

Nicaraguan rally defies U.S. mercenary war

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — At a mass rally here November 8, working people of Nicaragua's largest city demonstrated their determination to defeat U.S. military aggression and displayed their confidence in the Nicaraguan revolution and its leadership, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). They also extended their solidarity to oppressed people around the world, especially those struggling to overturn the apartheid regime in South Africa.

The rally commemorated the 25th anniversary of the founding of the FSLN and the 10th anniversary of the death of FSLN founder Carlos Fonseca, killed in combat by troops of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza.

Nicaraguans had celebrated July 19, the anniversary of the 1979 overthrow of Somoza, in the northern Nicaraguan city of Estelí, to demonstrate the consolidation of support for the FSLN and the revolution among peasants.

Managua, the center of industrial production in the country, was chosen as the site for the November 8 celebration as a way to further consolidate gains the FSLN has made in the working class and among the toiling population of this area as a whole. The months leading up to November 8 were devoted to a campaign by Sandinista unions to increase factory production.

In the course of this campaign, thousands of workers joined "25th anniversary brigades." Members of these brigades put in payless overtime each week to help compensate for the effects of the U.S. mercenary war and economic blockade on industrial production here.

On November 8, more than 200,000 people turned out for the rally, a sizable mobilization given that delegations of demonstrators did not come from any other parts of the country.

The rally began with two important messages from international guests invited to the event. A total of 180 delegations came from political parties around the world — ranging from Communist to social democratic, socialist, liberal, and Christian Democratic — as well as from national liberation movements. Some prominent individuals also attended.

When each of the more than 80 countries with a delegation present was announced, the crowd gave particularly loud applause to Cuba, the Soviet Union, Libya, Vietnam, African nations, and the South West African People's Organisation and African National Congress of South Africa.

Thomas Sankara, president of the African country of Burkina Faso, spoke on behalf of all the international delegates.

Not just a struggle of Blacks

"In Africa we are directly confronting colonialism, neocolonialism, and imperialism," said Sankara.

"But the struggle against apartheid is not just the struggle of Blacks," he explained. "It is a struggle of all peoples of the whole world who want to be free and united. We Africans call for everyone's participation. Those leaders and peoples who do not participate in the struggle against apartheid are traitors."

He told the assembled Nicaraguans, "We admire your struggle. It is a just struggle because it is anti-imperialist and it is just because it is against the oppressors and assassins of the people."

The people of the world "must support Nicaragua," he explained, "because if the struggle of the Nicaraguan people is destroyed, it will create a big gap in the struggle of other peoples for liberation."



Contingent of women militia members from Managua factories at November 8 march and rally of 200,000.

"For this reason, we must fight politically and diplomatically in support of the Nicaraguan people's struggle. We must support Nicaragua economically. We must popularize the struggle of the Nicaraguan people all over the world."

U.S. veterans

Three of the four U.S. veterans who recently went on a fast to protest the U.S. war against Nicaragua were also at the rally. Speaking for all four, Brian Willson told the crowd that they had fasted to encourage the U.S. people "to escalate their public protests of our country's illegal, immoral, and irrational war against your sovereign nation" and to "feel your pain."

International solidarity, particularly with southern Africa, also received prominent

attention in a manifesto read to the crowd by Daniel Ortega, president of Nicaragua and coordinator of the executive committee of the FSLN National Directorate.

In the manifesto's section on internationalism, it called for "the eradication of the racist, apartheid regime in South Africa, the carrying out of Resolution 435 of the Security Council of the United Nations on Namibia, and a halt to actions against the Frontline States."

It urged Nicaraguans to "continue struggling with our African brothers and sisters for the freedom of Nelson Mandela and all the people of South Africa."

The manifesto, issued by the FSLN National Directorate as a whole, assessed how well the FSLN has lived up to its original

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Workers angered over GM shutdown

BY NORTON SANDLER

Anger, disbelief, and confusion were among the initial responses by auto workers to General Motors Corp.'s announcement that it is closing 11 plants in four states by 1990.

Twenty-six thousand members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) will be thrown out of work by the plant shutdowns. An additional 3,000 of GM's salaried employees will also be affected by the closings.

GM officials claim that shutting down the plants in Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri will save the company \$500 million a year.

Company officials said that the shutdown of additional assembly, engine,

See editorial on page 14.

parts, and stamping plants is under consideration and that the moves announced on November 6 were only the "first phase" of a company reorganization.

GM board Chairman Roger Smith said the shutdowns would not affect the company's auto-producing capacity "all that much" because "new and modernized plants" were being readied for production.

GM reported profits of \$4 billion last year.

UAW officials explained that they had been thoroughly briefed on the company's plans. "The early notice involved in this shows we are working on this problem together," said UAW Vice-president Donald Ephlin.

Ephlin and union President Owen Bieber blamed the import of Japanese, Korean, and Yugoslav cars for the loss of the U.S. auto jobs. They urged GM to back their legislative proposals designed to curb imports.

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Unionists sign up for rights suit

BY VIVIAN SAHNER

ST. LOUIS — The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) won wide support at the national Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) conference here Nov. 7-11. Twenty-six conference participants, including Leon Lynch, a vice-president of the United Steelworkers of America, signed up as new PRDF sponsors.

That same week, Charlie Liteky from the Veterans Fast for Life and folksinger Ronnie Gilbert also added their names to the growing list of PRDF endorsers.

Dozens of delegates at the CLUW conference stopped by the PRDF table to learn about the victory won by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in their lawsuit against illegal spying and political disruption by the FBI and other U.S. government agencies.

Though most had never heard of the case before, they were glad to find out that someone had actually taken on the question of political rights and won.

Many were anxious to talk about the harassment they experience on the job. A number pointed out that increasing surveillance was part of the bosses' program to speed up production where they work.

Several members of the Communications Workers of America described how phone company officials routinely eavesdrop on telephone operators.

A member of the United Food and Commercial Workers union explained how

grocery store management uses the automatic cashier equipment to do time studies on the workers.

A union steward in the American Federation of Government Employees union said she was now in the middle of a grievance battle with the Veterans Administration in Waco, Texas. The hospital administration installed a hidden camera in a patients' lounge. Workers and patients were filmed, and several workers were later victimized after being accused of spending work time in the lounge.

Almost everyone who stopped by the table brought up government and company use of drug tests and lie-detector tests.

As one woman put it, "They expect us to just give up our rights when we get to work. We can just get searched or get fired."

Sponsors who signed up at the CLUW convention include Kim Ramsey, vice-president, International Union of Electronic Workers Local 1002 in Seattle; Pam Prescott, vice-president, Pennsylvania CLUW and member of the Service Employees International Union; Velda Fuller, member of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District 37 in New York; Marie Loverink, member of the Austin, Minnesota, United Support Group; and United Farm Workers of America member Rosa Hernandez.

Liteky and Gilbert, like the endorsers at

the CLUW convention, were signed up as part of the PRDF's national drive to add new sponsors.

Liteky was a chaplain during the Vietnam War who won the Congressional Medal of Honor. In July he renounced the medal and participated in a fast to protest Washington's war against Nicaragua.

Gilbert was a member of a well-known folksinging group, the Weavers, in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The group was blacklisted and prevented from performing for several years during the 1950s witch-hunt.

Recently Gilbert has been performing in concert with singer Holly Near.

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Gainers strike becomes a Canada-wide issue

BY BEVERLY BERNARDO

EDMONTON, Alberta — "Our strike has become an issue for the whole labor movement not just in Alberta, but all of Canada," striking Gainers packinghouse worker Rick Chaba told the 600 assembled for the convention of the Alberta New Democratic Party here. Chaba, a member of striking Local 280P of the United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW), was introduced by Don Aitken, secretary-treasurer of the Alberta Federation of Labour and a leader of the New Democratic Party. The NDP is Canada's labor party to which unions such as the UFCW are affiliated.

The 1,080 members of UFCW Local 280P have been out on strike against the Gainers meat-packing plant here since June 1. Since before the strike began Gainers' owner Peter Pocklington has been trying to bust the union. He has received ample assistance from both the provincial and federal governments. More than 500 arrests of strikers and their supporters have been made for violations of court injunctions limiting picketing. The federal government has forced meat inspectors to cross the picket line and is now buying Gainers meat to serve at Canadian armed forces bases.

In response to these strikebreaking attempts, the UFCW launched a Canada-wide boycott of all Gainers products. Eighteen Local 280P members visited all 10 of Canada's provinces to strengthen the boycott and raise funds for the embattled union. Support from working people from one end of the country to the other has been tremendous.

Woodworkers in British Columbia, government workers in Newfoundland, potash miners in Saskatchewan, and hotel workers in Quebec have opposed outrageous concessions demands and union-busting from their bosses. They know the union movement cannot afford to allow the Gainers workers to be defeated.

But despite unprecedented support from workers across Canada, Pocklington has been able to intensify the pressure on Local 280P.

On November 3 the UFCW announced it was willing to drop its demand for wage parity with other unionized packinghouse workers in Canada. In order to reach a settlement, UFCW Local 280P would be willing to accept an \$8.19 per hour starting wage that it had overwhelmingly rejected in July.

Then on November 8 company spokesman Doug Ford announced that the scabs in the plant will be applying to the Labour Relations Board (LRB) to decertify the union. Both of these developments come on the heels of a LRB ruling on October 28 finding Gainers guilty of bargaining in bad faith because it had not informed the union of its intentions to cancel the union members' pension plan prior to the beginning of the strike on June 1.

Faced with such intransigence, the Gainers strikers need even more support from

the unions and the NDP. Chaba received a standing ovation when he addressed the NDP delegates who had earlier passed resolutions in support of the Gainers boycott and changing Alberta's repressive antilabor laws. The union's table at this November 7-9 convention helped get out materials on the strike to NDPers throughout Alberta.

In his concluding remarks to the convention Chaba promised that the ranks of

UFCW remain "willing to fight to the end."

"Times are tough" after almost six months on the picket line, he said, "but all of us will stick it out." Last week there were 912 strikers who came out for picket duty. Not one worker out of 700 at a November 3 union meeting expressed support for Pocklington's proposal to keep scabs in the plant while union members are thrown out of a job.

Chaba also said that, if necessary, the union membership was ready to go back to the type of mass picketing and demonstrations that characterized the first two weeks of the strike.

Despite injunctions and arrests, "you can't jail the strike," he said. The entire labor movement in Canada must be prepared to stand by the Gainers strikers in the crucial weeks ahead.

Auto workers angry over GM shutdowns

Continued from front page

Ephlin emphasized that many workers with high seniority could transfer to other GM plants or qualify for Guaranteed Income Stream benefits or other benefits under the provisions of the contract the union has with GM.

"While this in no way minimizes the hardship on the lower-seniority workers, we have been largely successful in our efforts to keep so many people on the hourly roll at GM well past the anticipated closing dates for their plants," he claimed.

Several workers at the Cadillac/Clark St. plant in Detroit, which is on the list to be closed, were angry over the company's broken promises to keep the plant open.

"At the last meeting they said this plant will be open until 1990. A lot of young workers have gone into debt counting on those paychecks," a worker explained.

A 25-year-old assembly worker said, "We busted our butts for our plant. All these people went out and bought a new car to help GM, went to product meetings to help GM, did everything they could to help GM, for that they get laid off."

"Most of us don't think we'll ever get our jobs back. At least they could buy our recall rights and give us \$10,000 or \$15,000," said a worker with only a few years' seniority. Another young worker said, "I doubt I can get my old job in construction back again. I'm going to end up flipping hamburgers at McDonald's for the rest of my life. I don't want to do that."

Militant reporters interviewed several Black workers at the St. Louis plant that will be shut down in the middle of next year.

Most of the workers had been at this truck assembly plant for many years and expected to be able to transfer to GM's newer plant in Wentzville, Missouri, 40 miles from St. Louis.

One worker said that transferring to Wentzville was "bound to cause animosity and hard feelings" because many workers there would be laid off as a result.

Another worker was less sure where he would be sent. He thought some workers might be forced to go to a plant in Indiana.

A man with 19 years seniority said his union representative had told him that since he did not exercise his transfer option when

the Wentzville plant first opened he had lost those rights and wasn't sure where he currently stood.

