before it was bought out, changed its name, and tore up the old contract.

They suggested the team go to a union-organized store down the road, which the team did with good results.

We next went across town to 95th and State where a four-person team was selling at a new sales location — the "el" station. A number of papers were sold to the mostly Black working people entering and leaving this subway stop.

Overall the various street and door-to-door teams sold about a dozen subscriptions.

Phone team

But the highlight of the day was a new team set up at the distribution center itself.

The three-person team organized a phone bank and began calling people from a list of old and new *Militant* and *PM* subscribers and from *Militant* Forum lists, as well as other supporters. They were asked to consider buying or extending their subscriptions.

The result: 12 people bought or extended their subscriptions.

Ed Warren, who sold nine of these subscriptions, said the phone discussions were similar to those you have on the street or at work: very political. Even though most of these people had some contact with the papers already, many had never had a subscription or had let it lapse.

Jim Little, who sold two, said it also helped to show who is most interested in the ideas in the papers.

The success was tied to having "runners" attached to the team. After someone agreed to buy a subscription, the caller filled out their name and other information on the subscription blank. Someone else then drove to the person's home to pick up the money.

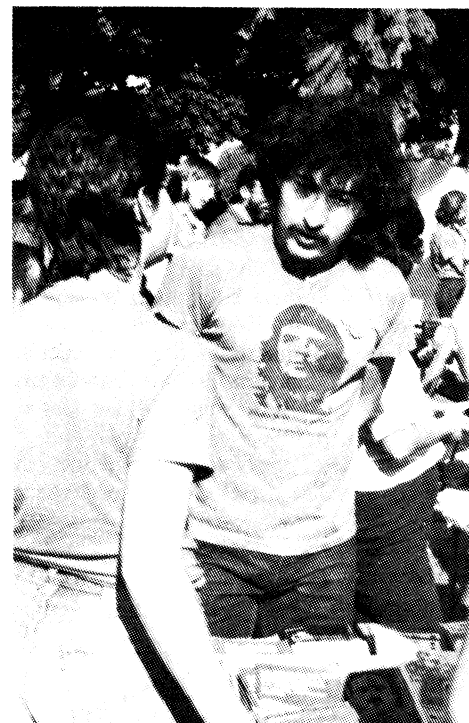
As a result of Saturday's complete team effort, Chicago salespeople are confident of making their goal, and possibly going over the top. They currently have 298 subscriptions toward their overall goal of 350. Like supporters in several other cities, they have already surpassed their *Perspectiva Mundial* target.

In-plant sales

Another highlight of the sales effort here is sales to coworkers on the job. An example is the response of Dennis' coworkers at the Litton plant. Dennis is one of three *Militant* supporters who sells regularly at the factory of 450.

Laurie Campbell, also employed at Litton, told me that they have sold 27 subscriptions during the campaign — 25 *Militant* and 2 *PM* — and a 1-year renewal of the *Militant*.

"Our general approach," she said, "is to ask *everyone* to buy a subscription, not just the workers we *think* will buy. This included those workers we thought would never be interested in the papers. Many of these people have surprised us by buying a subscription."



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
Selling socialist literature from tables is key in *Militant* subscription drive. Shown here, a table at Los Angeles antiwar demonstration November 1.

Team visits Oregon farm country

BY JANET POST

PORTLAND, Ore. — Every Saturday during the *Militant* subscription drive, salespeople here have been fielding one team to rural areas to talk with farmers.

We wanted to hear farmers' reactions to the *Militant* and find out more about agriculture and the problems of farmers in Oregon. This campaign has included the farm land along the ocean, a two-hour drive from Portland.

The farmers have been very open to discussing not only *Militant* articles on the farm crisis, but those on Central America, South Africa, and unions.

A dairy farmer in Tillamook told the team that some of the farm families work in the local cheese factory. He said this has increased his understanding of the similar problems facing workers and farmers.

The dairy farmers expressed various opinions on the current farm crisis. But all agreed that the price of milk was down and their checks were less.

This summer a debt-burdened Tillamook farmer dropped his cows off at the local bank in an act of protest.

Another sales team in the Willamette Valley spoke with a young dairy farmer who had won a statewide farmer award. Even though one of the most efficient milk producers in the state, he was having financial problems.

He told the team he had decided to sign up for the dairy buy-out program. He will slaughter his entire herd by August 1987.

The team showed this farmer the *Militant*'s coverage of the milk-withholding action now under way in the Northeast. He expressed doubt that the action would work, but said that it was possible with enough solidarity among farmers.

He cited the inability of farmers in the West to get information about what was going on in the rest of the country. We

explained the *Militant*'s ongoing coverage of actions such as the milk-withholding action and the United Farmer and Rancher Congress recently held in St. Louis. Grateful for the news, the farmer bought a subscription to the *Militant*.

Another project of the sales teams has been to discover farmers' markets where we can get to know the area truck farmers bringing in their crops to sell.

Fall Subscription Scoreboard

| Area | Goals | | Sold | | % Sold |
|--------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|-----------|
| | <i>Militant</i> | <i>Perspectiva Mundial</i> | <i>Militant</i> | <i>Perspectiva Mundial</i> | |
| Charleston, W. Va. | 100 | 0 | 107 | 3 | 110 |
| New Paltz, N.Y. | 5 | — | 5 | — | 100 |
| New York | 500 | 250 | 431 | 292 | 96 |
| Columbus, Ohio | 18 | 2 | 18 | 1 | 95 |
| San Francisco | 170 | 80 | 154 | 83 | 95 |
| Milwaukee | 100 | 30 | 95 | 27 | 94 |
| Capital District, N.Y. | 125 | 10 | 113 | 13 | 93 |
| Seattle | 200 | 35 | 189 | 29 | 93 |
| Miami | 125 | 40 | 114 | 37 | 91 |
| San Diego | 100 | 60 | 89 | 56 | 91 |
| Louisville, Ky. | 115 | 10 | 105 | 7 | 90 |
| Newark, N.J. | 375 | 125 | 280 | 170 | 90 |
| San Jose, Calif. | 200 | 100 | 179 | 86 | 88 |
| Tidewater, Va. | 60 | 5 | 57 | 0 | 88 |
| Boston | 235 | 65 | 216 | 46 | 87 |
| Salt Lake City | 105 | 15 | 99 | 5 | 87 |
| Philadelphia | 175 | 50 | 168 | 25 | 86 |
| Toledo, Ohio | 100 | 5 | 86 | 4 | 86 |
| Chicago | 300 | 50 | 220 | 78 | 85 |
| Los Angeles | 300 | 200 | 259 | 168 | 85 |
| Morgantown, W. Va. | 130 | — | 110 | — | 85 |
| Pittsburgh | 100 | 5 | 80 | 9 | 85 |
| Portland, Ore. | 135 | 15 | 120 | 6 | 84 |
| Atlanta | 140 | 10 | 119 | 6 | 83 |
| Washington, D.C. | 160 | 40 | 121 | 45 | 83 |
| Birmingham, Ala. | 150 | 3 | 124 | 1 | 82 |
| Houston | 290 | 60 | 252 | 34 | 82 |
| Cleveland | 125 | 15 | 101 | 11 | 80 |
| Detroit | 260 | 30 | 205 | 26 | 80 |
| Baltimore | 140 | 5 | 110 | 5 | 79 |
| Kansas City, Mo. | 160 | 15 | 126 | 12 | 79 |
| Greensboro, N.C. | 140 | 10 | 110 | 7 | 78 |
| Twin Cities, Minn. | 250 | 20 | 199 | 12 | 78 |
| Phoenix | 100 | 75 | 67 | 66 | 76 |
| New Orleans | 90 | 10 | 71 | 4 | 75 |
| Oakland, Calif. | 200 | 30 | 124 | 36 | 70 |
| St. Louis | 235 | 5 | 165 | 2 | 70 |
| Dallas | 225 | 75 | 147 | 55 | 67 |
| Cincinnati | 90 | 10 | 54 | 4 | 58 |
| Price, Utah | 50 | 5 | 31 | 1 | 58 |
| Des Moines, Iowa | 200 | 0 | 114 | 0 | 57 |
| Denver | 135 | 10 | 66 | 6 | 50 |
| Omaha, Neb. | 125 | 0 | 51 | 1 | 42 |
| Austin, Minn. | 125 | — | 44 | — | 35 |
| Indiana, Pa. | 5 | — | 0 | — | 0 |
| National teams | — | — | 522 | 187 | — |
| Other | — | — | 545 | 47 | — |
| Totals | 8,500 | 1,500 | 6,762 | 1,713 | 85 |
| to be on schedule | | | 6,800 | 1,200 | 80 |

How a few billionaire families rule over U.S. empire

BY NORTON SANDLER

Forbes magazine recently came out with its annual listing of the 400 "richest people in America." The list is divided into two sections: wealthy individuals and wealthy families. *Forbes* clearly places its emphasis on the individuals, but it's the families that are particularly interesting.

Among the 400 richest individuals, for example, are 38 who have "inheritance (du Pont)" written after their names.

Both words are important. The 38 got their money through inheritance and were born into one of the country's most prominent ruling families or married someone who was. None of them ever worked a day in their lives at anything productive and never will. The du Ponts and their kin usually marry within their own class, a way of multiplying the family's fortunes.

Nearly one tenth of the *Forbes* list is comprised of individuals who are part of this family alone.

Rockefeller, Mellon, and Cargill and MacMillan number among the other family names that reappear frequently on the list of individuals and are often mentioned in the *Forbes* commentary.

Hidden fortunes

Forbes acknowledges, "The fortunes of the very rich are difficult to calculate. Often it isn't even clear exactly who owns a great fortune. It is frequently parked at least partly in the names of the immediate family or concealed in private investment companies or, more difficult to find, in trusts, where the separate elements of ownership (control of principal, receipt of income, power to name heirs, etc.) are deliberately spread among different people to defend against inheritance tax laws."

Moreover, the tiny handful of ruling families fear the implications of having their total control over every aspect of the U.S. economy exposed to the millions of workers and farmers who suffer as a result of the policies they set.

Their total domination of the U.S. economy can be grasped by taking a look at the Rockefeller family fortune.

The family's wealth initially stemmed

from John D. Rockefeller's control of Standard Oil.

The money generated from oil revenues allowed the family to eventually take over two major banks (Chase Manhattan and First National City) and to purchase large interests in many U.S. corporations.

This fortune was multiplied by two world wars, out of which the Rockefellers and the rest of the U.S. ruling families emerged as the dominant world capitalists.

In a 1973 congressional study, it came to light that an obscure trust fund named Cudd & Company held in the Rockefeller-controlled Chase Manhattan Bank ranked among the top 30 stockholders of 62 of the 87 corporations that Congress was looking into.

Writing in the *Militant* at the time, Dick Roberts asked, "Does the Rockefeller family own Cudd & Company? The weight of the historical evidence says yes, but there is no public record and no government agency has ever penetrated the books of this or any other major trust fund."

If the veil of secrecy were to be lifted, we would see that a small handful of families owns or controls everything from the mines, mills, and factories to the means of shipping and transportation and to the banks and financial institutions. Moreover, they are by far the country's largest landowners.

Political control

These families also control the Democratic and Republican parties from top to bottom. In addition, posts in the State Department, the Defense Department, and every other governmental agency are filled by individuals who have proven their loyalty to defending the rulers' interests through years of service.

Forbes describes the Cargill and MacMillan family as "one of the world's largest grain traders." They are also the world's second largest boxed beef processor and own steel mills to boot. According to *Forbes*, the Cargill-MacMillans have been pushing for a "revamp of government farm policy" designed to keep grain "prices up amid world oversupply."

High prices will guarantee that millions of the world's hungry will continue to be undernourished. The "revamping" will help the billionaire Cargill-MacMillans to reap more profits. Meanwhile, working farmers are being driven off their farms by the thousands.

The term "corporate greed" is often used to describe the employers' drive to force workers to give up wage, benefit, and work-rule concessions.

But behind the faceless category called the "corporation" stand the families who are beneficiaries of the profit drive.

'Splendid' year for billionaires

Forbes says that the past year was "splendid" for billionaires. In fact, the wealthiest one percent have seen their fortunes grow nearly 25 percent in the last two decades.

Meanwhile, U.S. working people have been taking a beating. The average real wages of working people went down six percent between 1979 and 1985 and vital social services are being cut back.

On a world scale the ruling families plunder the globe in search of profits. Through their control of the Chase Manhattan Bank, Citibank, the Bank of America, the Mellon Bank, and other large international lenders, the ruling class extracts billions of dollars in "debt" payments from poverty-stricken underdeveloped countries and exercises control over institutions like



Pierre du Pont IV is announced candidate for Republican presidential nomination in 1988. Thirty-eight of 400 people cited in *Forbes* magazine as richest in United States are connected with the du Pont family.

the International Monetary Fund.

Yet these rulers are often portrayed as lovers of the arts and dedicated to philanthropic generosity.

Forbes says that John D. Rockefeller IV, current U.S. Senator from West Virginia, inherited his "father's love for Asian culture." The ruling class' love for Asian culture was demonstrated during the U.S. war against Vietnam that resulted in well over a million Vietnamese, Laotians, and Kampuchians being killed and thousands of villages being burned to the ground.

Describing the pretensions of those who had gotten rich off of the U.S. Civil War, Karl Marx in 1869 called them "shoddy aristocrats, and similar vermin bred by wars."

That description of the U.S. ruling families has held up for 117 years.

Publications Fund rallies add momentum to \$100,000 drive

BY MALIK MIAH

Pledges to the Fall Publications Fund now top \$92,000. In the last week \$14,400 was collected from supporters of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New Internationalist* magazine, and Pathfinder Press for a total of \$43,200.

A big factor in this advance was successful Publications Fund events held in several cities.

The Publications Fund is essential to help pay for low-cost introductory subscriptions to the *Militant* and *PM*, as well as help subsidize the production of *New Internationalist* and Pathfinder Press books. The fund also makes it possible to field promotional sales teams to Puerto Rico and cities across the United States.

On October 11 supporters of the papers and Pathfinder Press gathered at the Pathfinder Bookstore in Portland, Oregon, for a Publications Fund benefit dinner.

Greetings were heard from Dale Sherbourne, a local activist helping to organize support for the struggle of meat-packers in Austin, Minnesota. Sherbourne is also a member of the municipal employees' union and spoke about the importance of the *Militant*'s coverage of the labor movement.

Anita Casale, a member of the International Association of Machinists, praised the *Militant* as an organizing tool that lets working people know what they can do to aid struggles such as the freedom fight in South Africa, or unionists on strike.

Some 17 pledges totaling \$1,600 have been made to the fund by supporters in Portland.

On October 18 a meeting to celebrate the publication of *Nelson Mandela: The Struggle Is My Life*, published by Pathfinder, was held in St. Paul, Minnesota.

Supporters of the fund in the Twin Cities have pledged more than \$4,000.

Participants at the meeting included Sunshine, an American Indian activist and representative of the Leonard Peltier Support Committee. Noting that Native Americans are officially in a "trust status" overseen by the U.S. secretary of the interior, Sunshine stated that "apartheid is alive right here in the United States."