A young worker in the Wentzville plant told the Militant, "Some are concerned about the seniority people coming over and losing their jobs, others are pretty sure they are going to have a job anyway."

"The company is saying 'this is no big deal, everybody knew this was going to happen. These workers were unproductive and their jobs are being lost.'" He said this was just another attempt by the company to divide workers.

At the Doraville plant near Atlanta, the bosses put a synopsis of GM Chairman Smith's speech about the plant closings on the bulletin boards.

Management is emphasizing that this is only the first stage of the restructuring and that additional closings will be announced.

In response to the company's threats, an older worker said, "We should all strike; we have got to stop them some time."

"I was somewhat aware of what's happening, but GM woke me up. I better start thinking of another business to go into," a 30-year-old worker said.

"Those 11 plants are GM's mafia hit list!" another worker exclaimed.

Many workers wanted to know if anything could be done to stop the closing.

At the Leeds plant near Kansas City many workers' first response was a sigh of relief. For several months reports have appeared in the local media saying the company was considering shutting that plant down.

Workers at Leeds have been under attack with the company accusing them of "poor-quality work, high absenteeism, sabotage, and bad attitudes."

Using a provision of the 1984 national contract, the company has succeeded in getting local union officials to reopen negotiations on work rules at the plant. GM is trying to reduce job classifications from around 80 to two.

The announcement of the other shutdowns will be used to speed the drive for concessions.

Local and state politicians have gotten into the act promising the auto giant millions of dollars in tax breaks if it upgrades the Leeds facility.

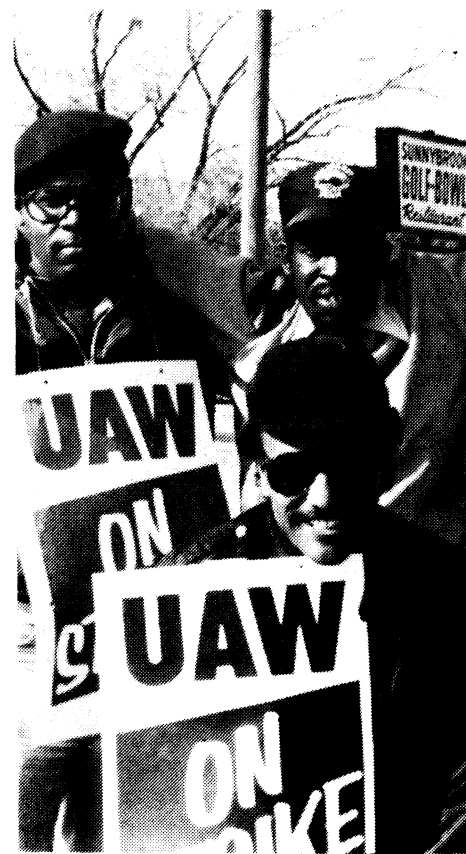
Several hundred workers at the plant

moved to Kansas City from Buffalo, New York, and Fremont, California, after GM plants there were shut earlier. Because they have gone through this before, they have a better idea what the company is up to.

"This is how it always starts," a worker from Buffalo said.

"They get you to make concessions, humiliate you, take away your dignity, and close the plant anyway. The bottom line is all they care about is making money, they don't give a damn about you and your family."

This article is based on reports from auto workers Joe Allor and Jim Garrison in St. Louis, Maceo Dixon in Atlanta, and Jeff Powers in Kansas City, and from Joanne Murphy in Detroit.



Militant/Kate Kaku

GM plant closings are most recent attack on auto workers. Above, workers at Chrysler plant near Detroit during 1985 strike against givebacks.

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Salvadoran workers fight austerity and U.S.-backed war

BY NORTON SANDLER

ROTHERHAM, England — "Right now, peace is the fundamental question for the struggle of the Salvadoran workers," said trade union leader Alfredo Represa, who demanded that the Salvadoran regime open negotiations with the guerrillas to put an end to the civil war in his country.

Represa is the representative in Europe of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers' Unions (FENASTRAS). He is a member of STECEL, the union in the hydroelectric industry. The *Militant* had the opportunity to interview Represa here while he was on tour to promote solidarity with the Salvadoran people among British trade unionists. The interview took place shortly before the devastating earthquake that shook El Salvador October 9.

During the last six years, the Salvadoran government has been waging a war against the people, Represa said. More than 60,000 have lost their lives since the beginning of this war.

Work stoppages

The scope of the Salvadoran workers' struggle has increased tremendously in the last six years. "This can be seen in all the different methods of struggle — in demonstrations, in strikes, and in work stoppages," the Salvadoran trade unionist explained.

"In the first six months of 1986, there were more than 60 work stoppages and strikes in El Salvador. This is a result of the lack of concrete response to the needs of working people after more than two years of José Napoleón Duarte's government."

Represa explained that since the beginning of this year, the economic and social situation of Salvadoran workers has worsened with the imposition of economic austerity measures. In January, the Duarte government devalued the national currency. It also announced a 50 percent increase in the price of gasoline and a 20 percent raise in public transportation fares. Meanwhile, the government has increased the military budget at the expense of social needs, Represa pointed out.

"Workers are aware that we can't take anymore, that in addition to paying for the war with our blood, we are paying for it economically," he said.

United organizations

Represa explained that the economic attacks and repression "have motivated efforts by Salvadoran workers to construct united organizations that enable us to fight both for our immediate demands and for peace."

This is how the National Union of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS) was formed in February 1986. "The UNTS is made up of guilds, trade unions, and agricultural cooperatives," Represa explained.

"It seems to me that the UNTS is very important — its struggle is framed by the fight for survival, demanding that the government repeal the economic measures imposed in January. It demands that [Duarte's] Christian Democratic government cease the repression against the workers and free the political prisoners. It demands that the government continue the dialogue and the negotiations with the FDR-FMLN [Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front] to find a negotiated solution and in this way put an end to the bloodshed suffered by our people. This is a war imposed by the Salvadoran oligarchy, financed and aided by the United States, by the government of Ronald Reagan," he said.

The FDR and FMLN are the organizations that lead the struggle of the Salvadoran people against North American domination and the pro-U.S. regime of Duarte.

Represa reported that on April 3-5 the UNTS held a "national forum for peace and for the survival of the Salvadoran people." This broad meeting demanded that the government increase wages and hold a national referendum "so that the Salvadoran people could freely demonstrate who is for peace and who is for war," Represa said.

Responding to a call by the UNTS, thousands of workers demonstrated in the streets of the capital city of San Salvador October 4. "More than 100,000 workers demonstrated, mainly demanding dialogue and negotiations between the FDR-FMLN and the Christian Democratic government and demanding that the government solve the labor conflicts in the country," said Represa.

Among the strikes that have occurred recently, Represa mentioned the strike at the CIRCA textile factory, which makes blue jeans for the U.S. company Levi-Strauss.

The union's secretary-general, Febe Elizabeth Velásquez, "was seized by government forces in July and the response by her coworkers was spontaneous," Represa said. "They expressed their solidarity with a very big march in front of the presidential palace demanding her freedom. And Duarte's answer was to surrender her to the FENASTRAS office."

"This situation was repeated when *compañero* Rodolfo Andrés Prieto, secretary-general of the union at the ANDA company, was seized. They seized him, he was 'disappeared,' and the UNTS publicly declared there would be a national work stoppage if no national security body would claim responsibility for his capture. The national police immediately took responsibility and Duarte surrendered Prieto at the presidential palace in the presence of lead-

Machinists say no to bad contract

BY SUE SKINNER

TORRANCE, Calif. — Still shouting, "No, no, no," thousands of International Association of Machinists (IAM) District 720 members poured out of a November 2 meeting here after rejecting McDonnell Douglas' contract offer. Ninety-eight percent of the several thousand machinists at the meeting voted against the contract.

McDonnell Douglas was trying to get approval for a contract with only a 3 percent wage increase the first year, 2 percent the second, and no increase the third year.

The company proposed that lower labor grades be excluded altogether from the 1987 increase. It offered a small lump-sum bonus at the end of each year.

Weekly deductions were to be instituted for medical coverage. Additional deductions of more than \$500 would be taken out of many workers' paychecks before their families would be eligible for coverage under the medical plan.

Bob McDonald, District 720 representative, explained that the company was also trying to force through hundreds of job combinations.

Many jobs were also to be upgraded without a corresponding increase in wages. This would increase the gap that already exists between workers doing the same job.

"Today it is time to be union members. With this proposal they give you a raise on Monday, layoffs on Friday, and put you in PEG [Protective Employee Group] the next Monday," McDonald said.

PEG refers to a company proposal plopped on the table a few days before the vote.

The company is trying to sell PEG as protection from layoffs. Workers could be put into PEG as a result of job combinations, new technology, or reorganization of work.

Workers at the meeting referred to PEG as the "pig pen." Once in the pen, workers could be assigned to any "job outside of the bargaining unit at the company's discretion."

This would include "work for other companies or entities."

By refusing PEG jobs, workers would forfeit their right to collect unemployment benefits. Under PEG, workers would accrue no sick time, no vacations, no wage increases, no lump-sum bonuses, and have no seniority rights.



Militant/Kipp Dawson

Salvadoran union leader Alfredo Represa (center) attended recent British Labour Party Conference to talk to unionists about struggle in his country. Left, Bob Langemeier, a fired Hormel meat-packer, who also attended conference.

ers of FENASTRAS," Represa told the *Militant*.

FENASTRAS convention

Represa reported that the FENASTRAS convention will be held November 13-15. "This will permit us to meet again with the workers of the different unions that are part of FENASTRAS, as well as give us this opportunity to assess our successes and mistakes. It also allows us to examine our tasks and our commitment to the Salvadoran workers," he said.

The convention will also include participation from international trade union delegates. This will be a good occasion to familiarize these unionists with the serious problems that confront the Salvadoran

working class, he added.

Represa pointed out that it's very important to communicate to the North American people the situation in El Salvador "because the more information they have, the more solidarity there will be."

There are material and political ways they can aid us, the Salvadoran trade unionist said. Politically, they can demand that the Reagan government get out of El Salvador and stop its economic aid to the Duarte government, because the purpose of these funds is to step up the war against his people.

"Materially, they can help us with our economic necessities. The UNTS is asking for economic aid to help the relatives of the workers who are on strike," he added.

Every union member received a 24-page synopsis of the contract put out by the IAM district. A warning after the section on the PEG program read, "Important. In no way can this union condone the creation of a classification of employees that does not enjoy all the rights and privileges of other employees."

The week before the meeting, workers in the plant and the union officials campaigned for a no vote. The retirees picketed the plant outside the gate. Most workers wore buttons distributed by the union. They also made their own signs and leaflets.

Several workers wore "union solidarity" T-shirts and buttons from the meat-packers struggle against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota.

Still wearing their buttons, members continued working under the old contract the day after the vote. Leaflets announcing the results were greeted with enthusiasm and pride. As one worker put it, "It's a pretty good Monday when we take a vote like that on Sunday."

Sue Skinner is member of IAM District 720 and works at the Torrance McDonnell Douglas plant.

Steelworkers protest union-busting

BY CLARE FRAENZL

BEAVER FALLS, Pa. — Some 3,000 steelworkers rallied outside the Babcock and Wilcox mill here November 6. They came to support the 1,200 members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1082 locked out since September 13 when their contract expired.

Babcock and Wilcox is demanding concessions amounting to \$7,000 a year from

workers in its plant here and ones in Ambridge and Koppel, Pennsylvania. The company rejected the USWA's offer to accept \$2.35 an hour cuts in wages and benefits. Over the weekend it sent letters to union members instructing them to return to work or be fired. Newspapers in the area carried prominent ads for scabs.

Steelworkers from Aliquippa, Butler, Brackenridge and Midland, steel towns ravaged by layoffs and plant closings, joined the protest, along with unionists from the building trades.

Leon Lynch, USWA vice-president, addressed the crowd from a flatbed truck. He urged the company to return to the negotiating table while pledging the USWA's determination to use every legal means to keep scabs out of the plant.

Afterwards the workers marched around the silent plant, led by volunteer fire trucks sounding sirens and a Veteran of Foreign Wars honor guard. Many discussed the 45,000-strong demonstration of construction workers that had taken place two days earlier in downtown Pittsburgh. The Pittsburgh protest was accompanied by a citywide strike that shut down construction sites in the city and forced Democratic Mayor Richard Caliguiri to agree to remove non-union laborers from federally funded construction projects in the city.

The steelworkers vowed to return November 17, the day Babcock and Wilcox plans to reopen the plant with scab labor. They expect even more workers to support them as their fight against union-busting unfolds.



Militant/Barry Sheppard

Steelworkers rally outside Babcock and Wilcox mill in Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania.

Making plant-gate sales part of subscription drive

BY MALIK MIAH

CHICAGO — I joined two other *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* salespeople early on November 3 for a plant-gate sale here before heading back to New York.

Many workers were in a hurry and barely took the leaflet we were handing out. Others gave us the cold shoulder.

But several meat-packers expressed interest, and three bought *Militants*. Of those who didn't, a

that teams generally sell in the afternoon when first-shift workers leave and second-shift workers enter the plant.

Some 600 people are employed by Oscar Mayer, and the regular afternoon team sells an average of six or more papers per sale.

The first sales team sold at the plant in the summer, when Oscar Mayer locked out its employees after they rejected a takeback contract. Salespeople later participated in an August protest rally against the lockout and sold more than a dozen papers.

The lockout ended August 29.

Maureen Coletta, the director of Chicago's subscription campaign, told me the plant-gate sale at Oscar Mayer has been consistently

organized as part of the campaign to win 350 new subscribers. But in general, she said, plant-gate sales have been few and erratic.

Overall, Chicago salespeople have accomplished many of the goals they set before the 10-week campaign began in early September. They have sold most of their subscriptions to working people, including a large number to Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican, and other Latino workers. They have surpassed their *PM* goal.

They have also organized sales in the Chicago region, including to college students.

The main weakness has been in organizing and carrying out weekly plant-gate sales. Coletta explained that this is mainly be-

cause few subscriptions are bought by workers rushing into work. There isn't generally the time, she said, for longer political discussions about what's in the papers.

While this is generally true, it underscores the importance of weekly plant-gate sales teams so that workers will know who we are. Over time, a few will buy the paper and possibly a subscription. That's how we'll build up our long-term readership, especially in plants where *Militant* and *PM* supporters are not employed.

Coletta did say, however, that salespeople here plan to step up their plant-gate sales beginning the final two weeks of the national subscription campaign.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

Our team went to the city's near North Side to sell outside the Oscar Mayer meat-packing plant. Although the sun hadn't yet risen, we quickly set up a literature table and began talking to workers as they entered the plant.

few said they would buy an issue later in the day when their shift ended. A couple said they were interested in buying a book or pamphlet.

Jan and Diane, who were selling with me, told me afterward

Puerto Rico team gets warm welcome in San Juan

BY HÉCTOR CARRIÓN AND LARRY LUKECART

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — Workers and students here are enthusiastically welcoming a traveling *Perspectiva Mundial* and *Militant* sales team. "Hi, I'm glad you're here," is a typical response.

In the first six days of sales, our four-person team sold 136 subscriptions to *PM* and the *Militant*, more than \$300 worth of Pathfinder Press literature, and 13 T-shirts.

Best sellers include *Habla Nelson Mandela*, with eight sold in only two days, *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women, Fidel and Religion*, and the pamphlets *Abortion is a Woman's Right*

and *Women and the Nicaraguan Revolution*.

[The Puerto Rico sales team is one of several on the road as the national subscription campaign goes into its last week. As of November 12, supporters of the *Militant* and *PM* have sold 9,459 subscriptions — 95 percent of our 10,000 goal.]

In our team's first plant-gate sale in San Juan, at an electrical power plant organized by UTIER (the electrical workers' union), we sold 15 single copies of *PM*. Holding up a sign that read, "No to the *contras* in Puerto Rico, read *Perspectiva Mundial*," we were met with a good response. Many workers had their money out as they passed

by other team members.

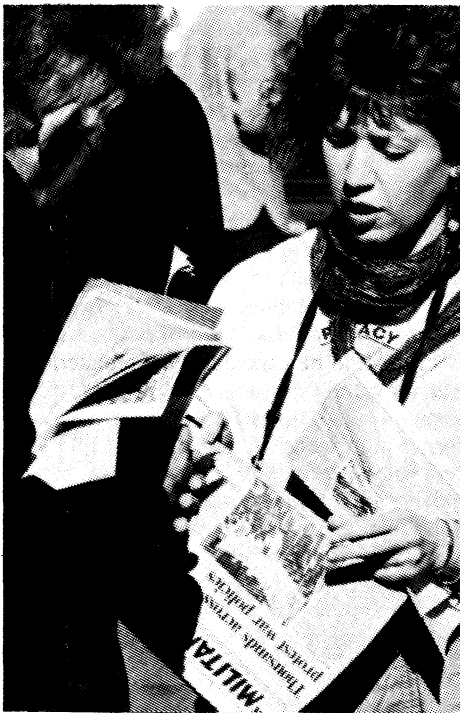
Three one-year subscriptions were bought by members of the airport workers' union and a teachers' federation.

In a meeting with the president and vice-president of the teachers' federation, the Spanish-language edition of the Pathfinder Press pamphlet *The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota*, by Fred Halstead, was very well received. The union's vice-president took extra copies to distribute among trade union leaders. In our first few days, we sold 19 pamphlets on the meat-packers' fight.

There is great interest in finding out more about the Nicaraguan and Cuban rev-

olutions and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, as well as the fight for women's rights, especially the right to abortion.

Team members are also discussing the significance of the recent court victory of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI and other U.S. government agencies for their decades of illegal spying and harassment of these organizations and their supporters.



Militant/Warren Simons

Militant sales at November 1 antiwar demonstration in Boston. As of November 12, 9,459 subscriptions had been sold nationally toward goal of 10,000.

On-the-job sales to GM workers in Atlanta

BY MALIK MIAH

ATLANTA — Supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are nearing their goal of selling 150 new subscriptions to workers and students in the Atlanta area.

I arrived late Friday night, November 7, and joined two other salespeople for a 12:30 a.m. sale at the General Motors-Doraville plant near here.

The main discussion we had with workers leaving the second shift was GM's deci-

sion to close 11 plants and terminate the jobs of 29,000 employees. While this plant isn't yet on the company's hit list, workers fear the worst.

Maceo Dixon, recent socialist candidate for U.S. Senate from Georgia who works at the plant, told me later that many workers are angry and do not trust GM's promises to keep the plant open. Management has already said the new plant closings are only the first to come.

Dixon and co-worker Jeff Rogers, even before the news of the shutdowns, have sold 28 subscriptions to other workers in the plant. Another *Militant* supporter there has sold one subscription.

Both Dixon and Rogers expect *Militant* sales to go up beginning with this issue since it provides facts on the closings, what auto workers are saying about them, and an explanation of what can be done about

them.

On-the-job sales have been a highlight of the drive in this area. Besides the 29 at GM-Doraville, another 10 subscriptions have been sold to machinists and garment workers.

Supporters of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and Pathfinder Press books came to a rally on November 9 to express solidarity with these publications and help raise funds for the \$100,000 Fall Publications Fund. Speakers included Stephanie Collins, an auto worker at the Doraville plant, and David Ndaba of the African National Congress of South Africa.

Ndaba praised Pathfinder Press for its publication of *Nelson Mandela: The Struggle Is My Life* and said of the *Militant* that "it is a necessary tool" to understand the world. In closing, he said, "It is not enough to know the truth, you must fight for the truth" too.

Hawaii team signs up new readers

BY GREG ROSENBERG

HONOLULU, Hawaii — The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* sales team didn't wait to land here to begin signing up new readers. Our first *Militant* subscriber was a high school student from Portland, Oregon, on the plane with us.

Ten minutes from the airport, our four-person team ran into an informational picket line by the Inland Boatman's Union of the Pacific, an affiliate of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). The picket was protesting nonunion workers unloading a tugboat.

The pickets were glad to see us, with one worker buying a *Militant* subscription and a copy of the pamphlet *The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota*, by Fred Halstead.

The Hawaii sales team will be spending three weeks talking to workers, farmers, GIs, and students on this island chain.

Most of our time will be spent on Oahu island, where the U.S. military maintains vast bases with more than 30,000 GIs. We plan to target sales to these working people in uniform.

We've only been here two days — one of them Sunday — but have sold eight *Militant* subscriptions, including four to students at the University of Hawaii; more than 30 single copies; and several pamphlets on the Hormel meat-packers' fight. We also signed up two new sponsors for the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Several supporters here have been a big help in suggestions on places to sell and people to talk to, as well as selling the *Militant* with us.

Fall Subscription Scoreboard

Area	Goals		Sold		% Sold
	Perspectiva		Perspectiva		
	Militant	Mundial	Militant	Mundial	
New Paltz, N. Y.	5	—	8	—	160
Columbus, Ohio	18	2	23	1	120
Charleston, W. Va.	100	0	115	3	118
San Francisco	170	80	170	94	106
Milwaukee	100	30	107	30	105
Boston	235	65	258	55	104
Los Angeles	300	200	315	190	101
New York	500	250	458	298	101
San Jose, Calif.	200	100	198	103	100
Birmingham, Ala.	150.	3	148	4	99
Pittsburgh	100	5	94	10	99
Salt Lake City	105	15	111	8	99
San Diego	100	60	95	64	99
Chicago	300	50	256	87	98
Louisville, Ky.	115	10	115	8	98
Morgantown, W. Va.	130	—	126	—	97
Capital District, N. Y.	125	10	117	13	96
Newark, N. J.	375	125	306	172	96
Toledo, Ohio	100	5	96	5	96
Houston	290	60	284	48	95
Portland, Ore.	135	15	137	6	95
Atlanta	140	10	131	8	93
Seattle	200	35	190	29	93
Twin Cities, Minn.	250	20	235	16	93
<hr/>					
Totals					
	8,500	1,500	7,546	1,913	95
to be on schedule					
			7,650	1,350	90

Area	Goals		Sold		% Sold
	Perspectiva		Perspectiva		
	Militant	Mundial	Militant	Mundial	
Miami	125	40	115	37	92
Cleveland	125	15	115	13	91
Tidewater, Va.	60	5	59	0	91
Philadelphia	175	50	173	30	90
Washington, D. C.	160	40	134	46	90
Detroit	260	30	229	28	89
Baltimore	140	5	122	6	88
Greensboro, N. C.	140	10	125	7	88
Kansas City, Mo.	160	15	141	13	88
St. Louis	235	5	193	9	84
Phoenix	100	75	73	72	83
New Orleans	90	10	77	4	81
Oakland, Calif.	200	30	133	40	75
Cincinnati	90	10	69	4	73
Des Moines, Iowa	200	0	141	1	71
Dallas	225	75	147	56	68
Price, Utah	50	5	31	1	58
Denver	135	10	75	6	56
Omaha, Neb.	125	0	58	2	48
Austin, Minn.	125	0	44	0	35
Indiana, Pa.	5	0	0	0	0
National teams	—	—	587	236	—
Other	—	—	612	50	—
<hr/>					
Totals					
	8,500	1,500	7,546	1,913	95
to be on schedule					
			7,650	1,350	90

Book on 1918-1919 German revolution draws praise

BY ROBERT DEES

"The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power offers . . . unparalleled access to the events that have made our century."

This appraisal by Prof. David Abraham reflects the enthusiastic reception this Pathfinder book, published in June, is receiving from political activists and students of the revolutionary upsurge in Germany and Russia 70 years ago. Abraham is the author of a controversial study of the rise of German fascism.

"The debates surrounding the German revolution of 1918-1919 and the establishment of Bolshevik power in Russia are amongst the most important in the history of socialism," writes Fred Halliday, professor of international relations at the London School of Economics. "This unique collection provides a wide-ranging and stimulating picture of the historic events and arguments of the period."

The German revolution of November 1918 brought World War I to an abrupt halt, toppled the kaiser's dynasty, and led to the formation of workers' and soldiers' councils across Germany. The question was posed: Should capitalist rule be re-stabilized or should it be replaced by a revolutionary government based on councils of the exploited working people?