Other speakers included Dixie Lee Riley, vice-president of the Minnesota National Organization for Women and chair of its committee against racism; Chris Nisan, a young Black activist who is coordinator of the Marketplace Public Affairs

Forum in St. Paul; Argiris Malapanis, chairperson of the Twin Cities Socialist Workers Party; Macalaster College history professor and Black rights activist Mahmoud el Kati; and journalist and community activist Yusef Mgeni.

On November 2 supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* gathered at the Grand Terrace Lounge on Chicago's South Side.

The event was chaired by Diane Roling, a garment worker and Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Illinois. Mistia Deemar, a new member of the Young Socialist Alliance who joined a traveling sales team when it stopped at her University of Illinois campus, described why she joined the team and later the YSA.

I spoke as the national circulation director of the *Militant*.

More than 25 people so far have contributed \$1,500 to the fund in the Chicago area. Pledges add up to twice that amount.

Lisa Hickler from Portland and Will Reissner from St. Paul contributed to this article.

Special offer for 'New International' if you renew your 'Militant' subscription

If you renew your *Militant* subscription today, you'll receive free an issue of *New Internationalist*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory, published in New York.

Or for only \$10 you can receive all of the five issues of *New Internationalist* that have appeared — a big saving.

The following is a partial listing of the contents of the issues:

- Vol. 1, No. 1 — Fall 1983
"Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today" by Jack Barnes
- "Lenin and the Colonial Question" by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez
- Vol. 1, No. 2 — Winter 1983-84
"The Working-Class Road to Peace" by Brian Grogan
"The Development of the Marxist Position on the Aristocracy of Labor" by Steve Clark
"The Social Roots of Opportunism" by Gregory Zinoviev
- Vol. 1, No. 3 — Spring-Summer 1984
"The Workers' and Farmers' Government: A Popular Revolutionary Dictatorship" by Mary-Alice Waters
"Imperialism and Revolution in Latin America and the Caribbean" by Manuel Piñeiro
"The FSLN and the Nicaraguan Revolution" by Tomás Borge
- Vol. 2, No. 1 — Spring 1985
"The Workers' and Farmers' Alliance in the U.S.," articles by Jack Barnes and Doug Jenness

"Land Reform and Cooperatives in Cuba"

- Vol. 2, No. 2 — Fall 1985
"The Coming Revolution in South Africa" by Jack Barnes
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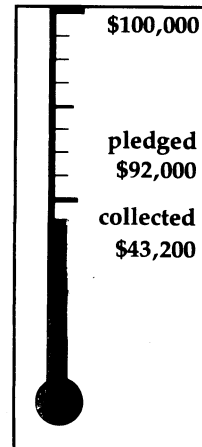
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U.S. gunrunner admits arming mercenaries at Nicaragua trial

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "The objective of our flights into Nicaragua was to re-supply teams of contras," Eugene Hasenfus told a court here November 4.

Hasenfus was the only survivor of a CIA plane shot down October 5 as it flew arms to U.S.-backed mercenaries (contras) in south-central Nicaragua. He is now on trial for crimes against the Nicaraguan people.

The trial began October 20, but it was not until November 4 that Hasenfus finally agreed to testify.

Hasenfus told the court about his recruitment to the mercenary supply operation last June by William Cooper.

"Cooper asked if I would be interested in work in Central America," Hasenfus said. "He implied that this work would be similar to the work that we did together in Southeast Asia with Air America." Air America was organized by the CIA to run military supply flights in the 1960s and early 1970s.

Hasenfus met Cooper in Miami on July 7, and spent the next three days at the offices of Southern Air Transport filling out employment forms. He then flew to El Salvador and joined the arms supply flights operating out of the Salvadoran Ilopango air base.

In his testimony, Hasenfus identified William Cooper, John McRainy, Max Gómez, and Ramón Medina as those in charge of the Ilopango operation.

Medina took him to get an identification card from the security office at Ilopango, Hasenfus said. This card identified him as a U.S. "adviser" and gave him access to restricted parts of the air base.

Hasenfus then described the arms warehouse at Ilopango, flights he made to the U.S.-built air base at Aguacate, Honduras, and the 10 flights he had made into Nicaragua to drop arms to the contras.

Pressured to keep quiet

Hasenfus avoided, however, making any direct links between the supply operation and the CIA, in contrast to previous statements he has made.

In a statement to the press October 9, Hasenfus said that Southern Air Transport and Air America were run by the CIA. He described Gómez and Medina as "two Cuban nationalized Americans who worked for the CIA."

In a CBS television interview aired October 19, Hasenfus admitted that he had worked for the CIA in Southeast Asia and that he was now working for the U.S. government and the CIA in Central America.

However, Hasenfus' attorney, Enrique Sotelo, has focused his defense on covering up U.S. government involvement and presenting Hasenfus as simply an "airline worker."

On November 2, Hasenfus appeared in court and identified the confession that he had written shortly after his capture. He affirmed that everything in the document was true, but asked to make a comment.

"Where it [the confession] says that Max Gómez and Ramón Medina worked for the CIA and that Max Gómez was a personal friend of George Bush," Hasenfus said, "I want to say that I heard William Cooper say this, but I never saw ID cards that identified them as CIA. This was something that I heard from other people in the base."

By the time of his November 4 testimony, Hasenfus refused to make any statement as to who was behind the airline

he worked for, or who Cooper, Medina, and Gómez really worked for.

Arms for contra terrorists

On November 3 Nicaraguan technical experts presented the court with samples of the arms Hasenfus' plane carried: dozens of AKM-S automatic rifles, RPG-7 rocket-propelled antitank grenades, a light machine gun, and tens of thousands of bullets.

Log books from the plane showed that it had made many flights from the Ilopango base in previous months, but important information was missing from these flight documents. The type of cargo was never described, the destination and names of crew members were often omitted, and the aircraft's identification number was changed four times.

The personal log book kept by copilot Wallace Sawyer showed that he had made 240 flights in the past year. In addition to flights between Ilopango, Aguacate, and Miami, he had flown to and from U.S. military bases in Puerto Rico, Panama, the United States, and the U.S. base in Guanatanamo, Cuba. He also had flown to Angola.

Rightist Cuban exiles join CIA war

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Among the numerous revelations about the CIA's arms supply network for the Nicaraguan contras (counterrevolutionaries) has been the prominent role played by exiled Cuban rightists.

According to a report in the October 26 *Washington Post*, about two dozen U.S. citizens of Cuban origin are now acting as military advisers to the contras.

CIA mercenary Eugene Hasenfus, who was captured by Sandinista forces after his plane was shot down over Nicaragua October 5, named two of the CIA's Cuban-born agents involved in the contra supply flights out of the Ilopango air base in El Salvador: Max Gómez and Ramón Medina. Their real names, it was soon determined, are Félix Rodríguez and Luis Posada Carriles.

Brief profiles of the two give an indication of the kind of individuals involved in Washington's dirty war against the Nicaraguan people.

Rodríguez participated in the April 1961 CIA-organized Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. In 1967, according to both the Cuban government and to friends of Rodríguez, he was part of a CIA team sent in to help Bolivian troops track down and eliminate a guerrilla force led by Ernesto "Che" Guevara, one of the leaders of the Cuban revolution. After Guevara's capture, Rodríguez participated in his interrogation and murder. He claims to wear Guevara's watch.

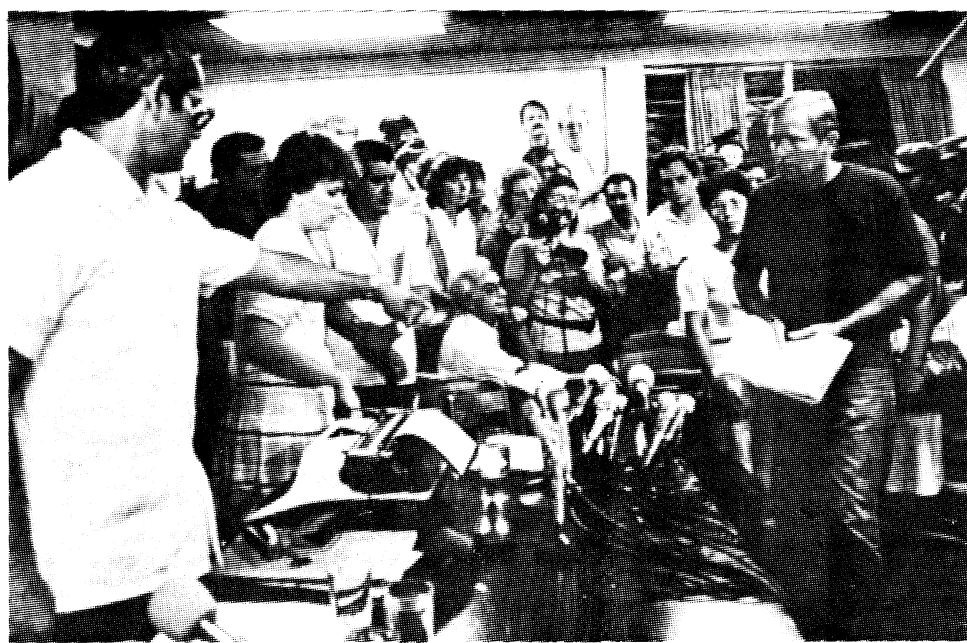
Rodríguez also carried out CIA operations in Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay. In Florida he worked with armed Cuban counterrevolutionary groups.

In the early 1970s Rodríguez was sent to Vietnam, where he functioned as a CIA counterinsurgency expert specializing in mobile air tactics. A decade later he put those same skills at the service of the Salvadoran air force in its efforts to crush the popular rebellion in that country, in addition to becoming the main coordinator of the contra arms supply flights out of Ilopango.

He was also a business partner of a Miami-based gunrunner associated with a 1984 plot to assassinate the former president of Honduras, Roberto Suazo.

Vice-president George Bush, himself a former director of the CIA, admits that he has kept in touch with Rodríguez. On October 11 Bush referred to him as a "patriot."

Like Rodríguez, Luis Posada Carriles is a CIA veteran of the Bay of Pigs invasion and of the U.S. war against Vietnam. Working with Cuban counterrevolutionary groups based in Miami, he was involved in numerous terrorist actions against Cuba,



Reynaldo Monterrey, president of the people's tribunal in Nicaragua, directs captured U.S. mercenary Eugene Hasenfus to his seat.

Lt. Col. Roberto Calderón of the Nicaraguan army testified that since last May contra forces had been operating in the area where Hasenfus' plane was shot down. They received supplies via aircraft coming from Costa Rica. During September alone, Nicaraguan troops detected four such flights, the last one by a C-123K similar to Hasenfus' plane.

Calderón explained that when Nicaraguan troops reached spots where air supply drops had occurred, they often found

weapons, including boxes of antitank mines, that had been dropped but not recovered by the contras.

The antitank mines, designed for use against armored vehicles, have recently been used by the contras against civilian trucks and buses. Dozens of workers and farmers have been killed or mutilated by these powerful explosives. In the most recent such attack, October 20, a passenger truck was blown up in northern Nicaragua. Six peasants were killed and 30 wounded, six of whom lost their legs.

including an assassination attempt against Cuban President Fidel Castro.

Posada Carriles, who became a naturalized Venezuelan, joined Venezuelan military intelligence in 1967. Under the pseudonym of "Basilio," he participated in the interrogation and torture of political prisoners.

In 1976 Posada Carriles took part in the bombing of a Cuban commercial airliner in Barbados, killing 73 people. He was arrested a few weeks later. One of his accomplices in the bombing identified him as a CIA agent who had participated in more than 70 operations for the agency, from the Congo to Vietnam.

In August 1985 he simply walked out of the prison in Venezuela where he was being held, after some prison officials were bribed an estimated \$25,000.

Several months later an interview with

Posada Carriles appeared in a Venezuelan journal, saying that he was at a "Post 10" in an unnamed Central American country. "Post 10" was later identified as the Ilopango air base, where he was in charge of finances and transportation for the CIA's contra supply operation.

According to Hasenfus, Posada Carriles bragged that he was a "friend" of Vice-president Bush.

"The Posada Carriles case," an article in the October 17 Cuban daily *Granma* pointed out, "reveals all the hypocrisy, cynicism, and falsehood of the Reagan administration's campaign to appear as a champion of the struggle against international terrorism."

"Their vicious hatred of the Nicaraguan revolution," *Granma* continued, "has led Reagan and Bush to use one of the most despicable terrorists in the world today."

Duarte regime in El Salvador rejects Cuba offer of hospital

In the immediate aftermath of the devastating earthquake that struck San Salvador, the capital of El Salvador, the Cuban government promptly sent a planeload of relief assistance. This included 22 tons of medicine, valued at \$500,000.

However, the Salvadoran government of José Napoleón Duarte rejected another offer of Cuban aid: the provision of a field hospital with 160 beds and the capacity to handle 400 out-patients. It also would have been accompanied by a team of 43 medical specialists.

"What is the reason for refusing the Cuban aid?" asked an October 20 communiqué by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), which are leading a popular rebellion against the U.S.-backed Duarte regime.

"No one is going to change his way of thinking because he receives medical attention and medicine from Cuba," the FMLN communiqué went on. "Napoleón Duarte's attitude reveals an extreme cruelty in the face of the Salvadoran people's dramatic situation."

The FMLN accused Duarte of "sponsoring robbery and corruption," while neglecting "the urgent needs of the low-income sectors most affected by the earthquake."

Similar accusations have been made by the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers' Unions (FENASTRAS).

According to an October 15 news release

by the union federation, "Due to the inefficiency and suspected corruption of the Salvadoran government, the National Union of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS) has created an ad-hoc commission to procure material aid from abroad and to manage its distribution among the affected population." FENASTRAS is a member of the UNTS.

In the United States, an Earthquake Relief Fund has been created to collect aid for the earthquake victims. FENASTRAS is helping to arrange the delivery of this aid.

Reflecting the Duarte government's hostility to such independent relief efforts by the Salvadoran unions, Civil Defense personnel murdered a unionist on October 11, while he was carrying out relief work. Armando Meléndez, a member of the STECEL electrical workers union (which also belongs to the UNTS), was shot to death in Soyapango, about 20 miles from San Salvador.

According to the FENASTRAS release, "Labor unions and human rights workers both feared and expected that the military would take advantage of the turmoil after the earthquake to pick up and 'disappear' leaders in El Salvador's peace and justice movement."

FENASTRAS appealed for international protests against the killing of Meléndez, noting that such protests could help protect other leaders from this kind of repression in the wake of the earthquake.

Barricada Internacional

Barricada Internacional, the weekly official voice of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, is now available in Spanish and English. The price is 6 months for \$12.

Send check or money order to:
Barricada Internacional
Apdo. No. 4461
Managua, Nicaragua.

Unionists sponsor rights case

BY NORTON SANDLER

Several Midwest unionists have added their names to the growing list of sponsors of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF).

Chris Lauritsen, president of United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local 152 in Mason City, Iowa; John Bohlman, assistant state legislative representative for the United Transportation Union in Nebraska; and Bob Langemeier, a meat-packer from Fremont, Nebraska, fighting for reinstatement at the Hormel packing plant there, have all become PRDF sponsors.

The unionists signed up as sponsors following discussions with PRDF Midwest representative Joe Swanson, who is on a six-week tour of the area.