The documents collected in this volume portray the debates over this question between the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and its allies among the Independent Social Democrats, on the one hand, and the German communists, led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, on the other.

Also included are articles on the struggle in Germany by the Bolshevik leaders V.I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, and Karl Radek.

"It should be especially appreciated that not only the communists themselves, but also other socialist tendencies are represented in the documentation, thus reflecting the whole spectrum of the labour movement quite accurately," comments Dr.

Hermann Weber from West Germany, who has written several books on German communist history.

"The selection, translation, and presentation of documents are excellent," says Professor Richard K. Debo, author of a detailed study of Soviet foreign policy in 1918. "The explanatory notes are very useful. The volume is of special value because most of the documents presented here are not readily available elsewhere."

Professor David Morgan, author of *The Socialist Left and the German Revolution*, agrees that "with this volume, we have available in English for the first time many documents essential to understanding the socialist controversies that shaped the German Revolution of 1918."

The German revolutionaries had to cope not only with the hostility of the capitalist ruling class and the Social Democratic government, but also with serious programmatic, political, and organizational weaknesses in their own ranks.

"The extracts dealing with the formation of the German Communist Party . . . show the considerable problems the . . . leaders faced," notes a one-half page review in the September 13 issue of the British weekly, *Workers' Press*.

"The section 'Towards a Worker-Peasant Alliance' shows that the German revolutionaries had carried over from their time in the SPD a formal, doctrinaire attitude on the land question."

According to Professor Stephen Bronner of Rutgers University, this is "an extremely valuable collection of documents which are crucial for understanding this neglected episode in European history as well as a set of debates which are essential for developing a new socialist and democratic alternative to the present."

The way revolutionary workers sought to achieve their democratic goals was not through parliamentary institutions in a capitalist framework but through achieving a revolutionary government based on coun-



Above, a demonstration in front of the German parliament during 1918-1919 revolution. Newly published book on German revolution is second in a series by Pathfinder Press on *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*.

cils of the toilers.

This was the path blazed one year earlier by the Bolsheviks in leading the establishment of Soviet power in Russia. The second section of this new Pathfinder book features a criticism of the Soviet republic by Karl Kautsky with a full reply by Lenin.

This volume is the second in the series *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*, which will publish the complete proceedings of the first four congresses of the Communist International and other related volumes.

Tamara Deutscher, a well-known writer on working-class history, stresses the lessons contained in the volume for today's fighters. "To have the most relevant docu-

ments of 1918-1919 in one volume is of immense help to the student of the period; but it is equally valuable to those socialists who know that there cannot be a viable vision of a future without drawing lessons from the past.

"The passionate debates which preceded the debacle of January 1919 convey the great tragedy of the ill-fated revolution with greater poignancy than a narrative of many a historian."

The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power is available for \$12.95 from Pathfinder bookstores, and can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, NY, 10014.

Fund helps publish magazine 'Militant' readers should get

BY DOUG JENNESS

Even though our drive to sign up 10,000 new subscribers is not yet over, we've begun to urge readers to renew their subscriptions.

We hope the caliber of our coverage has persuaded new readers to resubscribe. But as an added inducement, we're offering, at no added cost, a copy of any issue of *New International*.

This is not just an ordinary offer. Because of the unique qualities of *New International*, it is a very special offer.

New International is a Marxist magazine that carries articles, documents, and debates by revolutionary activists from North America, Cuba, Nicaragua, South Africa, and other countries on some of the most important strategic questions facing working people today.

Moreover, the magazine links these discussions with earlier debates to help show the political continuity in the revolutionary workers' movement.

Working-class activists who like the *Militant* but want to read some of the kinds of materials that our limited space won't allow us to print should try the *New International*.

The last issue had a particularly noteworthy article on the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. Its evaluation of the national, democratic revolution in that country and this revolution's relationship to the struggle for socialism is quite unlike any that have appeared in other publications.

The next issue of *New International* will feature several articles and documents on the theme of religion, Marxism, and the communist workers' movement.

It will also run a translation of Cuban President Fidel Castro's speech to the 1986 Communist Party congress on measures to bring more Blacks and women into the party's leadership and an article on the struggle to establish an alliance between workers and farmers in Canada.

The *New International*, like the *Militant* and the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, is able to keep publish-

ing because of funds it receives from the \$100,000 Fall Publications Fund.

Those who have been following the progress of this fund in our pages will note that this week, for the first time, we are able to report that we have reached our goal of \$100,000 pledged.

Moreover, we have made big strides in the sum collected. With a final big effort we should be able to collect the rest before our next issue appears.

Many readers have contributed or will be contributing at fund rallies organized in many cities across the country. But some have sent in money from the coupon we've been running in the paper or in response to a special mailing sent to subscribers. So far, 75 readers have mailed in \$3,100.55.

Some have sent donations along with their subscription renewals.

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 International*, 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 International* 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
"The Future Belongs to the Majority," Speech by Oliver Tambo
"Cuba's Internationalist Volunteers in Angola," Speech by Fidel Castro

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Fall Publications Fund

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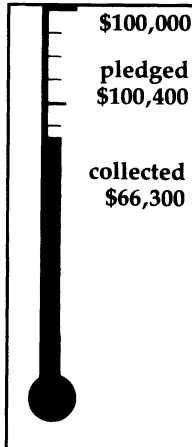
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Industrial workers salute Sandinista anniversary

"Notes from Nicaragua" is a column prepared by Cindy Jaquith, Harvey McArthur, and Ruth Nebbia of the *Militant's* bureau in Managua.

In honor of the 25th anniversary of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), some 16,000

NOTES FROM NICARAGUA

factory workers in Managua put in unpaid work time over the weekend of October 25-26.

These voluntary workdays are used to increase production. The wages the workers would normally receive are instead contributed to improvements in the workplace or to victims of the U.S.-backed mercenary war.

Victoria brewery workers were among those who held a voluntary workday. They were visited by FSLN leader Tomás Borge, who is the minister of the interior.

The Victoria brewery is state-run, and there have been conflicts between the workers and the administration in the past. Union leaders told Borge that their relations with administrators were improving.

"This is the key," said Borge, "the intimate relationship between the technical management and the knowledge of the workers, who are the most advanced and revolutionary sector in all of society."

Factory administrators, said Borge, must have "a complete identification with the workers, who in turn must become not only the full masters of production, but the masters of this country as well."

The Río San Juan region of

southern Nicaragua, also known as Special Zone III, was declared "the first territory free of landless peasants" on October 13.

A rally of thousands of peasants in San Carlos celebrated the handing out of land titles to 772 families. According to the government, these were the final remaining families in the region who had not yet received the land they asked for under Nicaragua's agrarian reform program.

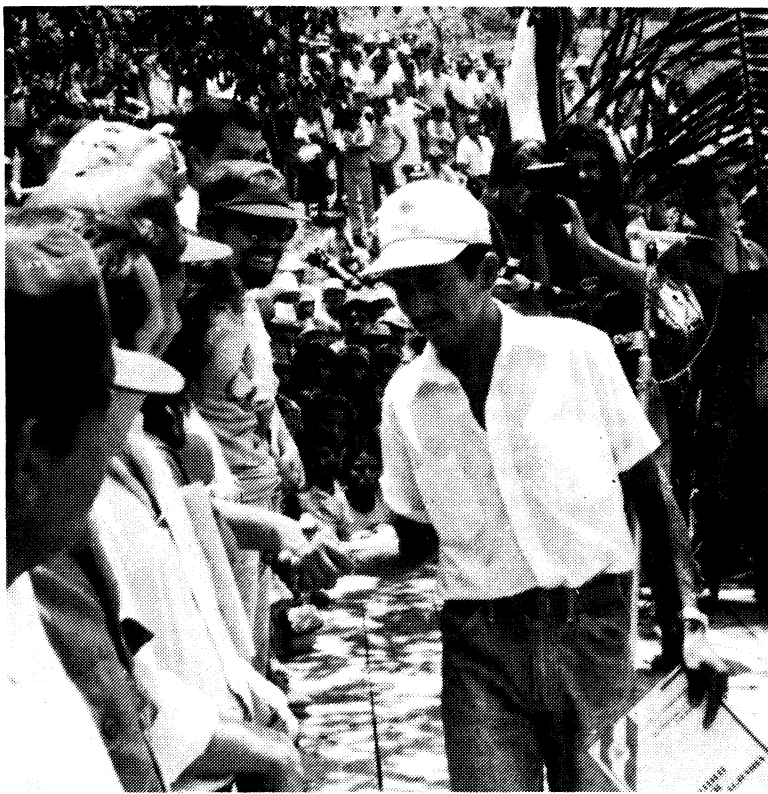
Before the 1979 Sandinista revolution, 87 percent of the land in Río San Juan belonged to big landlords and only 13 percent to small peasants. Much of the landlords' property was nationalized right after the revolution since it belonged to ousted dictator Anastasio Somoza or his closest friends.

Today, roughly 23 percent of the land in Río San Juan belongs to farm cooperatives; 17 percent to small individual producers; and 54 percent to state farms. Some 18,000 families have received title to land since 1979.

Seven percent of the farmland in Río San Juan still remains in the hands of large landlords. The government said they would be allowed to keep their property as long as they obey the law and cooperate with official production programs.

Nationally, big landlords still hold about 10 percent of the farmland. Some 60,000 peasant families in other regions of the country are currently awaiting land. More than 97,000 families nationally have already received land since the 1979 revolution.

Deputies belonging to both capitalist and ultraleft workers parties in Nicaragua's National Assembly were defeated October 28 when they attempted to gut several articles in the country's draft



Militant/Harvey McArthur
Peasant receives land title at National Day of the Peasantry rally in Matagalpa region in September. Since 1979 revolution, more than 97,000 families nationally have received land.

constitution concerning the rights of Indian and Black communities on the Atlantic Coast.

The debate was over a section of the constitution guaranteeing the preservation and promotion of the cultures and languages of the coastal peoples, as well as their traditional forms of social and economic organization, including communal land ownership.

Democratic Conservative Party leader Eduardo Molina said he thought the concept behind the articles was "separatism." Nicaraguan Socialist Party leader Domingo Sánchez proposed that special rights be granted to any Nicaraguan of Indian ancestry and

made a demagogic appeal to "Indians of the Pacific Coast."

FSLN deputies pointed out that the objective conditions, history, and problems of Atlantic Coast Indians are quite different from those on the Pacific Coast, who by and large have been assimilated into the Spanish-speaking population. The original constitutional language was adopted by a big majority.

The Sandinistas have recently exposed several cases of corruption in the Nicaraguan government and taken steps to punish those responsible.

In August, the Sandinista Police arrested five functionaries of the Ministry of Internal Commerce (MICOIN) in the town of Tipitapa. MICOIN is in charge of regulation of prices and distribution of goods. The five functionaries were charged with illegally seizing merchandise and then reselling it for their personal profit.

The police and General Accounting Office of the government are also investigating the theft of \$80,000 from the Foreign Ministry. Two employees of the ministry have been jailed, and the ministry's general administrator suspended from his job.

Within the police department itself, seven officers were arrested in September for illegally selling drivers' licenses to individuals who had lost theirs for traffic violations. The discovery of the illegal license ring was taken up by Luis Carrión, first vice-minister of the interior, in a speech on October 17.

"There are those who think these facts reflect the degeneration of the Ministry of the Interior," said Carrión. "But they're wrong. If these facts reflect anything at all, it's not degeneration, but rather the intransigence with which we track down criminals and corrupt people, even in our own midst. And the fact that we have nothing to hide from the people."

"We are carrying out a permanent battle in our ranks against abuse of power, lack of interest, and even lack of courtesy," Carrión continued.

"We have to also recognize that these vices are difficult to eradicate. But we're not giving up [our goal] that some day in the Ministry of the Interior, every last one of our members will be a solid, genuine servant of the people."

Nicaraguan people celebrate gains, discuss tasks

BY RUTH NEBBIA

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Hundreds of union leaders met here October 30 to discuss production problems in their factories. The meeting was one of many celebrating the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and the 10th anniversary of the death of FSLN founder Carlos Fonseca.