Swanson is talking to workers and farmers about the landmark victory scored by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance in the lawsuit they brought against the FBI, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and other government agencies for illegal spying and disruption.

In August federal Judge Thomas Griesa ruled that government spying and disruption of the socialists was unconstitutional and ordered the government to pay damages to the SWP for the illegal activity.

The victory is being welcomed by unionists, protesting farmers, civil libertarians, and political activists as an important tool in preserving and extending democratic rights.

Unionists who became PRDF sponsors during the first few days of the Midwest tour also included Skip Niederdeppe, president of UFCW Local 22 in Fremont, and Paul Swanson, general chairman of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees in Denver, Colorado.

Many of the unionists Joe Swanson talked to also made financial contributions to the PRDF.

Nationwide effort

PRDF backers around the country are mounting a nationwide effort to add thousands of new trade unionists and their unions as sponsors for the ongoing court case.

PRDF supporters participated in the recent conventions of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) in Atlanta and the International Union of Electronics Workers in Miami.

Kipp Dawson, a Pennsylvania miner and PRDF supporter who attended the UMWA convention, reported that many there expressed interest in the case and wanted to read the material they received. Dawson told the *Militant* that follow-up discussions

with a number of those miners are planned.

Union sponsorship obtained since Griesa's ruling includes William Henning, vice-president of the Communications Workers of America Local 1180 in New York; Abe Morochnic, chief steward for Local 504 of the Service Employees International Union in Chelsea, Massachusetts; and Denny Mealy, an Austin, Minnesota, meat-packer who has been active in the fight against Hormel. Other Austin fighters who have signed up as PRDF supporters are Lynn Huston, Al "Skinny" Weis, Rod Huinker, and Jim Fisher.

The *Miami Postal Labor News* recently carried an article on the case written by Betty Tsang, executive vice-president of the Miami area American Postal Workers Union. "The government has, for too long now, used subversive means through the actions of the FBI and CIA to harass, disrupt, and spy on all those who oppose big businesses, war, the U.S. foreign policies, and so forth. Hopefully, this ruling and similar rulings will put an end to government actions against our democratic rights," Tsang wrote.

Tsang was also a featured speaker at a PRDF rally held in Miami on October 30. Other speakers included Andrés Gómez, a prominent pro-Cuban activist; Father Gerard Jean-Juste, a leader in Miami's Haitian community; Patricia Ireland of the National Organization for Women (NOW); and Jack Lieberman, director of the Latin

American and Caribbean Solidarity Association.

'Science & Society' dinner

In addition to the new trade union sponsors, other supporters of democratic rights have signed up as sponsors. At a recent dinner in New York celebrating the 50th anniversary of the journal *Science & Society*, several members of that publication's editorial board became sponsors.

Dirk Struik, *Science & Society's* editor emeritus, added his name to the list of PRDF backers.

Science & Society board members Ednaldo DaSilva, Marvin Gettleman, and John Cammett also became sponsors.

Helping talk to people about PRDF at the dinner was Paul Sweezy, editor of the *Monthly Review* and a longtime sponsor of the case.

Since the decision was handed down in August, George Naylor and Hal Hamilton from the board of the North American Farm Alliance; Ben Layman, a Virginia dairy farmer; and farm activist Bobbi Polzine have become sponsors. So have sanctuary activist Darlene Nicgorski, poet Sonia Sanchez, and dozens of others.

PRDF has been holding rallies across the country. Those who have participated in these rallies or have sent messages of support to PRDF include veteran civil rights leader Fred Shuttlesworth, author Jessica Mitford, South African poet Dennis Brutus, NOW national Vice-president Lois



Militant/Larry Lukehart
Betty Tsang, vice-president Miami-area American Postal Workers Union.

Galgay Reckitt, and Chicano activist and government frame-up victim Francisco "Kiko" Martínez.

To help in the outreach effort, the PRDF is publishing a new edition of the full text of Judge Griesa's decision. It is expected to come off the press before Thanksgiving and will be available for \$1 a copy.

Damage award a key gain in lawsuit

BY DOUG JENNESS

Since federal Judge Thomas Griesa made his August 25 ruling in the case of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI, an exchange has been taking place in the pages of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* on some of the issues posed by the decision.

Two days after the ruling, the editors praised the decision and emphasized the importance of awarding the SWP \$264,000 in damages as a result of the FBI's decades-long harassment and disruption of the party.

"Considering the scope of its abuse of police power," the *Post-Dispatch* commented, "the agency got off lightly." But the judge's award, the editors added, "ought to serve as a warning to the agency that it has no authority to break the law in the pursuit of potential lawbreakers."

In response, FBI Director William Webster sent a letter to the editor, which was published in the paper's September 28

issue. Webster complained that the editorial "left the reader with the impression that the Federal Bureau of Investigation operates without regard for the First Amendment rights and by dated investigative techniques."

He pointed to the agency's 1976 and 1983 guidelines that purportedly halted surreptitious entries and disruption operations.

The *Post-Dispatch*, replying in an October 19 editorial, favorably acknowledged this policy shift, adding, "One assumes few agents would dare break the law in light of his [Webster's] guidelines."

But, it asked, "what of those who do?"

The editorial argued that people who have been wrongly harmed by government employees have the right to obtain money damages. It pointed to both the ruling in the SWP-YSA case and to *Hobson v. Wilson*, another significant case against FBI disruption.

In the *Hobson* case four FBI agents, convicted of illegally spying on and disrupting antiwar groups in the late 1960s and early 1970s, were ordered last month to pay more than \$50,000 in damages to four community activists and a Washington, D.C., peace group. Under a new program announced last summer by Attorney General Edwin Meese, the Justice Department instead of the agents may pay the penalties.

Government liability

The awarding of damages in the SWP case has been overlooked or underestimated by many who have commented on Griesa's decision, including some who recognize its broader victory for constitutional rights.

Under the Federal Tort Claims Act, adopted in 1946, victims of wrongdoing by the government are entitled not only to a cease-and-desist order, but to claims for money damages. (A tort is a private or civil wrong or injury.) This law provides that compensation can be granted "for injury or loss of property . . . caused by the negligent or wrongful act or omission of any employee of the Government while acting within the scope of his office or employment, under circumstances where the United States, if a private person, would be liable to the claimant. . . ."

In the SWP-YSA case, Judge Griesa ruled that 17 disruption operations, 193 illegal entries, and the use of FBI informants in the two organizations resulted in sufficient harm to merit monetary compensation.

He awarded \$2,500 for each of the disruption operations, \$500 for each of the illegal entries, and \$125,000 for the intrusion

of the organizations' privacy. This totals \$264,000.

'Malign purpose'

"It must be recognized that many FBI disruption operations were ineffective," Griesa noted, "and they were generally sophomoric. But the evidence compels the finding that some of the operations accomplished their malign purpose, at least in part. The harm was of a more subtle kind than can be calculated in terms of definite sums of money. But it was the type of harm intended by the FBI, and it was harm."

Compensation for the "black bag jobs" was based on their invasion of the SWP's privacy. Griesa noted that previous court rulings held that "the difficulty of measuring damages for invasion of privacy is no reason for denying relief."

"In the present case," he continued, "... [t]housands of private documents were removed and copied. The SWP was entitled to be private in its premises and that right was substantially diminished by the FBI's conduct."

The awards for injuries resulting from the FBI's informant program were also made on the basis of intrusions upon the privacy of SWP members.

Griesa stated, "A total of 99 member informants were in place in 1974, 85 in 1975, and 60 in 1976. A certain number of non-member informants were employed during this time, although the exact number is not shown by the evidence. The damages will be assessed on the basis of member informants."

"The intrusions of these member informants were serious," the judge continued, "and of a substantial magnitude — an average of 75 functioning over a period of 23 months."

Invasion of privacy

Describing the activities of the informants, the judge said, "While the informants obtained some information of a public nature, the program was really designed to ferret out private matters. The work of the member informants had the effect of admitting the FBI covertly into the midst of the most private discussions."

So, along with Griesa's ruling that the spying and disruption by FBI snitches and provocateurs is "patently unconstitutional," his decision to award monetary damages was a significant victory for working people and all fighters for social justice.

It helps affirm the principle that government officials, no more than private individuals, cannot illegally abuse people and invade their privacy with impunity.

PRDF Political Rights Defense Fund

Help us win more victories for democratic rights

Now that a federal judge has ruled that the FBI's spying against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance was illegal, the case is going back to court to determine what will happen to the millions of secret files the government spies accumulated.

Every supporter of democratic rights has a stake in helping bring about another victory against the FBI in the upcoming hearings. The Political Rights Defense Fund needs your endorsement and your financial help to make the next stage in this battle a success.

- ☐ I want to be a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund.
- ☐ Send me a copy of the federal court decision against the FBI.
Enclosed is \$10.
- ☐ Enclosed is my tax-deductible contribution to keep up the fight.
\$500 _____ \$100 _____ \$50 _____ \$10 _____ other _____
- Name _____
- Address _____
- City _____ State _____ Zip _____
- Telephone _____ Organization _____
- Signature _____

Send to: Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Women farm workers step forward in Nicaragua: production and defense; demand equality

A Second National Assembly of Women Farm Workers was held in Managua, Nicaragua, September 6-7. More than 600 unionists, representing 18,760 women in the fields, participated. They were members and leaders of the Rural Workers Association, Nicaragua's farm workers union.

At the closing session of the conference they adopted a document evaluating their work since the first national assembly of women farm workers in 1983 and outlining their tasks for the future.

'The present you are creating is the future of the new socialism'

The following are short excerpts from the closing remarks of Sandinista leader Víctor Tirado to the women farm workers assembly.

The document you have presented is valuable and very important. It is anti-imperialist, for the defense of our country's Sandinista People's Revolution, and for the defense of our nation.

It is also important because in it you present some essential matters that you have recently been discussing on a nationwide scale.

You raise problems of inequality in employment and wages. I think that there must be equality. You must fight so that you actually have a fair job and wage. You must also take up the [length of the] workday.

[In] the document it says you are "united, combative, and creative, producing the maximum with the few resources we have." Combative and creative — that is the ideological level that women have attained in the revolution. And this is revolution. Now you can feel satisfied in a most profound way.

Sandinista Front

Further on, the document says that "this is our commitment in honor of the 25th anniversary of our vanguard, the FSLN, and in commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the death of the leader of the revolution, Commander Carlos Fonseca."

This is a profound thought that merits being in the document, because the FSLN was not created by the grace of heaven or hell. It was created by you. It was created

The closing session was addressed by Víctor Tirado, a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). In one section of his talk, Tirado took up the relationship between the struggles for women's rights, workers' rights, and national liberation on the one hand, and the struggle for socialism on the other.

He encouraged the women present to embrace the teachings of Karl Marx and V.I. Lenin, as well as those of anticolonial and anti-imperialist fighters from Latin

America, such as Augusto César Sandino and Benjamín Zeledón of Nicaragua, José Martí of Cuba, and Simón Bolívar of Venezuela.

The following are brief excerpts from the farm workers' document.

* * *

We are in the midst of this dirty war of aggression imposed on us by imperialism, a war which is strengthened by the \$100 million given to the counterrevolutionaries to destroy us. The struggle for the survival

of the peasants. It was created by the workers. It originated with the working people.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front, in reaching its 25th anniversary, took into account the many-faceted role played by women. In its first program, the FSLN anticipated all the social demands of the working class, including women. No other party at that time had mapped out a strategy that could be carried out, a strategy that we could have before us today in this assembly.

With respect to production, you say that "our main battle front has been the production of the country's export crops. To achieve this production, our participation has been growing year by year, thus fulfilling the commitment we made at our first assembly."

This is your battle, but also men's battle. We will not differentiate between the male and female genders. It is important, however, that you mention it, because women have an important, specific place in the revolution. You give some statistics in your report when you say, "In 1985, 35 of every 100 farm workers were women. This year we will be more than half of the work force in the harvest." Here you are speaking about production, development, and economic growth.

State vs. private sector

You are not pessimistic. You have confidence in your revolution. You recognize the advances, errors, faults, problems, and difficulties. You also recognize that the gains made in the state sector are greater than those in the private sector.

And what does that mean, when you — as a sector of production — recognize this? It means that we are truly building a new society. That your efforts and sacrifices are nothing more than the future of the new society. That the present that you are creating is nothing more than the future of the new socialism, our socialism, our economic system, our particular manner of creating a new socialism. That is what you are building.

The contribution you make at work — and not only in material production, because this document is ideological material that produces ideas — is creating the new socialism in the underdeveloped countries. And this is a great advance.

A country such as Nicaragua cannot say that we have the great intellectuals Western Europe has, the great novelists, the great writers. But we do have great union leaders and they were able to write this document to explain the specific problems of women.

This is intellectualism. This is writing. But we don't do it as individuals, we do it in a collective manner. We do it together, because all of this is your work, this document. This is socialism. And whether they like it or not, this is democracy.

Transforming humanity

Do not feel abandoned or isolated from the revolution. Do not feel depressed or discriminated against. You should feel that

you are involved and are participants, and at the same time feel that you are part of the transformation of humanity. You are starting something that you may not grasp yet, but this is the beginning of something new.

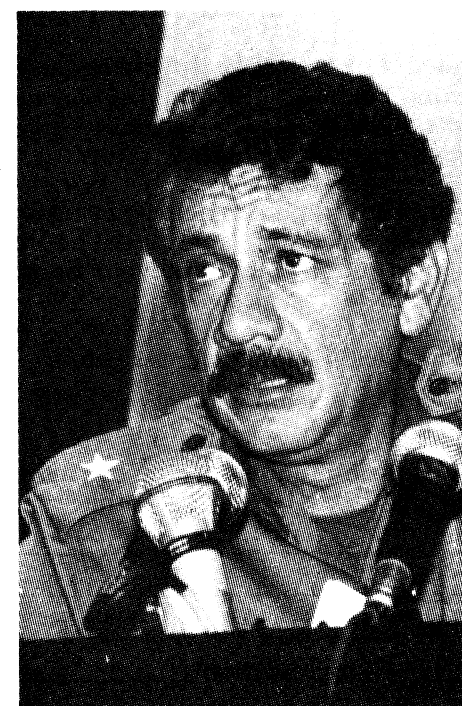
When you say that you want to raise production quotas; or when you say you want to give still more to society, to your children, because of those who are away at the war front; when you say that production quotas should be surpassed, you are making a revolution. You are helping to transform society. You are helping build socialism, a Nicaraguan socialism, taking all the experiences of all the countries that have built socialism and those that are about to build it.

Therefore, this document reflects the fact that if we won the victory [over the Somoza dictatorship] on July 19, 1979, if we have won other victories on the diplomatic front, now — as workers, as toilers, as women — we must consolidate and make the ideological victory ours.

Marx, Lenin, Sandino

We must keep maintaining and winning the ideological victory, in line with humanity's great revolutionary ideas as laid down by Marx, Lenin, Sandino, Martí, Zeledón, Bolívar, and all those great, noble men who helped achieve victory through their ideas.

We must not fear these leaders. We must make them ours, if you will. Sandino does not belong to Nicaragua. Sandino and his ideas belong to humanity. Marx belongs to humanity. Bolívar belongs to humanity. They stopped being Nicaraguan, or German, or Venezuelan and became great thinkers of all humanity. Though they also remain Nicaraguan, or German, or Venezuelan, their ideas go beyond national borders.



Víctor Tirado addressing women farm workers. He urged them to study works of Marx, Lenin, Sandino, and Martí.

of the revolution must find us *united, combative, and creative, producing the maximum with the few resources we have.*

This is our commitment in honor of the 25th anniversary of our vanguard, the FSLN, and in commemoration of the death of the leader of the revolution, [FSLN founder] Commander Carlos Fonseca.

Defense

Production and defense have been our main tasks. Both are linked to the possibility of a better life for all, but require the greatest sacrifices and efforts.

Just as we are a decisive factor in production, we are also present in the military arena, even though our participation on this front has not been given top priority.

The 306 women in Region VI and the 215 in Region II who are participating directly in defense are just a small example of the courage with which we take on our responsibilities.

Production

Our main battle front has been the production of the country's export crops. To achieve this production, our participation has been growing year by year, thus fulfilling the commitment we made at our first assembly.

This is shown by the fact that in 1985, 35 of every 100 farm workers were women. This year we will be more than half of the work force in the harvest. We still have to integrate more women who, for various reasons, are not in production.

Employment

When the revolution triumphed, we only had work during the harvest. There were

Tomás Borge

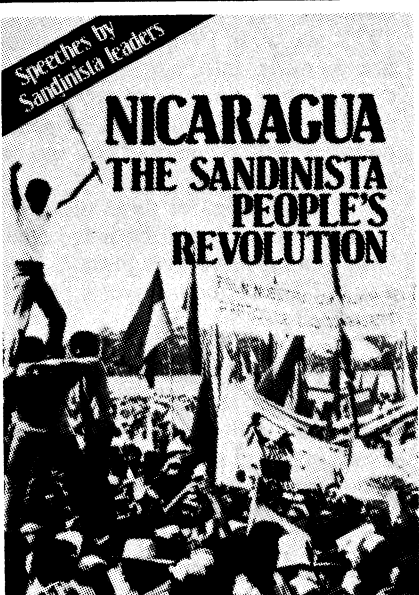
The following is the first section of an interview with Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge. It is taken from the September 1986 issue of *ALAI* published in Montreal, Canada. *ALAI* is the monthly publication of the Latin American Information Agency. The interview first appeared in the May 1986 issue of *Crisis* published in Buenos Aires, Argentina. The translation from Spanish is by the *Militant*.

Question. The emergence of a new sense of identity has been noted in Central American societies. An original element of this identity is the fusion of Christianity and Marxism, which has created a new cultural and psychological frame of reference among the people of Nicaragua.

Answer. I believe that every revolution accumulates historical experiences. And while you can speak of this as something new, it is not exactly new but rather the result of historical experience. And part of this process is that the way in which people think of themselves, if that is what we are talking about, takes on a new dimension. If we look at revolutionary changes over the course of history, it is clear that independently of the social class in the lead, the broad masses have participated actively; if they hadn't, the changes wouldn't have been possible.

In Nicaragua, participation by the masses took on singular characteristics that laid the basis for a new accumulation of historical experiences. This participation was highly relevant because the victory of the revolution came about through an insurrection in which a very broad spectrum of forces participated. But it was the broad masses of this country's poor that were the main factor in this revolution.

Q. Although one of the fundamental points of the present political system is pluralism, a "national bourgeoisie" never existed in Nicaragua.



Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution. This collection contains more than 40 speeches by leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution. \$8.95. Available at Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12. Or by mail from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.)

Paraguay's

hardly any jobs for women in the dead season. For the past two years we have been entering new jobs. In tobacco, for example, we participate in all the tasks of cultivation.

This means that today many of us work year round or almost year round and we are therefore more permanent than before. But in all sectors of agriculture, there are many administrative jobs and more skilled jobs that we women can take on.

We have to recognize that these advances have taken place more on the state farms than in the private sector. On many private farms, women are not hired for agricultural jobs, even if there is a shortage of labor. Furthermore, they deny us employment when we are pregnant, especially in the coffee and cotton sectors.

Production quotas

When our first meeting occurred in 1983, there were many places where, despite the law, women were paid less than men even though we did the same work.

In seeking a better organization of labor and wages, a system of payment by quotas has now been instituted. And with the National System for the Organization of Work and Wages [which sets uniform pay scales for each type of job] the law of equal pay for equal work has been made effective.

"This shows that conditions exist for us to successfully continue our efforts to raise labor productivity.

We are meeting our responsibilities in production, but the state and private farms must meet their responsibilities to us. We must resolve our problems and get concrete solutions through the union. Only then will



Women state farm workers with their children discuss common goals with women industrial workers from Managua. Banner reads, "Women active on all fronts — For peace and equality."

we go from "idle chatter" to practical and fruitful discussions.

Social issues

For us, social issues mean to stop looking with indifference at our problems of the double workday and instead work to solve them. In 1983 we saw the need to organize child care better, and we proposed that we do this with our own resources.

Since then, we have installed 30 rural child-care centers (SIRs) that take care of a total of 6,485 children and benefit 1,923 working mothers. We realize that many more SIRs need to be built, especially in the private sector, where up to now there

are none.

Since 1983 we have raised demands for maternity benefits and to be paid when we miss work to take our children to the clinic. We have had little response to these demands.

We realize that we have often not pushed enough or been involved in taking all the steps needed to have these demands met. On the contrary, we have resigned ourselves [to this situation] even though it meant lowering our productivity and hurting our wages.

Political-organizational participation

Increasing our participation in the union is what has allowed us to move forward.

But what we have achieved up to now is not enough. We must strengthen our participation in the union, especially in the union councils.

Our demands are not only the demands of women, but of the union movement. In spite of the gains and the efforts carried out by the union, there is still resistance to taking on this task as an integral part of the struggle of the working class.

This poses for us the need to continue firmly confronting and overcoming backward positions. We are convinced that our interests are also the interests of the union. What affects us hurts production, and that has repercussions for everyone.

je on the origins of Marxism in Nicaragua

A. We had a very special historical situation here: the Somozaist regime never represented the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole. It represented the interests of a family oligarchy and of a bourgeoisie of political origin, the direct descendant of administrative corruption. New millionaires made their profits through fiscal favors, a privileged position with the banks, even smuggling and other crimes.

The bourgeoisie could not develop in Nicaragua. The United States frustrated the liberal revolution of José Santos Zelaya at the beginning of the century, and the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie, backward and primitive, was unable to emerge. The very nature of the Somozaist regime prevented the bourgeoisie from modernizing the means of production.

In the final stage of the regime, a sector that hadn't been fully favored with these illegal benefits made efforts to modernize, promoted the production of cotton, and developed a more or less modern financial system, but still remained unable to overcome its backwardness.

The revolution occurred precisely when this broad bourgeois sector began to try, with a certain amount of energy, to compete with Somoza's primitive system.

So in the last minute of the struggle against Somoza — I am referring to a "historical minute" — the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie entered into conflict with the Somozaist regime. But this non-Somozaist bourgeoisie was unable to attain a concrete political expression. More recently a party of the Nicaragua bourgeoisie was organized — the MDN [Nicaraguan Democratic Movement] of Alfonso Robelo — but this formation was very late to arrive on the scene.

Q. But in the popular revolutionary movement, on the other hand, an alliance already existed between Christians and Marxists.

A. A movement known as *cristianos de*

base [rank-and-file Christians], led by a group of priests who were close to the revolutionary movement, was able to mobilize broad sectors. This is one of the most singular characteristics of the Nicaraguan revolution. Christians participated in the struggle against Somoza as Christians, not as members of movements led by parties.

Initial relations with the Christians came about through individual contacts with a few important intellectuals of the Catholic church, in particular with Ernesto Cardenal, Francisco Cardenal, Uriel Molina, and others. In the beginning there was a great deal of mutual suspicion between the Sandinista movement and the Christians. But some joint actions were carried out, and in practice these differences were ironed out.

Compañeros from the rank-and-file Christian communities came into the Sandinista Front, with the result that many of today's leading cadres of the Sandinista Front have a Christian background. The value of this experience is that it is being paralleled by the participation of Christians in all of Latin America — to the point that it has been said that there cannot be a victorious revolution on the subcontinent without the militant participation of the Christians. And this explains why reactionary sectors of the Catholic church show such anxiety and concern in face of such an example.

Q. In practice the relationship between Christian morality and revolutionary morality has become increasingly clear.

A. We believe revolutionary morality is not contrary to traditional morality but rather reaches a greater dimension. Moreover, our own historical experience has shown that some Christian principles are completely valid in a revolutionary society.

It is taught that we must "clothe the naked." And as I said at a gathering of theologians in Madrid, for us "clothing the

naked" means developing textile production — and not handing out secondhand clothing at local prisons on the weekend. "Feed the hungry" means developing agrarian reform and increasing production so that the people can eat. If the clemency of justice is really going to be put into practice, we have to develop a modern and highly humanitarian penitentiary system.

This is the way we are consistent with what have traditionally been considered Christian principles. In Latin America we have to elevate these principles to a new level and apply them in accordance with the reality that has emerged. And, in the case of Nicaragua, this reality is a revolutionary transformation of society.

"Let us love one another," says the precept. But rescuing the exploited classes, ending their condition as such, is a higher form of love. I believe that to really love the bourgeoisie, we have to liquidate them as the bourgeoisie. We have to suppress the bourgeoisie as a social class in historical terms.

Now I don't want to be interpreted as having said we have decided to suppress the bourgeoisie in Nicaragua! For the moment we are trying to civilize them. But in the final instance, I believe that once the exploiting classes disappear from human history, humankind can become genuine brothers to one another.

Q. There is a question about which, paradoxically, less is known than about the relations between Sandinistas and revolutionary Christians. That is the history of Marxism in Nicaragua, the process of assimilation and recreation of Marxism by the revolutionary vanguard in Nicaragua.

A. This is an interesting subject, because I believe one of the characteristics of the Nicaraguan revolution is that Marxism has no history in this country.

The responsibility for this fact has to be attributed to Europe. The European communist and workers' movement, as ex-

pressed through its International, considered nationalism — and I think that for Europe they were correct in this — to have a fundamentally reactionary character. European nationalism produced Hitler, but in Latin America the historical result was Augusto César Sandino and Emiliano Zapata [Mexican peasant leader], to single out just two archetypes of *nationalist* struggles. By mechanical application of that concept to this continent, Sandino was considered by one Mexican Marxist to be an "agent of imperialism."

European immigrants settled for the most part in the Southern Cone, which is why Marxist ideas arrived relatively early in that region. But in Central America, and

Continued on Page 10



Sandinista leader Tomás Borge

Government austerity drive set stage for Greek vote outcome

BY THEO MISAILIDES

ATHENS, Greece — Municipal elections were held throughout Greece on October 12 and 19 in one of the calmest atmospheres in the history of Greek elections. In a country where voting is compulsory, large numbers of registered voters stayed away from the polls — 28 percent in the main cities and 25 percent in the countryside.

The elections were held one year after the PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement) government instituted far-ranging austerity measures that reduced wages and social benefits by an estimated 10-15 percent while greatly increasing the cost of public services.

Workers have also suffered under the government's attacks on democratic rights, including curtailment of the right to strike. In many cases, especially for public employees, strikes have effectively become illegal. The police force has also been beefed up. For the first time, police bear arms in the streets of Athens — a step taken under the pretext of fighting drugs and terrorism.

As part of PASOK's decision to implement NATO's militarization drive, billions of dollars are being spent on arms and the military while the country's foreign debt has swollen to more than \$15 billion.

PASOK sought to cut its expected losses in these elections by declaring them to be nonpartisan in the interest of "local self-governance." It also declared its intent to ask for membership in the social-democratic Socialist International.

Opposition parties

The main opposition conservative New Democracy Party sought to take advantage of disaffection with the PASOK government by moderating its anticommunist public rhetoric. Former claims that "we'll turn the commies into soap" were replaced by statements that, "in reconciliation," the party was prepared to accept the legal right of the two Communist parties to participate in the political arena.

New Democracy politicians called on voters to vote for more "competent" men for the municipalities.

The pro-Moscow Communist Party of Greece (KKE), which is by far the larger of the two Communist parties, sought to create a new electoralist "left alliance." In

the process it collaborated not only with disaffected or expelled left-leaning former members of PASOK but also with bourgeois liberal members of parliament who are not affiliated to a party and with the center-right bourgeois Party of Democratic Socialism (KODISO).

The Eurocommunist Communist Party of Greece-Interior (KKE-Interior) ran its own candidates in Athens and some small cities and supported either PASOK or KKE candidates in all others.

The voting results reflected the polarization that has taken place among the different layers of working producers and the middle class under the pressure of the employers' attacks.

The majority of those who did not vote belonged to the layer of left-leaning former supporters of PASOK. Another layer — on average about 5 percent of PASOK's traditional voters — voted for New Democracy. This is a smaller percentage than in the 1982 municipal elections.

An average of 3 percent of PASOK voters voted for KKE candidates this time. In

the large workers' boroughs of Athens — Keratsini, Peristeri, Kaisariani, Viron, Dhafni — and the cities of Salonika and Piraeus, KKE candidates were elected or reelected.

Although this shift of votes gave New Democracy the biggest plurality in the country, PASOK actually increased its share of control of the majority of municipalities. This was a result of support from layers of farmers who have benefited from Greece's entry into the European Economic Community, and the support given to PASOK by the KKE in the runoff elections on October 19.

Communist Party votes

The KKE urged its supporters to use their votes to "punish" PASOK in Athens, however. This was in response to PASOK's failure to change the country's electoral system to proportional representation as the KKE was demanding. Under the current system the KKE receives less than 3 percent of the country's parliamentary seats despite getting more than 10 percent of the vote.

Largely as a result of the KKE's stance,



Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu of PASOK has launched attack on wages, benefits.

Athens, Salonika and Piraeus — three of the four largest cities in Greece — elected New Democracy party mayors.

Since the elections the KKE has continued to promote the new "left alliance" based on its electoral bloc, which excludes PASOK, as the way forward for the "alternative solution of change."

Origins of Marxism in Nicaragua

Continued from Page 9

particularly in Nicaragua, the small number of European immigrants did not bring revolutionary ideas with them.

This explains why in Nicaragua the Communist Party — which here is called the Socialist Party — wasn't founded until 1944. And why the workers' movement prior to that period was marked by extremely artisanal characteristics. Moreover, it was the artisans who were the first to organize here, artisans who called themselves workers.

The workers' movement of Nicaragua emerged as a political organization May 1, 1944, in the midst of the World War and at a time when "Browderism" was making deep inroads in this continent. Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, held the view that the antagonistic contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the working class had disappeared. This concept was developed by a party that came onto the scene prior to the Nicaraguan Socialist Party, the Peoples

Vanguard Party of Costa Rica.

Thus, a notion that held great influence was the idea that any government that had declared war on fascism had to be supported to the utmost. The workers' movement in Nicaragua emerged with the deviation, one shared by other politically organized workers' movements in Latin America, that local dictators should be supported.

The Nicaraguan Socialist Party emerged on the scene supporting the Somoza dictatorship. That's why Marxism in Nicaragua has no history.

The history of Marxism in Nicaragua began in 1944 and it is a sad history; in other words, properly speaking, it is not even the history of Marxism. Marxism, which is a revolutionary theory, cannot be tarnished by sadness.