Hundreds of such meetings took place in factories, government ministries, schools, hospitals, and neighborhoods so workers could evaluate their recent work and next tasks in strengthening the revolution.

Referring to the U.S. government, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega told the October 30 gathering of unionists that "the

enemy was hoping to wear down the consciousness of the workers through economic aggression against Nicaragua, but it hasn't been able to." Ortega and FSLN leader Víctor Tirado praised the workers for more and more taking the lead in solving production problems in their factories.

In the countryside, hundreds of peasants received land titles at commemorative meetings and rallies held October 29. Nearly 20,000 acres were given out to more than 500 families throughout the region that day.

Hundreds of women from many Managua factories met at the FANATEX plant November 5. Luz Marina Vásquez, a textile worker, read a document that outlined

the progress that women have made in becoming integrated into economic production. "Today women hold positions in administration and in our unions," the document pointed out. "We are also landowners or members of agrarian cooperatives."

When more than 600 people packed into the César Augusto Silva auditorium here in Managua November 4, from the sounds of the chanting and cheering, one would have expected it to be a meeting of youth. The meeting was held to honor historic collaborators of the FSLN. The collaborators, many well into their 50s and 60s, carried out important tasks during the struggle to overthrow dictator Anastasio Somoza.

Meetings were also held in Managua

neighborhoods.

On October 29 the Sandinista Police held town meetings with community organizations to evaluate the work of the police and to discuss how to strengthen police relations with the community.

The gains made on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast were also part of the 25th anniversary celebrations. A panel discussion with FSLN leaders from the Atlantic Coast was held here on November 6.

'Cuba and Nicaragua have the same cause'

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "Cuba and Nicaragua have the same cause. Our ties are deep and long-standing and the efforts of imperialism to divide us through blackmail and threats are condemned to failure," Víctor Tirado told a November 3 rally in Havana, Cuba.

Tirado and José Ramón Machado, a member of the Political Bureau of the Cuban Communist Party, were the two speakers at the rally, organized to com-

memorate the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

Tirado is a member of the National Directorate of the FSLN and is responsible for working with the mass organizations of workers and peasants. He led the Nicaraguan delegation, which also included FSLN leaders Lucio Jiménez, general secretary of the Sandinista Workers Federation; Edgardo García, general secretary of the Rural Workers Association; Daniel Núñez, president of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers; and Flor de María Monterrey.

In his remarks to the meeting, Cuban leader Machado warned of the growing danger of direct U.S. military intervention against Nicaragua. He pointed to the close ties between Cuba and Nicaragua and stressed Fidel Castro's assessment that neither the U.S.-backed mercenaries nor a U.S. invasion can destroy the Nicaraguan revolution.

Tirado recalled how Castro and the July

26 Movement, fighting against the Batista dictatorship in Cuba in the 1950s, drew inspiration from Augusto César Sandino's fight against the U.S. occupation of Nicaragua 30 years earlier. The 1959 triumph of the Cuban revolution marked "the first socialist revolution of the continent," said Tirado. "It was the inspiration of rebellion that forged men such as Carlos Fonseca, founder of the FSLN."

"We built our own revolutionary theory," Tirado continued, "guided by Sandino's legacy. But we were also inspired by Bolívar, Morazán, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Martí, Che, and Fidel and by the lessons left by the Cuban, Soviet, and Vietnamese revolutions, the national liberation movements in Asia and Africa, and even the progressive social doctrine of different religious currents."

Tirado thanked Cuba and Fidel Castro "for the solidarity you have given us, both before and after our revolution."

"The unity between Cuba and Nicaragua is indestructible," he concluded.

Cosmetics,
Fashions,
and the
Exploitation
of
Women

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in the November issue of *Ms.*

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Labor news in the Militant

The Militant stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. It has correspondents who work in the mines, mills, and shops where the events are breaking. You won't miss any of it if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2 of this issue for subscription rates.

Mass demonstration in Nicaragua defies U.S. aggression

Continued from front page

program and also outlined immediate tasks before the nation. The first four points of the document dealt with the important questions of organizing the masses and increasing their participation in government, and with the Atlantic Coast, land reform, and women.

The manifesto pointed to the big growth since 1979 of trade unions, the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers, and neighborhood defense committees. It stressed the involvement of the working masses in town meetings with government officials, discussions of the country's draft constitution, and in assemblies to map out the autonomy project on the Atlantic Coast.

On the Atlantic Coast, where Nicaraguans who are Indian or Black live, the manifesto pointed to the economic, political, and social advances made possible by the revolution.

"Pensions for miners; building of highways, bridges, and houses; electrification; reforestation; medical attention; and bilingual education in 182 new schools are concrete actions that go along with the autonomy project of the Miskitos, Sumos, Ramas, Creoles, Garífonos, and mestizos who inhabit this zone," the manifesto explained.

"With the autonomy project on the At-

lantic Coast, we are going to take a decisive step to definitively unite the Atlantic and the Pacific into a single national unit."

On land reform, the document explained that since 1979, some 4.5 million acres has been distributed to 97,017 families, and 2.4 million acres are now state property. It pledged to continue deepening the reform.

Women's emancipation

The manifesto stressed the fact that due to the Sandinista revolution, Nicaraguan women can today participate in politics, defense, and production. They make up 42 percent of the urban work force and 35 percent of farm workers.

The manifesto also acknowledged that obstacles remain to women's full liberation. It said that "the repeal of the laws of the past that discriminated against women has advanced. But the main battle is still being waged. Progress is being made in men's consciousness so that the rights of women are fully recognized."

The FSLN's historic commitment to build a genuine people's army was also taken up in the manifesto and concretely demonstrated in a major military parade that followed the rally. Leading off the parade were dozens of veterans of the Nicaraguan army of Gen. Augusto César Sandino, who drove out the U.S. Marines five



Militant/Harvey McArthur

C-M22 rocket launcher. November 8 parade in Managua showed advances in training and professionalizing armed units of workers and peasants.

decades ago.

One part of the parade was a display of the tanks, personnel carriers, antiaircraft and radar equipment, and helicopters and small planes the Nicaraguans have. But the heart of the march was a show of the advances in organizing, training, and professionalizing armed units of the country's workers and peasants.

Army draftees and special army, navy, and air force units participated in the march. But the bulk of the military units parading were reserves and militias, com-

prised in their great majority of factory workers and peasants from cooperatives. They performed their drills with the same precise discipline as the regular troops.

Antiaircraft unit of women

There was a highly trained militia contingent made up of Managua women workers from textile factories, the health ministry, and the telephone company, as well as students. Their job is helping defend Managua. They were followed by Nicaragua's first antiaircraft unit made up entirely of women, which is also assigned to defend Managua.

Peasant militia units from several parts of the country marched, as the announcer reported the battles they had taken part in.

Thousands of reservists, made up in large part of industrial workers, marched by. They have been on an accelerated training course over recent months to prepare for possible bombing and other attacks on Nicaragua's Pacific Coast cities. In their ranks were metal workers, sugar mill workers, farm workers, and government workers.

"Can they defeat this people?" President Ortega asked the crowd. "No!" was the response.

FSLN admits hundreds of new workers

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Hundreds of workers in the Managua region were taken into membership in the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) on November 7.

According to Carlos Carrión, head of the Managua region FSLN, the party promoted a total of 705 candidate members to full membership in the Managua section of the party. In addition, a new layer of people became candidate members.

Emphasis was placed on recruiting workers. The membership ceremonies took place in public assemblies in factories, offices, and neighborhoods.

The *Militant* attended several such assemblies. Some new members said they had been candidates for as long as five years, but that the FSLN was now accelerating the pace of recruitment to full membership.

At the Cotexma textile plant, which has 260 employees, five candidate members became full members. This included José Berrios, the head of the union and the FSLN committee in the factory; the administrator of this state-run plant; and several other workers. Six workers became candidate members, making a total of 21 candidate members now in the plant. Previously there was only one full member in the plant, the head of the Sandinista Youth.

At the IMEP metal fabrication plant, the FSLN took in 15 candidate members, but no full members. The FSLN now has two full members and 22 candidate members at IMEP, whose work force is about 280. They expect to promote some candidates within three to six months.

"This is enough time to see if they are developing politically," Rodolfo Villarta told the *Militant*. He is FSLN political secretary at IMEP. "We look to see if the candidates continue to be among the best workers, maintain fraternal relations with others, and lead in increasing production and taking up problems raised by coworkers."

At the La Completa dairy plant, roughly the same size as Cotexma, four workers became full members and six more became candidate members. Previously, there were

eight candidates and one full member.

Gregorio Ramírez, political secretary at La Completa, told the *Militant* that they held an assembly to get the workers' opinions on those proposed for party membership. This, and the public rally inducting the new members, was something new, he explained.

In a neighborhood in Ciudad Sandino, a working-class suburb of Managua, the *Militant* attended a night-time meeting where 10 community activists became full FSLN

members. Political secretary José Brenes, one of the new members, explained that they too had called residents together to get their opinions on who should be in the party.

At the evening rally, Brenes told the audience of about 150 neighborhood residents that the FSLN was taking in members publicly so that the masses of working people would know precisely who is in the party and could monitor their performance and the work of the party as a whole.

LTV workers in Arkansas strike against unfair labor practices

BY LEA SHERMAN AND PAT SMITH

DALLAS — Four hundred and fifty members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 2216 have been on strike at LTV Aerospace and Defense in Camden, Arkansas, since June.

The strike is over unfair labor practices. Even though the workers voted to be represented by the UAW in October 1985, the company refused to recognize the union.

LTV continued to run the plant with its discriminatory "merit system" instead of by seniority.

The company assigned the workers jobs on an arbitrary basis. The wages workers received were also decided arbitrarily and the attendance policy was selectively enforced.

LTV pays the Camden workers about half of what they pay UAW members for similar work at the Dallas-based LTV Aerospace and Defense plant.

Strikers understand that what is involved is more than the 3 percent pay raise the company offered. They point out that a union shop would help produce an atmosphere of dignity and equality on the job. It would also strengthen the workers' ability to fight for a decent standard of living and set a powerful example for other working people in this small town.

"PATCO was a signal to the companies that it's okay to bust unions," said Leland Patterson, chairperson of the union's bargaining committee, referring to the Reagan administration's busting of the air traffic controllers' union. "Our victory," he said, "will be a signal to 6,000 workers that it's time to organize unions." There are about

6,000 unorganized aerospace and war-production workers in the Camden area.

LTV is using its clout to try to force the strikers back to work without a contract. Local cops harass strikers on and off the picket lines. Large numbers of LTV security cops and local police see that scabs get safely into the plant. The cops have closed their eyes to the many instances of scabs hitting pickets with their cars.

Though antiunion "right to work" laws limit pickets to two per gate, the union mobilizes strikers and supporters for mass pickets each Monday and Friday.

The company has accused Local 2216 of violence on the picket lines. But the strikers point out that it is they who are actually the targets of violence. For example, the home of Virginia and Mike Cathy was destroyed in a fire while both were on the picket line.

LTV pressured the Red Cross and the United Way into denying services to the strikers. Some of the workers had their utilities shut off in 112° heat last summer.

The union has set up a commodities bank where strikers can get food. They are producing a bulletin called the *Informant* that is used to educate people in the area about the importance of unions. They are also appealing to other unionists for help. Many UAW locals have responded with donations of food and money.

Lea Sherman is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1015 at the Boeing plant in Dallas. Pat Smith is a member of UAW Local 848 at the LTV Vought plant in Grand Prairie, Texas.

Join a Nicaragua work brigade



Coffee harvest brigadista

A number of work brigades to Nicaragua are being planned for the next few months: A Women's Brigade Dec. 6-20; Third World Contingent Dec. 20 to Jan. 10; a Student Contingent Jan. 3-17. Other brigades are scheduled for Jan. 10-31; Feb. 7-28, and Feb. 14 to March 7.

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Attacks on ANC challenge anti-apartheid n

Response needed to combat U.S. government smears, witch-hunting 'investig

BY ERNEST HARSCH

The past several years have seen an unprecedented burgeoning of the anti-apartheid movement in the United States.