In the concrete case of Nicaragua, those who in those days called themselves Marxists were mired in a policy of class collaboration, of support to the bourgeoisie and to U.S. imperialism, which, as we know, was at that time at war with fascism. I don't want to go back over who was historically responsible for this; I don't want to point to those who were guilty. This was, objectively, the history, regardless of the sins and the sinners.

Q. The Sandinista Front put forward from the beginning, and this is why its name itself refers to Sandino, both the national and the social question — questions traditionally held by the left on the subcontinent to be distinct, though there are exceptions such as the works of José Carlos Mariátegui [Peruvian Marxist] and, of course, the Cuban revolution.

A. I think the first Marxist in Nicaragua, the most lucid Marxist, was Carlos Fonseca. Because Carlos was not only a student of revolutionary theory; he also knew how to apply it to the concrete reality

of Nicaragua. He was a student of Marxism, not a student of manuals but rather of revolutionary science. He was no stranger to the works of Mariátegui nor to world revolutionary experience.

How did Carlos Fonseca approach learning the reality of Nicaragua? He approached it by studying the history of Nicaragua, and of Sandino in particular. If there is one person who deserves to be credited with rescuing the historical figure of Sandino, it is Carlos Fonseca. It was, in the best sense of the word, an obsession with him that Sandino was unknown in this country, deliberately sent to his death and to the ostracism of oblivion by the Somoza dictatorship and imperialism.

And not only the Somoza dictatorship, but also other political forces in Nicaragua. If they happened to mention Sandino, it was only to try to slander his reputation. When they killed Sandino all the political parties, both Liberal and Conservative, celebrated with champagne, and from then on began to ignore him.

Somoza locked up the documents, letters, and proclamations of Sandino but fortunately committed the error of publishing the greater part of the papers that fell under his control in a book called *Sandino: the Calvary of the Segovias*, one of the important bibliographic sources rediscovered by Carlos Fonseca.

Also significant were the investigations of Gregorio Selser, who published a very valuable work, a pair of books on Sandino that were also reproduced by Carlos Fonseca in Nicaragua. Silvio Mayorga participated actively in the preparation of these works, which were published here clandestinely. In addition, Carlos Fonseca began to conduct research about Sandino among the combatants who had survived his struggle.

When the Sandinista Front was founded in 1961, Carlos Fonseca insisted the organization be called Sandinista because the term incorporated a Nicaraguan revolutionary movement into the history of Nicaragua. It incorporated the anti-imperialist element — which is an intrinsic part of the history of this country — and gave it a revolutionary content.

So, what Ricardo Morales was to say later — that we have to see Marxism with Nicaraguan eyes and see Nicaragua through a Marxist perspective — is a direct result of the philosophy developed by Carlos Fonseca. If one can perhaps speak today of a history of Marxism in Nicaragua, it has to be taken up in terms of quality. A vibrant and profound history; but not a long one, for that never existed.



Carlos Fonseca

Do you know someone who reads Spanish? El Salvador: 'Aid, not war'

The earthquake that devastated the capital of El Salvador hit a nation already ravaged by war, repression, poverty, and U.S. domination.

An article in the new November issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* describes the damage caused by the quake, and explains that the government, rather than help organize the relief, has stood in the way, blocking aid shipments from relief agencies.

The U.S. government is sending aid, as it has in the past, in order to prop up the repressive regime and its war against the Salvadoran people, which has already cost 60,000 lives and created hundreds of thousands of refugees.

The issue of *PM* also carries an interview with Alfredo Represa, European representative of the Salvadoran labor federation FENASTRAS.

Perspectiva Mundial is the Spanish-language socialist magazine that every month brings you the truth about the struggles of working people and the oppressed in the U.S. and around the world.



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Chauvinist attacks target India's Muslims

Ruling Congress Party works hand in glove with rightist Hindu gangs

BY MALIK MIAH

AHMEDABAD, Gujarat, India — "Read and make others read: *Are Hindus safe in Hindustan?*"

"In Dariapur, the head of the temple cow was cut and thrown in the temple compound."

"Hindus wake up! Wage a religious war!"

"A Call! A Call! A Call! — religious war is the only salvation."

These headlines — translated from the local Gujarati language — are from Hindu chauvinist leaflets distributed in areas where people of the Hindu faith congregate in this city of 2.5 million. Their purpose is to whip up hatred towards Gujaratis of the Islamic faith.

During a visit here in August, I met with several political and community activists on what's behind what is commonly called communalism — conflicts, sometimes quite deadly, between Hindus and Muslims. Communal violence is mainly organized by Hindu chauvinist forces against Muslims.

July riots

In July Hindu chauvinist groups organized a provocative parade through Muslim-dominated areas of the city. Hooligans chanted anti-Muslim slogans and initiated violence that left at least 46 people dead (unofficially 67), scores wounded, and hundreds of Muslim families homeless.

In the last 12 months, some 170 people, mostly Muslims, have been killed in 10 communal outbursts.

As I was meeting people here, anti-Muslim violence broke out in the neighboring city of Baroda — the next stop on my trip. Newspapers reported seven people killed the first night, many by stab wounds.

According to the August 21 *Indian Express*: "The violence had been sparked off when a white Fiat car slewed through the Panigate area at great speed, and its occupants opened fire indiscriminately at passersby, injuring two persons. Baseless rumors spread like wildfire, and widespread group clashes took place. Fourteen cases of arson were recorded by the fire brigade till midnight yesterday."

Communalism is a form of scapegoating — blaming Muslims, in this case, for the real social, economic, and political problems that exist in this state and the entire country. It is a poison that causes disunity among working people and undermines collective action in defense of the rights and interests of workers and peasants.

Gujarat

Gujarat is located in western India and is bounded on the north by Pakistan and the state of Rajasthan, on the east by Madhya Pradesh, and on the west by the Arabian Sea.

It is one of the four most industrialized states, and has 38 million of India's nearly 800 million people. In 1981 there were over 10,000 registered factories, including 2,000 textile factories.

Nearly 90 percent of Gujaratis identify themselves as Hindus, which is the dominant religion in the country. Muslims make up 10 percent of the population.

Bushan Oza, a socialist and lawyer by profession, told me that communalism and casteism are used by the ruling party, the Congress led by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, and other parties to advance their own political aspirations.

Casteism

Casteism refers to the conflicts — almost daily — between middle- and upper-caste Hindus against lower-caste Hindus.

In the Hindu religion a person lives forever by reincarnation. The caste defines one's social status. The lower castes generally do the dirtiest and least acceptable jobs.

The 1950 Indian constitution made discrimination based on caste, religion, region, and ethnic origins illegal. In order to upgrade the traditionally most discriminated-against sectors, quotas have been set aside for government jobs.

Many of the middle- and upper-caste

Hindus resent this affirmative action. As a result, reactionary political forces use traditional caste divisions to agitate against the rights of the lower castes. It is a drive for more privileges and power.

The ruling Congress Party of Rajiv Gandhi, even though it is officially secular, is active in this agitation in many states. It is not uncommon for Congress candidates to use Hindu jargon and symbolism in their electioneering.

View of trade union leader

Ashim Roy, a trade union leader and the secretary of the state affiliate of the Indian Worker Peasant Council (HMKP) union, explained in an interview that few people, including union leaders, actively stand up to communalism and casteism.

"We have made conscious attempts to take this issue into the unions," he said. "My view is a union that can't fight casteism and communalism is no good." But, he added, most union officials are afraid to publicly take action on the communal issue.

One reason, Roy said, is the strength of the Hindu chauvinist groups among working people, including union members. Another is the fact that the Congress is working hand in glove with reactionary outfits such as the RSS. This is a paramilitary group that openly campaigns for India to become "Hindustan."

"Communal violence," Roy emphasized, "is organized by the Congress and RSS people. The RSS is used by Congress and other parties."

What we have here, he continued, "is clear cut violence of the state against the people."

"That's why," he insisted, "if you don't take the Congress bull by the horns, you will not stop communal violence."

Different views

Harish Khare, an assistant editor of the *Times of India*, a widely read English-language daily, disagreed about the role of the Congress and government in communal violence. "Political people," he said in an interview at his office, "were left behind the religious chaps," in referring to the July violence against Muslims.

Ramesh Menon of the biweekly magazine, *India Today*, gave another opinion: "What is most tragic in this situation is that most educated people in high positions of power and influence are blatantly communal."

Menon hit the role of the news media. The media, especially in the Gujarati language, regularly mixes fiction with fact, he explained. This fuels communal hatred and raises tensions.

"A journalist is not a journalist first," he said. "He is either a Hindu or a Muslim first, then a journalist."

Others I talked to went even further, saying one is first a Hindu, then a Gujarati, and lastly an Indian.

It is also clear that a Muslim "communalist" is not the same as a Hindu communalist. Muslims are a discriminated-against minority and seek to be treated fairly and equally.

Most Muslims labeled "communalists" are standing up for their rights. At times, this includes defending their communities from violent attack by chauvinist gangs aided and protected by state officials and the police.

Bapunagar

In a visit to a Muslim area in the heart of this city I learned more about the fear and determination of the Muslim population.

Bapunagar is a sprawling labor colony divided into several parts. Most of the people work in nearby industries.

The area was hard hit by communal terror in five months of violence in 1985. It was hit again in this past July's attack.

Since July the state reserves and police have been permanently stationed in the area. Few if any of the police forces are of the Muslim faith.

I, and some friends who translated for me, met with a leader of the All India Majlis Tameer-e-Millat in Bapunagar. Iqbal,

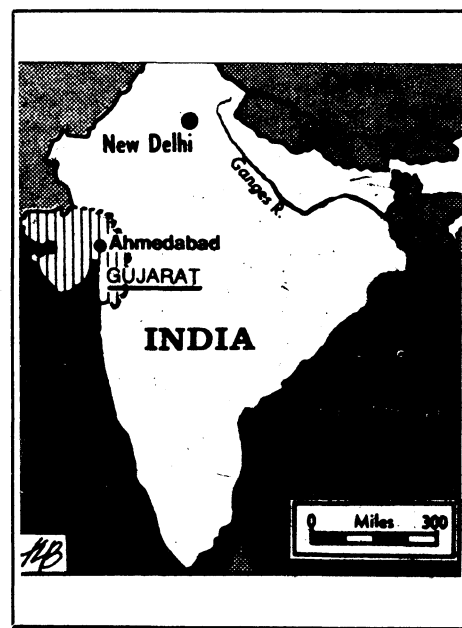
as he is known, invited us into his two-room house for tea and cookies.

He first explained that he didn't feel safe talking to us in his own home. "You could beat me up and destroy my house and the police would do nothing because I'm a Muslim," he quietly said.

He gave an example of a Muslim whose house was attacked by Hindu communalists from the rear. The police in the front of the house sat quietly and refused to do anything.

As we were leaving the area in the evening, we discovered that getting a taxi was not easy. Because of the communal violence, Muslim rickshaw taxi drivers refused to go into predominantly Hindu areas at night for fear of their lives. (A Muslim driver can be identified by the crescent moon on the back of the cab.)

We finally got a ride to the market area, where we took a bus home.



—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Argentina hits British provocation in Malvinas

In what the Argentine government termed "a clear challenge," the British authorities announced October 29 that they were extending their fishing zone around the British-occupied Malvinas (Falklands) Islands from 3 miles to 200 miles.

The Malvinas are Argentine territory seized by British colonial forces in 1833. In 1982 Argentina tried unsuccessfully to militarily recover the Malvinas, leading to a 10-week war.

The new British-proclaimed fishing zone around the Malvinas overlaps the territorial waters of mainland Argentina itself. In announcing the move, British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe warned that London might "use armed force in appropriate circumstances" to enforce the new edict.

The Argentine government, which still affirms its sovereignty over the Malvinas, declared that it "will not allow the arbitrary attempt by the United Kingdom to exercise powers that conflict with Argentina and to take away areas and resources that pertain to the national patrimony." It set up a special military committee to deal with the situation.

Haitian voters shun poll on constitutional body

Only a small proportion of Haiti's eligible voters turned out for the country's first elections held since the February overthrow of the dictatorship of Jean-Claude Duvalier. Although the government of Gen. Henri Namphy did



Gen. Henri Namphy

not immediately have the results for the October 19 elections to a constitutional commission, unofficial returns indicated that participation ranged between 4 percent and 21 percent in several key cities.

A coalition of 20 political, trade union, journalists', lawyers', and human rights organizations had called a boycott

to protest the regime's undemocratic organization of the elections.

The elections were called on short notice, with no prepared voters' lists and little effort to inform the population about who was running and why.

Moreover, the constitutional commission itself will have only limited powers. In addition to the 41 elected members, 20 will be appointed by the governing junta. It will sit for two months to consider a draft constitution prepared by a government-appointed committee.

Nigerian journalist murdered by mail bomb

Dele Giwa, one of Nigeria's best-known journalists, was killed October 19 by a letter bomb. He was editor-in-chief of the weekly *Newswatch*, which has often published articles on high-level corruption and other sensitive issues.

Just three days earlier, Giwa was summoned for interrogation by the State Security Service, the governing military junta's political police, who accused him of plotting a "socialist revolution" and of importing arms into the country. He denied the charges, and was released.

The sophisticated letter bomb was delivered to Giwa's home by a messenger, and Giwa was killed while opening it.

It was the first time such a method of political assassination has been used in Nigeria. The Nigerian Union of Journalists condemned Giwa's murder, calling it an "ominous sign" of future reprisals against those who speak out.

Thousands protest Japanese airport

Several thousand demonstrators turned out October 26 near Japan's Narita Airport to protest government plans to build two more runways.

Protests against the airport, which is about 40 miles east of Tokyo, began more than two decades ago when farmers in the area resisted government moves to take their land for the airport. The farmers won considerable support from the student and labor movements, leading to frequent mass demonstrations.

The airport opened eight years ago, with just one runway. But farming families on land slated for the new runways are continuing to resist. "We're just trying to protect our basic rights," said Kakichi Ogawa, one of the farmers.

In an effort to intimidate those protesting on October 26, some 10,000 riot police were mobilized at the demonstration site, and another 12,000 in Tokyo itself.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

The Struggle for a Free Ireland. Speaker: George Harrison, activist in support of the Irish freedom movement. Sat., Nov. 8, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA

Phoenix

Socialist Legality and Justice in Contemporary Cuba. Speaker: Marjorie Zatz, recently visited Cuba to study its criminal justice system. Slideshow presentation. Sat., Nov. 8, 7 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Dateline: San Salvador. Documentary featuring the 1986 May Day demonstrations. Presentation to follow. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 15, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Labor's Turning Point: the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters' Strike. Video showing and presentation. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 15, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

Who Will Change the World? A weekly political discussion with the Young Socialist Alliance. Thursdays at 7 p.m. 3640 Magazine St. For more information call (504) 895-1961.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Reagan's Summitry: Cover for War. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; Joan Pence, nuclear disarmament activist, coordinator of Peace Resource Center, Western Wayne County. Sat., Nov. 8, 8 p.m. 2135 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

Young Socialist Alliance Educational Weekend.

Fall Publications Fund Rally. Sat., Nov. 22, 8 p.m. Translation to Spanish.
 "The Coming Revolution in South Africa and the Role of the African National Congress." Sun., Nov. 23, 10:30 a.m.
 "The Cuban Role in Africa." Sun., Nov. 23, 1 p.m.

Speaker: Malik Miah, circulation director of the *Militant*, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. 2135 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2 per event. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

The Campaign Against Crime. What Position Should Working People Take — A Discussion of the Role of the Guardian Angels. Speakers: Chris Nisan, organizer of Marketplace Forum; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 8. Social, 7 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Say No to the U.S. War on Nicaragua! Speakers: Brad Read, member of Interfaith Peace Alliance; Raúl González, Socialist Workers Party

GEORGIA

Atlanta

A Tribute to Revolutionary Journalism in the '80s. Speakers: Malik Miah, national circulation director of *Militant*; David Ndaba, African National Congress of South Africa; Stephanie Collins, member United Auto Workers Local 10; Jon Howard, Black political activist from Albany, Georgia. Sun., Nov. 9, 6 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

"The Truth Must Not Just Be the Truth . . . It Must Be Told." Speakers: Bill Sagle, assistant editor, union newspaper of United Steelworkers Local 7886; William Shisana, African National Congress of South Africa; Phil Vilardo, Johns Hopkins University Coalition for a Free South Africa; Elizabeth Whittaker, Socialist Workers Party; a representative of the Nicaraguan embassy. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 15. Reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Fall Publications Fund. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Fall Publications Fund Rally and Grand Opening of Pathfinder Bookstore. Speakers: Norton Sandler, *Militant* staff writer, recently returned from British Labour Party congress; Gerald Jackson, professor at Bunker Hill Community College; representative of Pathfinder Press. Sat., Nov. 15, 7:30 p.m. 107 Brighton Ave., 2nd floor, Allston. Donation: \$2. Ausp: *Militant* and Pathfinder Press. For more information call (617) 787-0275.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Fall Publications Fund Rally. Speaker:

National Committee. Sun., Nov. 9, 7 p.m. 4725 Troost St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

March for Women's Rights. Sat., Nov. 15, 5:30 p.m. J.C. Nichols Fountain. Ausp: Coalition for Women's Rights. For more information call (816) 444-5098.

What Socialists Stand For. Speaker: Mac Warren, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sun., Nov. 16, 3:30 p.m. 4725 Troost St. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

St. Louis

The Russian Revolution. Speaker: Bob Allan, Socialist Workers Party and member of United Mine Workers of America. Traveled to Soviet Union earlier this year. Sat., Nov. 15, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

El Salvador Needs Aid Not War. Speakers: Kathy Andrade, education director of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 23-25; Francisco Picado, staff writer, *Perspectiva Mundial*. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Nov. 14. Preforum dinner, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: dinner, \$3; forum, \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668.

Immigration Laws: Attacks on Workers'

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd Floor. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

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

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

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3640 Magazine St. Zip: 70115. Tel: (504) 895-1961.

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

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 107 Brighton Ave., 2nd floor, Allston. Zip: 02134. Tel: (617) 787-0275.

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

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4725 Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

Malik Miah, circulation director of the *Militant*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 22, 8 p.m. 2135 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

An Evening in Solidarity With Workers and Farmers of South Africa, Nicaragua, and United States. Speakers: Mac Warren, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; Roger Allison, Missouri Rural Crisis Center; Mickey Dean, Anti-apartheid Network; Mary Ellen Miller, Independent Federation of Flight Attendants. Sun., Nov. 16, 7:30 p.m. 4725 Troost St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

St. Louis

Fall Publications Fund Rally. Speakers: John Gaige, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., Nov. 8. Reception, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEW YORK

Albany

Fall Publications Fund Rally. Speakers: Martin Koppel, editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 8. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 114E Quail St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Support the Socialist Press! Speakers: Senti Thobejane, African National Congress of South Africa; Jim Pittman, student antiwar leader; Malik Miah, circulation director of the *Militant*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 15, 7 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Fall Publications Fund.

Rights. A discussion. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Nov. 21. Preforum dinner, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: dinner, \$3; forum, \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Sanctions Against South Africa: Building the Anti-apartheid Movement. Sun., Nov. 9, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

AIDS Hysteria: Government War on Gay Rights. A panel discussion. Sun., Nov. 16, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women. Discussion and showing of film *Killing Us Softly*. Sun., Nov. 23, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Black Rights and the Ballot. Speakers: Charles Hughes, member, Cincinnati Rainbow Coalition; Jerone Stevens, political science department, Bowling Green State University; Art Slater, Cincinnati Coalition Against Apartheid,

For more information call (215) 225-0213.

Pittsburgh

Tribute to the Militant and Pathfinder Press. Speakers: Malik Miah, circulation director of the *Militant*; others. Sun., Nov. 16. Refreshments, 4:30 p.m.; program, 5:30 p.m. 402 N Highland Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS

Dallas

Celebrate the Accomplishments of the Socialist Press. Speakers: Dick McBride, member of *Militant* sales team in Texas and Louisiana; Joe Lowe, antiwar activist; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 15, 7:30 p.m. 336 W Jefferson Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 943-5195.

UTAH

Price

Fall Publications Fund Rally. Report by participant in Western *Militant* sales team. Also, eyewitness account of the meat-packers' fight against Hormel Co. in Austin, Minnesota. Sat., Nov. 15, 7:30 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave., room 19. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

Salt Lake City

Celebrate the Accomplishments of the Socialist Press. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 8, 7:30 p.m.; reception to follow. 767 S State, 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Pathfinder Books. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Fall Publications Fund Rally. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 15. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Rainbow Coalition; Dean Athans, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 9, 7 p.m. 4945 Pad-dock Rd. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

TEXAS

Houston

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And maybe a peek in the bedroom — WASHINGTON (UPI) — Attorney General Edwin Meese III urged employers today to control drug use by workers by keep-



Harry Ring

ing watch on parking lots, locker rooms, and on nearby bars if necessary.

Now hear this — If the late

novelist E.M. Forster is spinning in his grave it's because he was able to read the item which appeared a while back in the *Jersey Evening Post* movie page: "This column is a great admirer of E.M. Vorster, the former prime minister of South Africa who managed to write *A Passage to India* in his spare time. Next week, another Vorster masterwork, *A Room With a View*, is on screen at Odeon One."

Sorta like WPA — Some fear successful completion of the Star Wars project could be the prelude to nuclear war. But, assures Honest Ron, all it would really do is create thousands of new jobs and,

in a manner not specified, improve the quality of life.

Obviously worth the difference — We reported the charge by cat breeders that the California Spangled Cat being offered by Neiman-Marcus for \$1,400 was really a knockoff of the \$700 Ocicat. But, responds N-M, the Ocicat has crescent-shaped spots while the Spangled breed's are "roundish."

Talk about chutzpah — The Reagan administration wages a dirty, illegal war in Nicaragua, supports apartheid in South Africa and, when caught, defends its rights to lie. Meanwhile, its secre-

tary of education, William Bennett, urges schools to teach "moral literacy." He is, of course, too crooked to say what he really means — bring religion into the schools.

Culinary tip — We don't know if we're late for Halloween or early for Thanksgiving, but Tiffany's has a neat looking silver soup tureen shaped like a pumpkin. \$10,000.

Politics ain't easy — Gov. Lamar Alexander of Tennessee drew the fire of the livestock industry when he signed a "World Vegetarian Day" proclamation. The gov quickly issued a new

proclamation urging people to "eat more beef."

For class-conscious kids — If you're looking for a gift for the youngster with a social point, check out the Possum Hut, a doll house in the style of a rustic cabin, appropriately furnished. About \$4,000.

Thank-you note — During a recent bout with the doctors we received numerous get-well cards and notes, more than could be individually acknowledged. Equally appreciated was the increased number of newspaper clippings, which play a big part in keeping this column going.

Opera celebrates life and struggle of Malcolm X

X. (The Life and Times of Malcolm X.) Libretto by Thulani Davis, music by Anthony Davis, and story by Christopher Davis. New City Opera.

BY PAT HUNT

The world premiere of *X (The Life and Times of Malcolm X)* recently closed at the New York City Opera after four sold-out performances.

X is a three-act opera created by brothers Anthony and Christopher Davis and their cousin Thulani Davis. It highlights scenes from Malcolm X's childhood; his parents' roots in the Garvey movement; his growing up in Boston; his imprisonment and conversion to the Nation of Islam; his break with the Nation of Islam; and his assassination.

Workshops and tryouts of the opera have been put on in New York, Philadelphia, and Massachusetts, giving the Davises

IN REVIEW

a chance to revise the work and try things a one-shot performance wouldn't allow.

X is a real opera, constructed basically along traditional operatic guidelines. But integrated into it are some of the sounds of Malcolm's era, such as swing, scat, and jazz.

The multitalents of the predominantly Black cast were impressive. The 30 performers played over 100 different roles. I thought Ben Holt's performance of Malcolm was excellent. The singing, music, choreography, and acting that went into this opera should make it a classic.

But why an opera? Christopher Davis, who got the idea a few years ago, first thought of it as a musical. But his brother Anthony Davis convinced him an opera would better suit the intense dramatic nature of Malcolm X's life. Anthony Davis explained to the *New York Times*, "We were attracted to Malcolm's life both because it was so dramatic and because he was such an important figure for Black Americans. I wanted to write music about someone who was a symbol for my community."

Anthony Davis also said, "Malcolm's transformation was such a model. He had been a peer to the man on the streets, so he could come back and tell them, 'You have to change your life.' He taught Blacks to help themselves, stirred their racial pride, and gave them hope that they could achieve political and economic power."

Thulani Davis sees it as a chance to regenerate opera itself. "Opera today has an elitist label," she says. "Works like this will show that new operas can really relate to what's going on."

The impact Malcolm has had on people of all races, not just Blacks, was shown in the turnout for this opera and the response to it. About 50 percent of the box office sales have been from the Black community, most of whom have never been to an opera before. Several New York City unions bought blocks of tickets for the performance I attended. Others who attended were regular opera and theater goers.

Christopher Keene, music director for

X, said, "I had a terrible misconception about Malcolm. This opera so strikingly represents the man's search for dignity that it turned around my whole way of thinking. It made me reexamine my own ignorance."

But the production of this opera has also brought some controversy. Some have said it's too political for an opera. Some charge that any opera on Malcolm X would be glorifying demagoguery and anti-Semitism.

Beverly Sills, opera singer and general director of the New York City Opera, told the *New York Times* that some of her Jewish contributors have withdrawn support because of the opera's subject matter.

But in defense of *X*, she states, "Many of the works heard in opera houses today were political statements in their own time, look at *Marriage of Figaro*, *Rigoletto*, or *Attila*. We sit through them calmly now because we have forgotten the context in which they were premiered. But *X* is a good opera. That it also happens to make a statement — political or otherwise — is just icing on the cake!"

On the other hand, someone told me they thought it watered down Malcolm's ideas, making them palatable for the opera crowd.

I think both these reactions are unfounded. *X* shows the events that radicalized Malcolm X, such as his father being killed by the Klan, racist school teachers, his involvement with drugs and hustling, and eventually being taken off to jail.

You see Malcolm's recruitment to the Nation of Islam, where he was a major influence in building it in the 1950s and '60s. But he grows beyond the realms set by Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Nation of Islam, and breaks with him so he could more actively fight for the freedom of Black people.

A high point of the opera was Malcolm X's return from Africa and the Middle East in 1964. Although it mainly tried to point out his religious experience there, the political conclusions he drew as a result of his trip came out in the speeches he gave afterwards in Harlem. When he returns, riots in New York have broken out. Reporters blame him for the violence.

In spoken words, he tells of his trip to Africa to meet with freedom fighters. "This is no race revolt, it is the end of colonialism, it is revolution among African peoples. We're a part of something so big, a movement spanning the globe." Then he says, "It's time for our new organization, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, to bring these ideas to our people."

At the conclusion of the opera, the question is left open as to who assassinated Malcolm. A scene depicts the bombing of his home, in which his wife and two daughters escape death. "They'll keep coming, some say it is police, some say it's hired hands, some say FBI," his allies sing. Malcolm responds, "They can kill Malcolm X. But Blacks will stand up because we have rights. We want our freedom at any cost."

This is an important reminder that we still don't have all the facts about the assassination of Malcolm X, and must continue to demand to know the full truth.

I hope this opera gets around. The life and times of Malcolm X is a story that should be told, over and over again.



Malcolm X speaks to crowd in Harlem section of New York City in 1963

— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25¢

November 12, 1976

WASHINGTON — Does the FBI scrutinize financial reports from socialist election campaigns to draw up enemies lists?

The answer to that question is yes, judging from sworn testimony by Larry McCoy, a high-ranking official of the Federal Elections Commission (FEC).

McCoy, deputy assistant staff director of the commission, said FBI agents inspected the Socialist Workers Party's campaign finance reports for 1972. The G-men showed a special interest in lists of contributors.

Reports filed by the socialists in 1972 and 1974 included the names, addresses, and workplaces of 96 contributors of \$100 or more.

FEC official McCoy testified that in the summer of 1972, FBI agents visited what was then called the Office of Federal Elections. At the time McCoy was assistant to the director of the office.

The G-men flashed their badges and asked to see the SWP's financial reports. They pored over the records for 45 minutes.

McCoy said the agents also asked to look at records filed by the Communist Party.

On their way out, McCoy recalled, he talked with the agents. "They were somewhat surprised that the records we had with donations and names of contributors, this type of thing was available for public inspection just by anybody that walked in," McCoy said.

Their surprise is understandable. This is just the kind of information for which FBI agents and informers have illegally burglarized SWP headquarters.

McCoy said that "the only thing that could have been called out of the ordinary" about the inspection is that the FBI agents bothered to show their credentials.

"When other people came in," he added, "we wouldn't know who they were."

Clearly, FBI agents posing as ordinary citizens could have returned to inspect files any number of times, with no one the wiser.

At least 18 of the 96 supporters disclosed in the 1972 and 1974 reports subsequently became victims of FBI harassment. They or their friends, relatives, or employers received visits or calls from bureau agents. Two contributors lost their jobs.

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

November 13, 1961

Price 10¢

The price in suffering and blood paid by the Algerian people is gruesome. For seven years now they have been suffering mass deportations, tortures, and mass killings because of their stubborn fight for the elementary right of national independence.

On November 1, the seventh anniversary of the outbreak of their revolt, the people in French-occupied areas of Algeria once again demonstrated their desire for independence. Police and troops murdered many of the demonstrators — the actual number probably runs into many hundreds.

Several weeks earlier Algerians living in France — some 200,000 are forced by hunger and unemployment in their own country to seek work in France — protested a racist curfew which forbade them to be on the streets between twilight and dawn. Some 30,000 Algerians in Paris attempted to stage a protest march.

The French police engaged in great brutality. Official figures admit only four Algerians were killed. But many were murdered or clubbed into unconsciousness and thrown into the Seine [River]. Paris councilman Claude Bourdet speaks of 140 drowned and 50 others murdered. Sixty bodies have been found in the Seine or in parks. Over 15,000 Algerians were forced to run the gauntlet of clubs and rifle butts into improvised concentration camps.