Demonstrations, picket lines, teach-ins, and other actions have targeted the racist and repressive policies of the South African regime, as well as the complicity of the U.S. government and big business in the crime of apartheid.

This proliferation of anti-apartheid sentiment and action has been directly spurred by the upsurge in South Africa itself.

Massive upheaval

For more than two years now, millions of South Africans have been locked in a fierce struggle against one of the most oppressive regimes on earth.

Workers, students, unemployed youths, women, the land-hungry residents of the rural Bantustans, urban professionals, and others have gone into action. Although this upsurge has been based on the oppressed Black majority, it has also won the support of democratic-minded whites.

As the apartheid regime has found itself increasingly isolated, both in South Africa and worldwide, support for the African National Congress (ANC) has grown.

Despite having been outlawed for the past quarter century, the ANC is looked to for leadership by millions in South Africa. The program that the ANC advances, the Freedom Charter, is widely accepted as the best guide toward the creation of a democratic, nonracial society. The black, green, and gold colors of the ANC are regularly unfurled at demonstrations and funerals. Crowds often chant the names of prominent ANC leaders.

Seeking to preserve its rule, the regime of South African President Pieter Botha has relied on the gun, the whip, and the prison cell. Several thousand have been killed over the past two years, and this year alone

an estimated 23,000 political activists have been detained.

And yet, open defiance continues on a daily basis.

Political and moral issue

It is this defiance that has captured the attention of people across the globe. The South African struggle has been propelled forward as a political and moral issue for the entire world, bringing an outpouring of solidarity with the people of South Africa.

Much of the U.S. anti-apartheid movement's fire has been directed at Washington. The U.S. government has long been one of the apartheid regime's closest international allies. U.S. corporations — which have profited handsomely from the superexploitation of Black workers in South Africa — have also been central targets.

"Sanctions now!" "Boycott South Africa!" and "Break all ties with apartheid!" have been among the movement's central slogans.

These reflect the demands of the major anti-apartheid organizations in South Africa itself, such as the ANC, the United Democratic Front, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. Even if some Black workers lose jobs as a result, they argue that economic sanctions are vital to isolate the apartheid regime, helping advance the day of freedom.

The anti-apartheid protests in the United States have taken many different forms. On campuses across the country students have held demonstrations, vigils, sit-ins, and pickets to demand that their universities divest funds from corporations doing business in South Africa. So far, some 120 colleges and universities have divested, in whole or in part.

Trade unionists have participated in anti-apartheid coalitions and have organized direct solidarity with South African unions.

Numerous demonstrations have been held at the initiative of local coalitions, as well as in response to calls for nationally coordinated actions. On June 14 of this year more than 100,000 rallied in New York City. On October 10 and 11 thousands turned out for coordinated demonstrations in at least a dozen cities and on more than 50 campuses.

As the anti-apartheid movement has grown, so has interest in the ANC. While several years ago the positions of the ANC were not well known in the United States, today it is rare for a major anti-apartheid demonstration not to have an ANC speaker on the platform. Slogans in support of the ANC are frequently heard.

The ANC's ability to become more directly involved in such anti-apartheid protests is an important gain for the movement. Because of the leadership role that it plays within South Africa, the ANC wields tremendous political authority. It can help educate the U.S. people about the struggle in South Africa and draw new forces into the anti-apartheid movement.

Policy debate

Under the impact of the U.S. anti-apartheid movement and the struggle within South Africa, the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement" — involving close economic, political, and other ties with Pretoria — has now become widely discredited. The political price that the U.S. rulers must pay for maintaining an open alliance with the apartheid regime has grown.

This has prompted a debate among policymakers in Washington. How can the U.S. rulers' interests in southern Africa be best preserved? Should some concessions be made to the widespread demand for sanctions? And if so, to what extent?

This debate was reflected in the discussions in Congress that preceded the adoption of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, which became law on October 2 when both houses of Congress overrode President Reagan's veto of the bill. The final text was a product of wrangling and horse trading.

Although enacted under the pressure of

the anti-apartheid movement, the sanctions provisions included in the act do not come close to fulfilling the popular demand for an end to all ties with apartheid.

In fact, some congressional supporters of the act indicated that their main reason for backing it was to hold the line against demands for much stiffer sanctions. These limited measures, they hope, will take the steam out of the fight to halt all cooperation with Washington's most reliable ally on the African continent.

Limited sanctions

Some of the sanctions enumerated in the act had already been on the statute books, such as a ban on the sale of military equipment to Pretoria. Others were new, including a prohibition on most new U.S. investments in South Africa and on imports of South African steel, iron, uranium, coal, and textiles.

These trade restrictions will affect some \$350 million dollars worth of South African exports to the United States, which average about \$2 billion a year. The prohibition on new U.S. investments will have little immediate economic impact; few U.S. corporations are now making such investments, given South Africa's political uncertainties and the declining profit rate available there.

The recent "divestment" moves announced by several U.S. corporations are also less sweeping than might appear at first glance. Although both General Motors and International Business Machines, for example, are selling off their South African holdings, they are nevertheless maintaining significant sales franchises there.

"These companies are not withdrawing from South Africa," declared Duncan Innes, a prominent anti-apartheid figure who teaches at the University of the Witwatersrand. "They are simply changing the form of their involvement in this country."

Gunsights on the ANC

Alongside these alterations in the forms of U.S. economic collaboration with apartheid, Washington is mounting a new offensive against the anti-apartheid struggle, in particular against the ANC.

For years, the CIA and other U.S. intelligence agencies have worked closely with their South African counterparts.

Some details of this collaboration were leaked to the *New York Times* in July. The newspaper reported that the U.S. National Security Agency had provided information on the movements of ANC leaders to the South African Directorate of Military Intelligence, and had eavesdropped on ANC communications.

Such information is invaluable to Pretoria, which has carried out assassinations, bombings, and other attacks against ANC leaders and South African refugees based in neighboring African countries.

Such U.S.-South Africa intelligence collaboration was formally prohibited by a

1977 White House regulation. But the ban was routinely ignored.

Now, the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act gives official sanction to what had previously been done illegally. In a section of the act prohibiting any direct or indirect U.S. cooperation with the South African armed forces, Congress inserted a crucial exception — "activities which are reasonably designed to facilitate the collection of necessary intelligence."

The assassinations and other attacks on the ANC show how such "necessary intelligence" is used.

At times, CIA and FBI spying has also been directed against the anti-apartheid movement in the United States. For example, a report in the Sept. 7, 1980, *London Observer*, citing intelligence officials, revealed that the CIA had passed on information about U.S. anti-apartheid activists to the South African authorities.

'Foreign agents'?

Another section of the new act also seeks to disrupt the anti-apartheid movement by calling for greater restrictions on the ANC's ability to get out its views in this country.

Within 180 days of its adoption, the act states, the attorney general must submit to Congress a report on "actual and alleged violations of the Foreign Agents Registration Act" by "members or representatives of the African National Congress," as well as of other southern African groups and governments.

The Foreign Agents Registration Act requires any group or individual deemed to be an "agent of a foreign principal" to provide the U.S. government with financial records, names, and copies of "political propaganda" distributed in the United States. Such information can then be used by the FBI or other police agencies to intimidate, harass, and disrupt a group's activities.

By seeking to apply this act to the ANC, which is not now registered as a "foreign agent," the White House and Congress are aiming to place obstacles between the ANC and the rest of the anti-apartheid movement. They want to make it harder for the U.S. people to hear directly what the ANC stands for.

Smears and slanders

Accompanying these moves has been a concerted propaganda campaign designed to paint the ANC as a "terrorist," "communist-dominated" organization. Its aim is to obstruct the growing movement toward recognition and support for the ANC, create conflicts and divisions within the ANC and among its supporters, and weaken the U.S. anti-apartheid movement.

The tone for this campaign has been set by Pretoria and the White House.

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Protesters in Cape Town carry demand from Freedom Charter and portrait of jailed

ovement

tions'

In June the South African government published a booklet entitled *Talking to the ANC*, which distorted ANC speeches and documents and made unfounded allegations that the ANC supported terrorism. It claimed that the ANC's leadership is dominated by members of the South African Communist Party (SACP).

The next month, on July 22, President Reagan gave a speech incorporating some of these same allegations. He accused the ANC of engaging in "calculated terror." He also sought to justify Pretoria's repression, stating that the South African government "has a right and responsibility to maintain order in the face of terrorists."

To millions of South Africans, however, the ANC is not a terrorist organization. Rather, it is fighting against terrorism, the day-to-day terrorist methods of rule employed by the apartheid regime. Its combatants are widely recognized as freedom fighters.

Slanders and smears against the ANC have appeared in numerous big-business publications. The October 9 *New York Times*, for example, ran an opinion article by Boston University President John Silber accusing the ANC of seeking to impose a "Soviet-style dictatorship." The September-October issue of the London magazine *Encounter* featured a piece by Sir Woodrow Wyatt, who claimed, "A Stalinoid communism is the dominant ideology of the ANC."

Call for witch-hunt

Similar accusations are scattered throughout the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. In a typical red-baiting fashion, the act declares "that some of the organizations fighting apartheid have become infiltrated by Communists and that Communists serve on the governing boards of such organizations." It calls on the ANC to "reexamine" its ties with the SACP.

The act mandates Reagan, in collaboration with the CIA and other intelligence agencies, to prepare a report within 90 days on "the extent to which Communists have infiltrated the many black and nonwhite South African organizations engaged in the fight against the apartheid system."

The ANC has never hidden its alliance with the SACP or its acceptance of support from the government of the Soviet Union. It has continually defended its right to receive aid from wherever it can, as well as the SACP's right to be part of the broad struggle against the apartheid regime. (See accompanying document.)

I like the "terrorism" smears, the red-baiting attacks on the ANC seek to sow divisions within the anti-apartheid struggle. Pretoria and its allies hope to split the ANC itself, or to prepare the way for the promotion of other "anti-apartheid" groups and individuals that they find more acceptable.

The White House and Congress claim that they are seeking a supposedly peace-



ANC contingent in lead of June 14 anti-apartheid march in New York City. ANC is winning wider hearing among activists. Militant/Ernest Harsch

ful, "noncommunist" alternative to apartheid.

But this is a scam. The apartheid regime will not be driven from power without a revolutionary struggle. And it is because of the ANC's leadership role in that struggle that it has come under such vicious attack. The efforts to isolate or destroy the ANC are aimed at beheading the freedom struggle and politically disorienting opponents of apartheid around the world.

Defense of ANC crucial

This political assault against the ANC is an acid test for anti-apartheid activists. It is incumbent on all those who seek to build a strong movement to condemn these attacks and defend the ANC.

They should answer the many slanders

and lies about the ANC and about the character of the struggle in South Africa. They should champion the ANC's right to be heard.

And they should demand that Congress immediately abrogate all the witch-hunting provisions of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act and bar any cooperation with the political police of the apartheid regime.

Failure to do this will only weaken the fight against U.S. collaboration with apartheid. The attacks on the ANC are in reality directed at the entire anti-apartheid struggle and defense of the ANC is inseparable from advancing the movement.

The ANC's continued ability to address the U.S. people and to expose Washing-

ton's role in South Africa is invaluable in helping to win new people to take action. If the restrictions on the ANC are allowed to go into effect and if the slanders and smears are not answered, this would be seriously jeopardized.

Moreover, if the red-baiting attacks against the ANC are successful, other activists in the anti-apartheid movement may find themselves the next targets of the smear campaign.

These attacks cannot be allowed to pass in silence. Countering them is a necessary part of building a powerful movement oriented toward mobilizing as many forces as possible into action. Only such a movement can wage an effective fight to force the U.S. government, corporations, and other institutions to break all ties with apartheid.

ANC answers red-baiting charges

The following is an excerpt from a message by the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress (ANC), read to a July 30 meeting in London held to commemorate the 65th anniversary of the founding of the South African Communist Party (SACP).

The struggle inside and outside South Africa to destroy this [apartheid] system has drawn into action literally hundreds of millions of people of all races and nationalities, of different classes, and peoples of various ages and ideological, political, and religious persuasions. The African National Congress is proud of the contribution it has made to the achievement of this truly remarkable united front against racism and apartheid, both at home and abroad.

As did its Nazi progenitor, the Pretoria regime, supported and echoed by its allies, relies on the use of anti-communism as its principal ideological weapon. The focus of attack of those who seek to keep us in servitude is today centered on the role and position of the SACP in the South African struggle, the extent and depth of the influence of communists within the ANC — to the point of questioning the independence of the African National Congress, the veracity of our own leadership, and the honesty of our publicly-declared intentions, policy, and program.

This counteroffensive has gone so far that detailed studies are published which purport to identify the ideological positions of each one of the members of our National Executive Committee. Each one of us, members of the leadership of the ANC, find ourselves confronted insistently and with great persistence with the task of having to explain whether we are or are not

members of the Communist Party.

Many a South African democrat was faced with the question as the decade of the '50s began. In terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, people were asked to pronounce themselves as opponents of communism or face the consequences of being banned and prohibited from being quoted by the mass media. It was surely no accident, and is instructive in terms of what is happening today, that these developments in South Africa occurred when McCarthyism in the United States, and the Cold War globally, had reached great heights — all of them fueled by an hysterical and maniacal anti-communism.

As the Suppression of Communism Act was passed in 1950, the memory of Nazi tyranny was still fresh in the minds of our people. When they were asked to purchase a circumscribed freedom by denouncing communism, all true South African democrats refused. They refused because they remembered that the denunciation, persecution, and murder of communists would be but a prelude to the suppression of our entire democratic movement. Today we have once again returned to that position.

There are members of our National Executive Committee who have been singled out for assassination. According to the plans of the enemy, it will be said that these have been killed by anti-communist nationalists within the ranks of our movement.

The hope that the forces of reaction entertain is that if they can sell this story, they can then persuade the bulk of humanity to accept as legitimate an intensified campaign of terror directed against the national liberation movement of our country.

The most recent statement by the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan

[attacking the ANC in a July 22 speech], serves exactly as encouragement to the Botha regime to go all out to try to smash the African National Congress. As we know, the U.S. special services and those of Britain and of other imperialist countries, including Zionist Israel, are supplying the Pretoria regime with the information it needs in order to carry out well-planned and precise murder operations.

With this scenario as a background, the Botha regime is offering an "olive branch" to those within the ranks of the African National Congress it characterizes as moderate nationalists, asking them to return to South Africa to participate in the constitutional, evolutionary process aimed at the solution to the South African problem on its own terms.

Needless to repeat here that these reactionary and divisive maneuvers will not succeed. The African National Congress is solidly united, as was graphically demonstrated by the Second National Consultative Conference held last year in Zambia. It shall not at any time be persuaded to forgo its alliance with the South African Communist Party, as the history of our struggle has unmistakably demonstrated that it is the unbreakable unity of all the democratic and progressive forces that will successfully mobilize and rally all sections of the oppressed masses of our people to speedily destroy the hated apartheid system.

Faced as we are by a common enemy, so shall we also continue to maintain our relations with the SACP and all other formations that genuinely strive for an end to the apartheid system and the victory of the struggle for a united, democratic, and non-racial South Africa. To take any other position would be to condemn to failure the very struggle which the ANC is waging for the realization of these objectives.



ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Boston: 'Mandela' city proposal defeated

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — A proposal to incorporate Boston legislative precincts that are 74 percent Black and 10 percent Latino into a new Massachusetts city called Mandela was voted down here November 4.

The vote was 12,349 in favor and 33,609 against. In the largest Black ward in the city, the vote ran 73 percent in opposition to the proposal. In the ward with the largest Latino population, the vote was 76 percent against.

The initiative was voted on in the legislative precincts that would make up the new city and in predominantly white precincts that border on them. It was nonbinding — a poll of voter opinion rather than a decision-making vote.

The referendum was placed on the ballot after organizers from the Greater Roxbury Incorporation Project (GRIP) submitted more than 5,000 signatures on petitions.

Supporters of the proposal included GRIP leader Andrew Jones, a media consultant and television producer; Democratic politician Mel King; members of the Nation of Islam; and others.

Widely attacked

The campaign for a new city came under heavy attack. City officials denounced it as "racially divisive." The daily *Boston Globe* ran an editorial opposing the proposal under the headline "Keep Boston Whole."

As election day neared, Mayor Raymond Flynn sent 350 campaign workers into the area to drum up votes against the incorporation initiative, which was on the ballot as Question 9.

The *New York Times* devoted an editorial to opposing the proposed new city.

Many prominent Blacks were also opposed. Bruce Bolling, Boston's first city council president who is Black and a former supporter of the idea, called for a "no" vote. Prominent ministers from the Black community formed the "Campaign for One Boston" to oppose Proposition 9.

Many who voted for the Mandela city proposal were seeking a way to protest attacks on schools and other social services and to protest against police brutality, unemployment, and other injustices.

But the vote on the initiative was not a fight for the self-determination of the Black and Latino communities, which would involve massive mobilizations of Blacks and Latinos and their allies against the rulers. Nor was it an antiracist battle like the fight in the mid-1970s to desegregate the schools through busing.

Proponents of the referendum pointed out that the Black and Latino communities were getting a raw deal in the provision of social services. But at no point in the campaign did GRIP or other supporters of incorporation seek to mobilize the Black and Latino communities and other working people to struggle against these attacks.

Whose Boston?

The opponents of Question 9 had no answers for the problems Blacks, Latinos, and other working people confront either. They prettied up the status quo, echoing the *Boston Globe's* false claim that Boston "belongs to every citizen." Boston is owned and controlled by a handful of super-wealthy families who use their power to increase their profits at the expense of working people.

GRIP claimed that by incorporating as a new city, residents of Mandela would "acquire the tools necessary to solve our social, political, and economic problems." These tools include the legal authority to "levy fees and taxes, manage expenditures, assemble police, fire, sanitation, health and education facilities."

Economic issues

Majority Black cities with administrations headed by Blacks have similar legal authority. But they have seen no reduction in unemployment, and no halt to cutbacks in schools, hospitals, and other vital social needs. The big capitalist families control these cities as tightly as they control Boston.

When city treasurer George Russell put together figures showing that Mandela would have a \$135-million deficit, to prove that it would not be economically viable, GRIP organizers countered with their own budget. They appealed to Gov. Michael Dukakis to appoint a special panel to "objectively examine the structural feasibility of municipal incorporation." Dukakis declined.

GRIP, however, did not point to the way that social services could be funded — taxing the big corporations and cutting the gigantic weapons budget.

East Palo Alto

Instead, they brought in figures like Mayor Barbara Mouton and Police Chief Dan Nelson of East Palo Alto, California. East Palo Alto is a predominantly Black community that incorporated itself separately from Palo Alto some years ago. At an October 29 meeting sponsored by

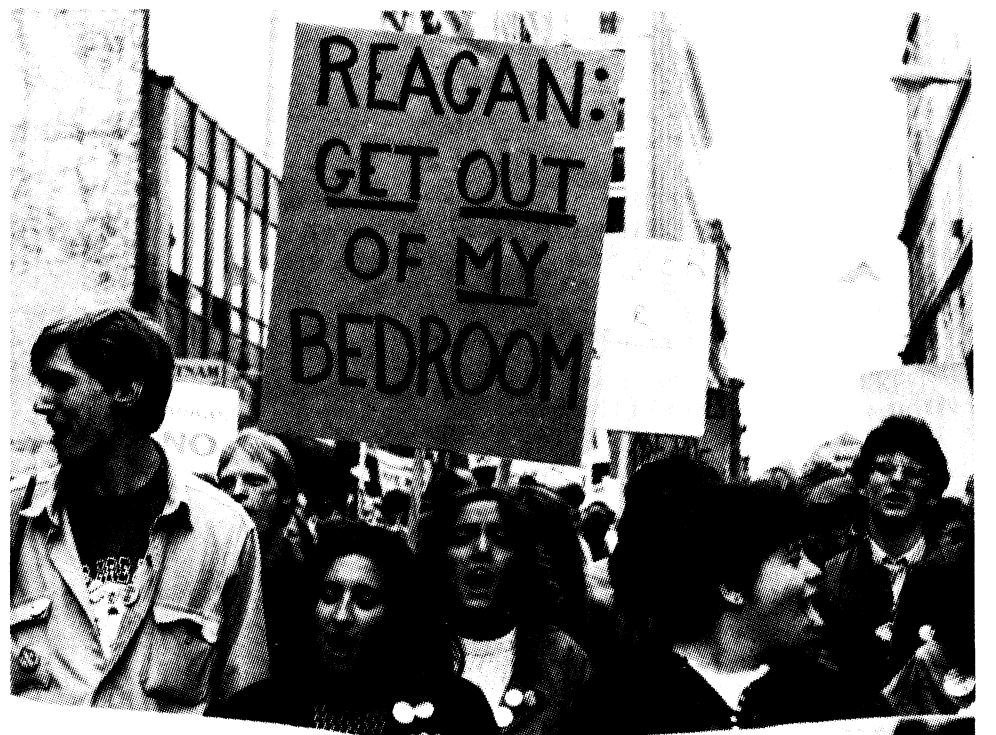
GRIP, Mouton and Nelson boasted that East Palo Alto now had twice as many cops on the street as before incorporation — pointing to this as an example for the city of Mandela.

The ballot proposition was initiated by middle-class Blacks in the Democratic Party who hoped to get a few more concessions.

sions.

The Democratic politicians, Black and white, who disagreed over how to vote on "Mandela" agreed that appealing to officeholders, politicking in the Republican and Democratic parties, and supporting the capitalist profit system are the ways to get things done.

Main political issues avoided in '86 elections



Militant

October 18 abortion rights march in Boston protested antiabortion ballot proposal, which was defeated by 58 percent of voters.

BY FRED FELDMAN

Only 37.3 percent of those eligible to vote went to the polls November 4 — the lowest since 1942 and the third-lowest recorded in U.S. history. This estimate was made by the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate. The 1986 turnout is part of a downward trend in voter turnout that began in 1962, committee director Curtis Gans told the *New York Times*.

The committee, according to the November 8 *Times*, attributed the latest results to "growing disenchantment with American politics and the 'demagogic and distorted political advertising' by the major candidates.

The Republican and Democratic candidates generally avoided discussing the main political issues, even ones that have been debated in Congress, such as the U.S.-financed mercenary war in Nicaragua and farm policy.

The mood among many working people was pretty well summed up by Sharm Smith, a barber in an Iowa farming district. He told a St. Louis *Post Dispatch* reporter that his customers "think whoever is in is going to be bad."

The Democratic Party gained control of the U.S. Senate. Whereas previously there were 53 Republicans and 47 Democrats there will now be 55 Democrats and 45 Republicans.

The Democrats also gained five seats in the House of Representatives, which they already controlled.

Republicans were elected governors in several states where Democrats had held office.

Newspaper, radio, and television commentators are speculating about possible big changes now that Democrats have a Senate majority and will choose the heads of Senate committees.

But all the antilabor legislation adopted by the last Congress was done with big bipartisan support. All got backing from both Democrats and Republicans and had to be adopted by both the Democrat-controlled House and the Republican-controlled Senate.

Examples were the immigration legislation signed into law by President Ronald Reagan on November 6, which further institutionalizes discrimination and repres-

sive measures against undocumented immigrants; military aid to the U.S.-organized *contra* terrorists attacking Nicaragua; the new tax law, which included massive giveaways to the rich; and the 1985 farm bill, which has facilitated, rather than slowed down, the eviction of working farmers from their land.

A number of proposals were submitted to statewide referendums as part of the November 4 balloting. Following are results of some of the most important ones.

- 71 percent of California voters said "no" to Proposition 64, a measure that sought to impose compulsory testing for AIDS on many workers and to fire or even quarantine those having the disease or suspected of carrying the virus.

- In another California referendum, 73 percent of those voting endorsed a proposal to make English the official language of the state. This reactionary measure was backed by a group opposed to providing bilingual ballots and bilingual education.

- In Massachusetts, nearly 70 percent of voters rejected a proposal to provide government funds to church schools. Adoption of this measure would have been a blow to the separation of church and state.