Step-up in war on Nicaragua

Continued from front page

The large Palmerola base is already used for U.S. military training exercises, and probably will be used to train the contras even though the Honduran government, as have other Central American governments, claims it opposes contra training on its territory.

The contras, in addition, control large tracts of Honduran land, which is off limits to the Honduran people. Gregorio Selser, in an article reprinted in the October 17 issue of the *Militant*, reports, "According to public statements made by Hondurans ousted from their lands, 'Honduras may lose a vast territory of 450 square kilometers as a result of the contras' increasing invasion of the area known as New Nicaragua.'"

The Honduran government and army's cooperation with the contras' robbery of Honduran land is tied to U.S. aid. "The United States," reports *Newsweek*, "annually supplies some \$235 million in military and economic aid and in Washington the nation is known to administration critics as *la republica de alquiler*, or 'the republic for rent.'"

- Planning to build staging bases on three islands near Nicaragua.

They are El Tigre, which is only 12 miles off Nicaragua's Pacific coastline, and the Swan Islands that are 70 miles north of Nicaragua in the Caribbean.

Currently, El Tigre is the site of a secret U.S. surveillance post that eavesdrops on Nicaraguan military communications.

- The contras have announced plans to operate a clandestine radio station that will be as powerful as any AM station in the United States.

The purpose is to spread disinformation in Nicaragua and attempt to foment popular rebellion.

- Floating the idea of breaking diplomatic relations with the Sandinista government.

Such a step would coincide with mounting a blockade or undertaking other acts of war that are awkward as long as full diplomatic relations are maintained.

* * *

What limits the scope of Washington's aggression is the popular support for the Sandinista government. The workers and peasants of Nicaragua know the advances they've made since overthrowing the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship in 1979 and are prepared to fight and work harder to defend those gains.

Although the war effort takes 50 percent of Nicaragua's budget, health clinics and schools have been built in areas where they never existed before. Some 400,000 Nicaraguans were taught to read in the first year of the

revolution, and one-third of the population is involved in organized study today.

Nearly 100,000 farm families have received land since the revolution.

The contras have so little support because the people know these murderers will take away their land and their rights.

The Nicaraguan people are fighting for the right to live in peace; the right to run their own country as they see fit.

This is their crime in the eyes of the U.S. government. It is why Washington is organizing the contra war.

The other limit on Washington's war against Nicaragua is the growing opposition to it among the people of the United States. This includes a growing number of unionists and farmers. Many working people have joined antiwar protests and do not want to fight and die in Central America.

The failure of the contras to establish a permanent base inside Nicaragua makes it difficult for Washington to take even bolder military actions against Nicaragua.

In Washington's drive to crush the workers' and peasants' government of Nicaragua and bring the country back under direct U.S. domination, the policy makers have a long-term perspective. The grinding war has gone on for six years and will go on longer.

Since the CIA launched the contras in 1981, more than 31,000 Nicaraguans have been killed or wounded. (An equivalent in U.S. casualties would be over 2 million.)

As the Nicaraguan people stand firm and mobilize to defend their revolution, working people in North America need to do the same. It is not in the interests of workers and farmers here to be in a war against Nicaragua. The contra war only serves the interests of our enemies — the employers, bankers, and big landlords — who dominate economic and political policy in the United States.

Unionists, farmers, antiwar and solidarity activists, students, Black and women's rights activists, and others must join together and build an antiwar movement. It is the best aid we can give the Nicaraguan people in stopping Washington's military intervention.

On October 25 and November 1 and 2, antiwar demonstrations took place in several cities. These visible protests help point the way forward to building an antiwar movement. Such protests are essential in showing others that they are not alone in opposing the war, and in helping to convince them to take action.

In the coming weeks a number of meetings are taking place where antiwar activists and others can discuss the new stage of Washington's war against Nicaragua and what should be done next to protest it.

We should demand: U.S. hands off Nicaragua!

Defending the workers' movement from violence

BY DOUG JENNESS

Last week we published a letter from John McCartney, a longtime reader from Detroit, who took issue with our column, "Do socialists advocate violence?" (October 17 *Militant*).

In response to my statement that "history shows that no propertied class gives up its power to the exploited majority without a ferocious fight," McCartney concludes that when push comes to shove socialists really believe that "workers will defend themselves with violence."

He questions the effectiveness of the workers' movement, under circumstances where it is necessary, defend-

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

ing itself with armed force and counterposes "nonviolent action" as a tactic for all situations.

McCartney cites several examples to buttress his point.

The first is the resistance of Norwegian teachers to the five-year occupation of their country by German troops during World War II.

When the pro-Nazi regime in Norway, backed up by German troops, attempted to Nazify the school system, thousands of teachers and students refused to go along with it. Hundreds were arrested and placed in detention camps.

The great majority didn't choose this form of struggle out of pacifist convictions, but because they were confronted with a very unfavorable relationship of forces. The initial military resistance had been quickly defeated and the workers' organizations were weak and on the defensive.

Moreover, the tactics of the teachers' struggle were not the only form of resistance in Norway. The teachers were part of a broader movement that also included underground military opposition groups.

As it turned out, the resistance movements in Norway and other European countries, as significant as they were, did not defeat the occupation forces. The major factor in accomplishing that was not nonviolent action, but the armed resistance of millions of workers and peasants in the Soviet Union.

Does McCartney think that the Soviet working people could have stopped the German tanks by defying them nonviolently? That would have been a sure road to defeat.

And if they hadn't stopped them and capitalist profiteers and landlords had been restored to power in that country, that would have been a historic blow to working people in the Soviet Union and throughout the world.

Another example McCartney gives for effective non-violent action was the opposition to Ferdinand Marcos, the Philippine dictator brought down in February by massive mobilizations.

This one is a bit puzzling because the peasant-based guerrilla struggle in the countryside, which was a significant factor in destabilizing the Marcos tyranny, has been widely publicized in the United States. Faced with the landlords' private armies and the refusal of the Corazon Aquino administration to implement a land reform, the armed struggle in the rural areas is continuing.

Moreover, the propertied classes have not yet been overturned in the Philippines. When the working people accomplish this, even if done relatively peacefully, does McCartney think that the U.S. government will accept it and not try to violently reverse it, as it is doing in Nicaragua now? Should the Filipinos meet armed counterrevolution with folded arms?

There are two examples that McCartney doesn't mention that also refute his case.

One is the successful struggle of the 13 colonies against British rule more than 200 years ago. When the colonists got fed up with the abusive and discriminatory treatment under the Crown and declared their independence, the British government didn't accept this peacefully.

Does McCartney believe that independence — a most progressive achievement — would have been accomplished if the colonists had not defended it arms in hand? Would passivity have persuaded the British to let the freedom fighters be?

Similarly, in 1861, when the slaveholders rebelled against the election of Abraham Lincoln because they had lost their political domination over the federal government, should their violence have been passively accepted? Or should the Union have been defended?

Thousands of slaves had for years escaped into sections of the United States or Canada where slavery did not exist. But important as this resistance was, it did not bring down the slave system. Slavery was defeated by the Union army, which by the end of the Civil War had tens of thousands of former slaves in its ranks.

I think that the main point of my earlier column still stands. The workers' movement does not promote or seek violence, but it recognizes that the propertied classes will not give up their power without a fierce battle, and the workers must be prepared to defend themselves.

New assault on democratic rights

The flipside of Washington's mercenary war against Nicaragua is its mounting attack on democratic and political rights in the United States.

Never in U.S. history has there been a drive toward foreign war without a parallel campaign to limit and erode the rights of working people at home.

Several attacks on democratic rights can be cited from the past few weeks alone.

- In October Congress adopted the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. The new law, once signed by Reagan, will strike a further blow to the right of undocumented immigrant workers to live and work in this country free from discrimination, superexploitation, and police terror. It will result in increased harassment of all residents of foreign origin in this country, whatever their legal status.

A central provision of the law authorizes a big increase in funding for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the U.S. anti-immigration cops. The border patrol will be beefed up by 50 percent.

- On October 2 the so-called Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 became law after Congress overrode Reagan's veto. It gives the White House legal authority to embark on a broad witch-hunt against the African National Congress (ANC) and its supporters.

Any restriction on the ANC's right, particularly its right to get its views out in this country, is a direct blow to the anti-apartheid movement in the United States. It is also a blow to the freedom struggle in South Africa, since the ANC is leading the fight to overthrow the hated apartheid regime and replace it with a democratic republic based on one person, one vote.

- Attorney General Edwin Meese is the Reagan administration's point man in its sweeping attacks on democratic and political rights. Meese has been speaking out against civil rights and women's rights legislation. He has even suggested that Supreme Court decisions upholding the rights of Blacks, women, and working people in general should be disregarded!

Meese also calls for weakening laws that protect the separation of church and state.

Most recently, Meese has pounced on the issue of drug abuse to urge employers to step up their own policing actions against workers. In a recent speech before the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Meese said that management "has to take its responsibility for surveillance of . . . locker rooms, parking lots, shipping and mail room areas, and even the nearby taverns if necessary. . . ." Union militants and political activists will be the first victims of any such "drug abuse" measure.

- On the two nights before Halloween, Mayor Coleman Young of Detroit imposed a dusk-to-dawn curfew prohibiting youths under 18 years old from walking the streets without a parent or guardian.

More than 500 youths were rounded up by the cops and charged with violating the curfew.

The parents of youths under 16 years faced a 90-day jail sentence or a \$500 fine if their children violated the curfew.

- On October 30 a federal grand jury in Chicago indicted four members of the El Rukns street gang for allegedly plotting to conspire to commit terrorist acts in the United States on behalf of the Libyan government.

The only "proof" is alleged phone calls and visits to New York, where Libya maintains a mission to the United Nations, and the fact that an undercover FBI agent sold a light antitank weapon to El Rukns members on July 31.

These violations of democratic rights stem from the employing class' drive for profits, which is based on the exploitation of working people here and abroad. The rulers must seek to suppress the democratic right of the Nicaraguan people to control their own country, just as they must attack the rights of working people in the United States to organize and speak out against social injustice and inequality.

The fight against U.S. wars abroad must go hand-in-hand with the defense of democratic rights at home.

Can't hide safety cover-up from working miners

BY FRANK PAVELKO

ORANGEVILLE, Utah — The Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) and other agencies investigating the Dec. 19, 1984, Wilberg mine fire near here held a news conference on September 26. MSHA officials said the fire, which claimed 27 lives, was caused

UNION TALK

by an overheated air compressor that had been left running for two days.

The government agency accused company electricians of having "jumped" the heat sensor so it wouldn't turn the compressor off when it overheated and of bypassing the on-off switch.

These conclusions disregard the testimony of the miners who fought the fire. Most of the miners at Wilberg where I work also disagree with these conclusions.

While miners have different opinions about the specific cause of the fire, they have been saying for years that the company's dangerous safety practices made it only a matter of time before someone was killed. It is obvious to

coal miners that MSHA is just covering up for itself and the company. But while they can try to hide everything from people outside the mine, they can't hide anything from those working inside it.

Joe Main, who investigated the fire for the United Mine Workers of America, called MSHA's investigation "incomplete."

Main placed the blame for the fire on a conveyor belt that had been running for three consecutive shifts without maintenance because of the company's attempt to set a production record.

Coal was spilling off the belt and began to pile up. Main said some of the coal began rubbing against the belt itself, creating enough heat to ignite the fire.

He also attacked MSHA for not addressing the question why so many miners were unable to escape.

What specifically caused the fire is not important here. What is noteworthy is the company and the government's failure to guarantee mine safety. Before the fire, miners at Wilberg would say, "If it doesn't put coal on the belt the company is not interested."

The fire also shows what a failure MSHA is. Almost every piece of equipment it investigated at Wilberg vio-

lated federal safety standards.

Seldom mentioned is the fact that MSHA regularly grants "variances" to the federal mining laws that legalize the mine owners' lawbreaking.

Emery Mining Co., the owners of the Wilberg mine, were granted a variance to run 5th Right Section, where the fire occurred, with a return escapeway caved shut. Jim Bertuzzi's body was found by the caved-in escapeway and he would have been able to get out of the mine if it had been open as the law requires.

In 1984 before the fire, I was working in a section closed down by an inspector because of a bad roof that was likely to fall on the crew working in the area.

Within an hour and a half the company had a variance from MSHA to put the section back in production.

The company's drive to put profits ahead of people and MSHA's complicity in this drive are not flukes but part of a consistent policy. Members of the United Mine Workers of America face a real fight to defend safety and our lives.

Frank Pavelko is a member of United Mine Workers of America Local 2176 at the Wilberg-Cottonwood mine.

LETTERS

Longtime socialist

Harry Von Romer, a longtime supporter of the Socialist Workers Party, died on October 26.

In the early 1930s, Harry was an organizer for the United Auto Workers. He would recall how the General Motors plant in St. Louis would "auction" off jobs to crowds of the unemployed, as a way of driving wages down to as little as 25 cents an hour.

A number of organizing drives swept St. Louis during that period. The fight to organize the gas workers won widespread support, including help from leaders of the Teamsters' union in Minneapolis who were also members of the Communist League of America, forerunners of the SWP.

After being introduced to revolutionary politics, Harry joined the revolutionary socialist movement and remained a member of the SWP until the 1950s when the St. Louis branch was closed down because of the party's shrinking size.

Harry remained an active member of Carpenters Local 1596 and was a delegate to the St. Louis Central Labor Council.

When the SWP reopened the St. Louis branch in 1973, Harry often dropped by its office and would spend hours talking to the comrades about politics. He helped support the branch with a regular monthly contribution until his death. He will be missed by the working people of St. Louis.

Vivian Sahner
St. Louis, Missouri

Nuclear danger

The \$4.15 billion Perry Nuclear Power plant in North Perry, Ohio, only 50 miles from downtown Cleveland, is expected to begin full-power testing for start-up in less than two months. This despite opposition from antinuclear activist groups, many working people, and even the governor of Ohio.

The principal investor and operator of the plant, Cleveland Electrical Illuminating Co. (CEI), has ridden roughshod over antinuclear and citizen's groups with the help of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC).

Responding to an inquiry from the State of Ohio about evacuation plans for the area surrounding the plant, the NRC in effect told the state to "mind your own business."

Most recently CEI has succeeded in whipping up support for the plant from the electricians, pipefitters, and other craft unions involved in the plant's construc-

tion.

Full-page ads have appeared in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* featuring dozens of signatures from these unionists claiming "we built the best Perry can build."

Good construction procedures and plans aren't the real issue. The inherent danger of nuclear power and labor's stake in it are.

Having worked for four years in nuclear construction and quality assurance, I've seen that the education classes that workers must take when beginning work at a plant don't tell us that there is no safe level of radiation.

Many unions have stated their opposition to nuclear power. The United Mineworkers union correctly points out that a safe fuel for power generation exists in coal.

The power grid should be nationalized so that instead of pouring billions into nuclear power plants, the energy capitalists could be forced to open their books and to reveal to working people the real costs of operating and building power plants.

Jim Wright
Cleveland, Ohio

Racist prisons

I am a regular reader of the *Militant* and *Young Socialist*. I have furnished you with a copy of a legal document pertaining to the struggles of the prisoners against our capitalist, racist jailers, and to appeal for support in these antiracist, anti-imperialist struggles.

A court hearing has been tentatively set for November 12 in the U.S. district court in Houston to hear the claims raised by prisoners involving racial and ethnic discrimination against Chicanos and other mestizos. The hearing may be canceled, though, because of the prisonrats' delaying tactics in the case.

This prison system is a bastion of racial and ethnic discrimination against Chicanos, Blacks, and other poor prisoners. It is the South Africa of East Texas!

I am familiar with the SWP's *Transitional Program for Chicano Liberation* where the party describes as one of its tasks supporting the "developing movement of Chicano prisoners." (See *The Politics of Chicano Liberation*, edited by Olga Rodríguez, Pathfinder Press, page 55.)

A prisoner
Tennessee Colony, Texas

Japanese workers

The myth of "The happy Japanese worker" should be exposed and laid to rest once and for all. My perception of Japanese workers and their working conditions, formed during the two years I spent in Japan, is that they are

badly exploited and work under intolerable conditions.

My personal correspondence with a Japanese worker friend for the past 25 years reveals his frustrations. The realization of rising expectations are being denied him and other Japanese workers by the capitalists who manage and control the means of production.

I want to expose the inhumanity of the Japanese giant corporations not their humanity. They demand unquestioning obedience to the organization.

The so-called prosperity of a modern, industrial society is not worth the cost, with its cruel compulsion of robotlike work.

The nature of capitalism has drastically altered from Marx's era. The advent of multinational concerns, which transcend national boundaries and leap over local financing, is having a chaotic effect upon the workers of the world. Instead of workers of the world uniting, it is the multinationals.

The workers, as the multinationals, must cross borders. In this way workers establish mutual actions to overcome the power of those multinationals. We must no longer view one another as rivals for our daily bread.

Our globe has shrunk for the multinationals. The workers' minds and political actions must expand onto a world stage to be successful.

Art Salzberg
San Diego, California

Indigent prisoner

I am an indigent prisoner in and of the inevitable political struggle.

I have had the pleasure of reading your national and international enlightenments on two occasions and found them very, very informative.

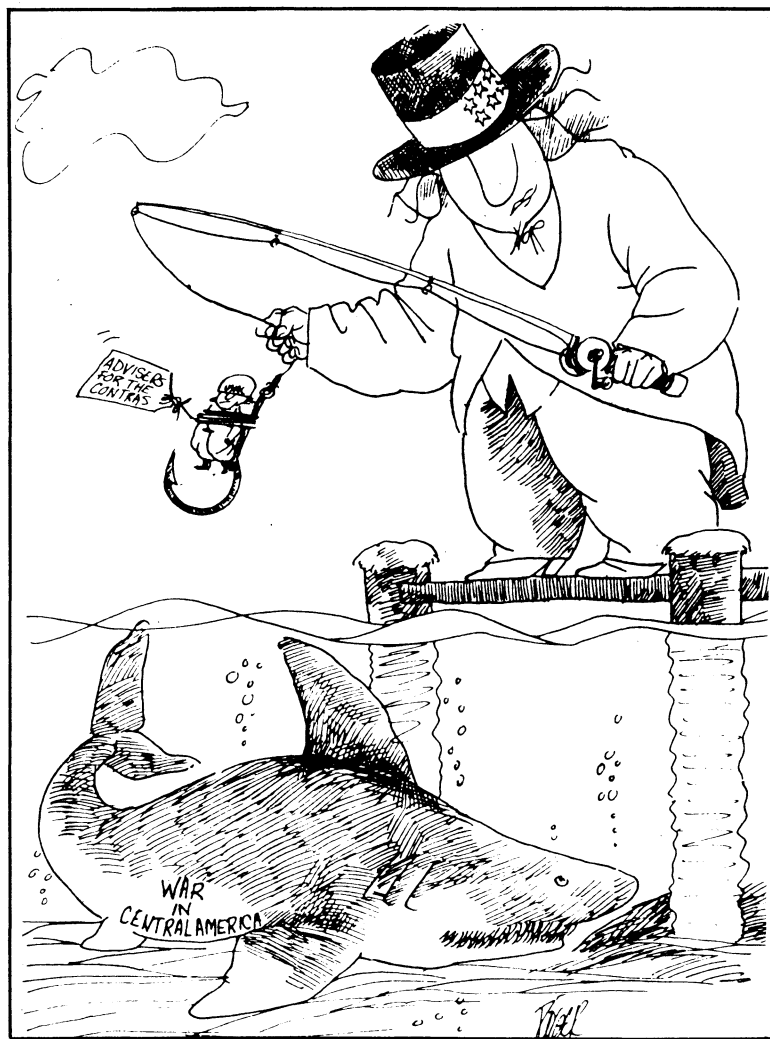
I cannot afford to purchase the *Militant*, but wonder if you and yours could assist me in receiving it.

A prisoner
Rosharon, Texas

Aid to unionists

Delegates who participated in the convention of the New Jersey Industrial Union Council (IUC) last month discussed aiding unionists locked in battle with their employers. A resolution that passed urged full support to locked out steelworkers at USX.

A speaker from the TWA flight attendants' union described Carl Icahn's campaign to force concessions on the predominantly female flight attendant work force. A motion from the floor to boycott TWA was withdrawn when International Association of Machinists members working at TWA ob-



Rogér/Barricada

jected. Individual delegates contributed almost \$600 to aid the flight attendants who have not gotten their jobs back after striking TWA. Ten local and district unions pledged another \$2,900. Many pledged matching amounts to United Steelworkers of America members locked out at USX.

The meat-packers struggle against the Hormel Co. in Austin, Minnesota, also received attention. The Officer's Report to the convention noted that the IUC had participated in the Adopt A P-9 Family program that helps Hormel meat-packers who did not get their jobs back. Under a discussion on directions for the labor movement, one delegate called for continued support to meat-packers fighting Hormel.

A letter was distributed to delegates explaining the current struggle in Austin and inviting unions to participate in ongoing activities of the New Jersey Hormel Support Group.

In an anti-apartheid action, over a hundred unionists picketed a Shell Oil service station during the lunch break of one of the sessions.

Mary Gutekanst
Jersey City, New Jersey

Star Wars

My only disagreement with your October 24 editorial, "Reagan's summitry: cover for war," is that it takes at face value the boss assertion that Star Wars is

a missile shield. It is just as likely to be a system of missile-launching satellites that pack lasers to disrupt Soviet defense communications. To settle my disagreement we would need the key to the Pentagon's most secret files. It is enough that we agree on the substance, Star Wars is an offensive thrust against the Soviet Union.

Bob Mears
Lawrence, Kansas

Needs information

Please send me a sample copy of your publication. Also, do you know where I could write to obtain some information concerning the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance? Any help you can give will be greatly appreciated.

J.B.
Lancaster, Ohio

Editor replies: Information about the SWP and YSA can be obtained by contacting any of the addresses listed in the directory on page 12.

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.

8,000 in L.A. say no to 'contra' war

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

LOS ANGELES — Some 8,000 demonstrators demanding a halt to U.S. war policies in Central America marched through downtown streets to a packed rally on the steps of city hall. It was the largest Central America demonstration to date here.

The Fall Mobilization on Central America brought together nearly 100 civil rights, trade union, religious, Central American refugee, and political groups to plan the action.

"No aid to the *contras*" and "No Vietnam War in Central America," proclaimed placards carried by hundreds of marchers. Many signs featured a photo of CIA mercenary Eugene Hasenfus being led away by young Nicaraguan soldiers.

Los Angeles is a center for immigrants from south of the border. Hundreds of refugees from El Salvador were joined by groups from Guatemala and Honduras. The Nicaraguan Cultural Center displayed a large banner.

A great many from churches and other religious organizations turned out. A special task force had built the action in these circles.

A labor contingent drew marchers from several unions. Banners announced the presence of members of the Service Employees' International Union, United Teachers of Los Angeles, United Auto Workers Local 645, United Electrical Workers, and International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. Members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union who are in the midst of a contract fight at Manny's Industries marched behind their banner.

"Boycott South Africa — Not Nicaragua," demanded a banner carried by the Free South Africa Movement.

At the rally Francisco Altschule of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador charged the Reagan administration with "using the earthquake to escalate the war effort."

Ramón Díaz of the Nicaraguan Cultural Center declared that new aid to the *contras* would not stop the revolution.

Dolores Huerta, vice-president of the United Farm Workers union, pointed out that while the U.S. government "sends dollars to Nicaragua to form labor unions to fight against Nicaragua, here the Reagan administration and the [California Gov. George] Deukmejian administration are doing everything possible to destroy unions."

Huerta also charged that an attempt is under way to "create an atmosphere through attacks on brown people to make them appear subhuman as part of preparations to attack Central America."

Huerta ended by leading the crowd in chanting "*Que viva Nicaragua!*" (Long live Nicaragua) and "*Que viva El Salvador*

libre!" (Long live free El Salvador).

Dean Flores, the first Chicano student-body president at the University of California at Los Angeles, noted that during the Vietnam War 20 percent of the casualties were Chicano, while Chicanos comprised only 5 percent of the population. Today many Chicanos are being drawn into the military through the "poverty draft," Flores said. "Why would Latinos want to fight Latinos trying to end centuries of suffering?" Flores asked.

Large and vocal contingents from several area colleges joined the march.

Vernon Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement told of recently witnessing steps now under way in Nicaragua to grant autonomy to Indians on the Atlantic Coast.

Other speakers included Los Angeles City Councilman Robert Farrel; James Lawson, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of Southern California; Charles Clements, a Vietnam veteran who served as a doctor with the rebel forces in El Salvador; and Charles Liteky, a Vietnam veteran who recently ended a fast on the steps of the Capitol in Washington.



November 1 protest in Los Angeles

Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Seattle: hundreds cheer ANC leader

BY KAREN RAY HORNER

SEATTLE — A spirited demonstration of over 500 people took place here November 2 to protest Washington's war drive and to demand justice at home. The march was part of the nationally coordinated antiwar actions that took place in over a dozen cities on October 25.

There were five contingents representing the five themes of the demonstration. The largest was the anti-intervention contingent, which was filled with banners reading, "No *contra* aid" and "Embargo South Africa, not Nicaragua."

The local coalition that organized the march and rally added several demands that addressed local issues. These included a demand to shut down the Hanford Nuclear Reservation, which is one of the sites being considered to become the nation's nuclear waste dump. As well, there was a demand calling for a no vote on Initiative 30, a referendum that seeks to end Seattle's sister city relationship with Managua, Nicaragua, and rescind its status as a sanctuary city for Guatemalan and Salvadoran refugees.

The three featured speakers at the rally were Solly Simelane of the African National Congress' United Nations mission, Guatemalan Human Rights Commission President Ronnie Honnes, and Congressman Jesse Wineberry.

Simelane spent three days in Seattle

prior to the demonstration. He had several media interviews and spoke to a forum of about 100 on November 1 sponsored by march organizers and the Seattle Coalition Against Apartheid.

At the rally, Simelane was greeted with a standing ovation and chants of "ANC! ANC!" He spoke about the current situation in South Africa and the important international solidarity the freedom struggle there is receiving.

Ronnie Honnes, who is on a national

speaking tour, told the audience that in Guatemala, in spite of the democratic facade of the current government, "the same clandestine police terror exists today that has existed for the last 30 years."

Other speakers who addressed the rally included Bill Johnson, president of United Food and Commercial Workers District 17; Harold Belmont from the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee; and Ron Stinnett of the University of Washington Students Against Apartheid.

1,000 in Boston antiwar action

BY WARREN SIMMS

BOSTON — Chanting, "Sanctions for South Africa, not Nicaragua!" and "Ronald Reagan we say no, *contra* aid has got to go!" over 1,000 protesters kicked off a march for peace, jobs, and justice on a warm and sunny November 1 here.

The themes of the day's event were: no to U.S. intervention in Central America and the Middle East; no to nuclear weapons and militarism; and no to apartheid in South Africa and racism here at home.

Student groups from MIT, Harvard, and Emmanuel College participated. Signs said, "No U.S. aid to the *contras*," "No Star Wars," and "End apartheid — Boycott Shell," among other slogans.

Prominent throughout the march were hundreds of people wearing bumper stickers attached to their clothing saying, "Vote prochoice, vote no on One," referring to an anti-abortion referendum on the November election ballot.

At the rally, Michio Kaku, a professor of nuclear physics at the City University of New York and prominent antinuclear activist, drew an enthusiastic response from the crowd when he said, "There is one thing more powerful than any hydrogen bomb — and that is the American people. This is what the Pentagon is really afraid of."

Ron Kovic, a Vietnam veteran who received a paralyzing wound in the war and who authored the book *Born On the Fourth of July*, commended the Vietnam vets who recently conducted a fast to protest U.S. war policies against Nicaragua.

Speaking on apartheid in South Africa, Ntsiki Langford, coordinator of the Southern Africa Support Committee of Massachusetts, explained that the Reagan administration was supporting an illegal system there. "If justice is denied to one, then justice is denied to all," she said.

A coalition of labor, antiwar, political, and community organizations sponsored and endorsed the protest. They included the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 26, American Friends Service Committee, Mobilization for Survival, Pledge of Resistance, Local 2321 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, CASA, Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, and Young Socialist Alliance.

Denver protest hits Washington's war

DENVER — On October 25, the day of the nationally coordinated National Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice, about 200 demonstrators marched through downtown here for a rally outside the state capitol.

Two union representatives spoke: Ernesto Vigil of the Service Employees' International Union, who is also a leader of the Organización Latinoamericana; and Mark Belkin, editor of the United Food and Commercial Workers Local 7 newspaper, the *Voice of Local 7*. Belkin urged labor and peace activists to unite for justice and called on rally participants to support the struggle of 3,000 UFCW members who are fighting to save their jobs at Safeway stores.

Lucia Aguilar-Navarro of La Alianza de la Raza spoke on U.S. intervention in Central America and Linda Mizell-Taylor of the Colorado Coalition Against Apartheid linked the struggles in South Africa and Central America.

"Vietnam is starting again in Central America," declared Steve Evans of the Colorado Concerned Veterans. What was needed, he said, was a movement of people in the streets, "the kind of movement that stopped the war in Vietnam."

Minn. high school students strike against restrictions on rights

BY STEVE ARGUE

ST. PAUL, Minn. — On October 23, some 300 students gathered on the front steps of Central High School here to demand an end to stringent security measures and a school dress code.

The first speaker read the strike demands. These included: the removal of electronic locks on the school's doors, an end to abuse by hall monitors, the abolition of the dress code, and the right to leaflet and exercise other democratic rights at school.

Each demand was met by loud applause and the demand to unlock the doors was met by chants of "cell-block C." More than a dozen other students took a turn on the bullhorn to explain why they were at the demonstration and supported the demands.

At Central, where 1,600 students attend,

a prison-like atmosphere exists. Students are locked in the building all day with poor ventilation and no place to smoke. The halls are patrolled by administrators carrying their walkie-talkies and showing a very hostile attitude towards the students.

When students were caught passing out leaflets for a speak-out on the democratic rights of high school students, they were dragged down to the principal's office and told to stop. They were told that they had to go to the superintendent of schools and get permission from him to pass out anything. The school newspaper is also censored by the administration.

Students are now organizing a petition drive around the demands of the strike and plan to present the petitions to the school administration. Students say if the demands aren't met, they'll strike again.