- 58 percent of Massachusetts voters also rejected a proposal to bar government funding of abortions. Similar measures aimed at restricting women's right to abortion were rejected in Rhode Island and Oregon. Another appears to have been narrowly defeated in Arkansas.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish?

Int'l book fair in Cuba

The Third International Havana Book Fair drew publishers from 45 countries and eight international organizations to the Cuban capital. One thousand publishing houses were represented.

Fifteen nations from Central and South America and the Caribbean showed exhibits. Australia, all of Eastern Europe, China, North Korea, and Angola were represented among others. Namibian and Palestinian activists had booths about their liberation struggles.

The current issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* includes coverage on the fair's most celebrated publications and displays, as well as the participation, for the first time, of a delegation of publishers from the United States.

This issue also contains an article on the current austerity drive against the people of Columbia.

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Black Palestinian, victim of Israeli 'Iron Fist,' fights back

BY BARRY SHEPPARD

JERUSALEM — On October 15 two grenades were thrown into a crowd of Israeli soldiers and their families, killing one and injuring 69. In the hours that followed, Israeli police and border guards indiscriminately rounded up Palestinians in the area.

Some of the detainees were released after a few hours, but about 20 were held in custody. One of these, Ali Jeda, told his story at a press conference on October 27 organized by the Committee Confronting the Iron Fist. Jeda is a member of the committee, which is composed of both Israelis and Palestinians and which has organized various protests against the Israeli government's "Iron Fist" policy of repression of Palestinians in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza.

Jeda was walking to his home in the walled Old City of Jerusalem at about 10:30 p.m. on October 15 when a unit of the border patrol, known for its terrorization of Palestinians, picked up Jeda and two of his cousins who were in the vicinity.

They were first taken to the square in front of the Wailing Wall, where the attack against the Israeli soldiers had taken place. Jeda was kicked in the stomach and cursed

in Arabic by one of the border guards, and then all three were beaten.

They were then taken to a police compound and lined up facing a wall together with other detainees, some as young as 12.

They were all beaten on the back with clubs and kicked in the testicles from behind. One border guard practiced karate blows on the prisoners.

A member of Shin Bet, one of the political police agencies, then appeared, who recognized Jeda as a former political prisoner released in an Israeli-Palestinian prisoner exchange in 1985. He shouted that Jeda was a "terrorist," and the border guards, joined by two Shin Bet officers, fell upon him, hitting and kicking him.

One of the secret policemen stuck his fingers into Jeda's eyes, shouting, "Do you want me to gouge your eyes out?"

After about five minutes of this, Jeda feared they would kill him. He broke free for a moment and struck his head against the window of a parked car in the compound.

A cop shouted, "The son of a bitch is trying to commit suicide!" and they stopped the gang attack.

Then all the detainees were once again

forced to line up facing the wall with their legs spread. A border guard said, "Now we will play the 'game of death.'"

This "game" consisted of one guard walking up and down behind the prisoners with a billy club, striking blows to "number three," "number six," etc., as these were called out by the other officers.

Interrogated

They were then interrogated. Jeda was questioned by a Shin Bet officer who told him he "deserved a bullet in the head." His interrogation proceeded the next day, although it was clear he was not under suspicion for the grenade attack or anything else. On October 17 Jeda and 12 others were released.

While Jeda was being held, his lawyer, Lea Tsemel, repeatedly tried to find the whereabouts of her client, but was told he wasn't being held.

Following Jeda's release, Tsemel made a formal complaint to the authorities. A weekly newspaper, *Kol Ha'ir*, printed a story about the complaint, which appeared in its October 24 issue.

That same day, as Jeda came out of a restaurant, three Shin Bet officers, including the two who had joined in beating him the week before, jumped him.

During the beating, the secret police shouted that they were not afraid of his complaint. "We make the law here, and our policy is to get you people one by one. Look, here we are smashing you in broad daylight, and no one dares to intervene. If anyone testifies against us, we'll smash them, too. And we are going to get Munir Manar [the *Kol Ha'ir* journalist who wrote about Jeda's complaint] and tear him to pieces."

They also suggested that he should get out of Israel and flee to Jordan. Responding to this at the press conference, Jeda stated that he "was born in Jerusalem, this is my homeland, I will stay here, and I will die here."

Tsemel filed another complaint against the police, and Jeda intends to pursue the matter legally, as well as through appealing for support publicly.

Following the press conference, Jeda took me on a tour of the walled Old City. Everywhere, Palestinians young and old greeted him with respect and support. Shopkeepers wouldn't let us pay for coffee and falafel (a kind of sandwich which is a Palestinian national dish) or other things he sought to buy.

Parents came from Chad

Jeda showed me his home in the African sector of the Old City, where about 90 Black families live. His parents had come to Palestine from Chad and settled here.

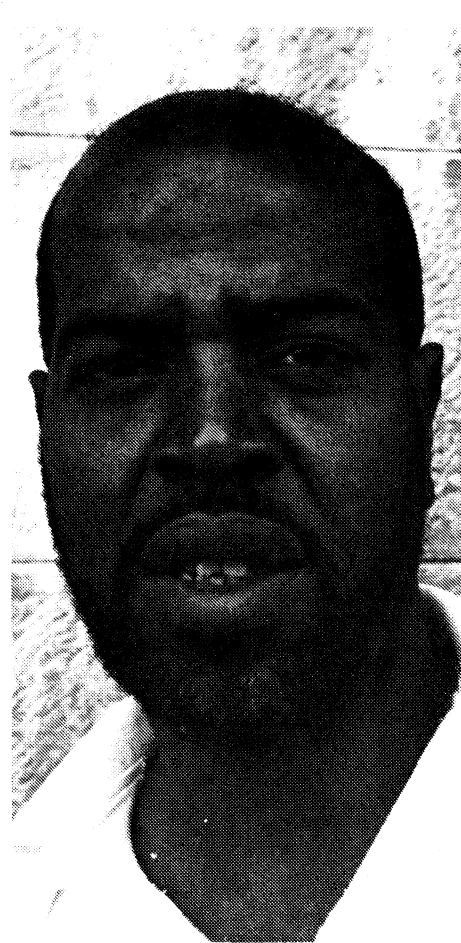
He considers himself Palestinian as a result of how his people have been treated by the Israeli Zionist colonizers and Israeli state. As a teenager, he joined the Palestinian resistance after the 1967 war when Israel annexed East Jerusalem, including the Old City. He was arrested in 1968 and sentenced to 20 years, serving 17 of these in various prisons until his release as part of the prisoner exchange.

He told me about the process of organizing among the political prisoners. They first had to overcome sectarian infighting among the various Palestinian resistance groups, which even became violent.

Gradually, they organized themselves into a disciplined group with an elected leadership. All relations with the prison authorities were carried out through elected spokespeople. Jeda served as "foreign minister," in charge of relations with people outside the prison, including the International Red Cross. This was how he met Lea Tsemel, who has long represented political prisoners and other victims of the Israeli state.

Hunger strikes

Over the years, the political prisoners waged a number of hunger strikes and other struggles to improve their conditions. They were able to receive books and other literature. One of Jeda's tasks was to help translate these materials from Hebrew, English, French, and German into Arabic.



Roni Heiman

Ali Jeda, rounded up and beaten in political police dragnet.

Needless to say, he greatly improved his language skills.

A key element in their ability to organize themselves was education. They organized classes in reading and writing for the illiterate, taught foreign languages, and set up political classes as well. "One can say the Palestinian fighters succeeded in turning prison into a school for revolutionary cadres," Jeda pointed out.

Since his release, Jeda has been working with groups such as the Committee to Confront the Iron Fist and the Alternative Information Center, which distributes news from the occupied territories. It is for this kind of work that the Israeli authorities seek to terrorize him into exile or silence him.

But he intends to continue to work for a democratic and secular Palestine "where Israelis and Palestinians enjoy equal rights. This is the only correct and human solution," he says.

Sandinista troops engage 'contras' in border battle

BY RUTH NEBBIA

JINOTEGA, Nicaragua — Fierce fighting between Sandinista troops and U.S.-backed mercenaries is taking place along Nicaragua's northern border with Honduras. Some details were reported by President Daniel Ortega at a rally of 7,000 here November 1.

Ortega said the mercenary troops were attempting to penetrate Nicaraguan territory from Honduras. Spokesmen for the mercenary group Nicaraguan Democratic Force, based in Honduras, confirmed that they had launched an offensive by units armed with automatic weapons, mortars, grenade launchers, and machine guns.

Ortega called the fighting in the north "the largest battle that our country is waging." From October 24 to 29, the mercenary troops suffered casualties of 80 dead and 120 wounded, while Nicaraguan army troops had 21 dead and 16 wounded.

"What does this mean?" Ortega asked the November 1 rally. "This means that the mercenary forces have not and will not pass."

Barricada Internacional

Barricada Internacional, the weekly official voice of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, is 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.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

U.S. propaganda charges Cuban role in Chile

Purporting to analyze the sources of several large arms caches uncovered by Chilean troops, a report sent by the U.S. State Department to 35 governments charged that "the evidence points to Cuba."

Without presenting any of the alleged evidence, Robert Gelbard, deputy assistant secretary of state for South American affairs, claimed in late October, "We know it is Cuba who did it, and we assume the Soviet Union is behind it." He charged that the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front, which has claimed credit for setting up the arms caches, "probably was preparing for a civil war at some point."

Justifying further U.S. support to the dictatorship of Gen. Augusto Pinochet, Gelbard warned, "There is a clear effort by Cuba and the Soviet Union to destabilize the region, and we will fight that very hard. We are making it clear to them that this could provoke a strong U.S. reaction."

Chilean officials hailed these U.S. statements as support for their own contentions that the armed opposition to the regime is being fomented by Cuba, the Soviet Union, and Nicaragua. Chilean military intelligence officers have charged that many of the returning Chilean exiles had undergone military training in Cuba and Nicaragua.

Such accusations in Chile have frequently been used to justify the arrest, "disappearance," and murder of political activists.

Marianas — new form of U.S. colonial rule

On November 4, some 18,200 inhabitants of the Pacific islands known as the Northern Marianas officially became U.S. citizens. But like residents of Puerto Rico — which is also formally a "commonwealth" in "free association" with the United States — they remain subjects of U.S. colonial rule.

Like other countries in Micronesia, the Northern Marianas has been a U.S. colony since World War II. In 1975 the country became self-governing, when the voters approved a plan under which it would become a U.S. "commonwealth." This was accompanied by offers of billions of dollars in U.S. economic aid.

As part of the Marianas' "free association" with the United States, Washing-

ton retains control over the country's foreign relations and defense, as well as the right to retain military bases on the islands.

While U.S. citizenship has been extended to those deemed to be permanent residents of the Marianas, thousands of "temporary" migrant workers from other territories in the region have been excluded under the arrangement.

Joaquim Chissano chosen Mozambique's president

Joaquim Chissano, the foreign minister of Mozambique, was selected as the country's new president at a November 3 special session of the Central Committee of the ruling Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo).

The announcement came two weeks after the death of the previous president, Samora Machel, who was killed when his plane went down just inside neighboring South Africa. Machel had been a central leader of the struggle for independence from Portugal and president since 1975. Some evidence points to a possible South African role in Machel's death.

Immediately after being sworn in on



Joaquim Chissano

November 6, Chissano blasted the apartheid regime for attempting to destroy Mozambique in an "undeclared war." He demanded an end to South African support for rightist mercenary forces seeking to bring down the Mozambican government.

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.

San Francisco

After the Earthquake: How Can We Help Rebuild El Salvador? Speakers: Father Peter Sammon of St. Theresa Church, activist in the sanctuary movement; Juan Martínez, Socialist Workers Party, member of Local 1-5, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union. Sun., Nov. 16, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

Socialist Educational Conference: Why We Need a Revolution in the United States. Speaker: Al Budka, National Committee, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 22, 7 p.m. Additional classes Sat. and Sun. to be announced. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

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.

MASSACHUSETTS

Cambridge

Nicaragua's Vice-president Sergio Ramirez Speaks at MIT. Sun., Nov. 23, 7:30 p.m. Kresge Auditorium, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Ausp: MIT COCA and Central America Solidarity Association. For more information call (617) 492-8699.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

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

Minneapolis

Benefit Concert for Austin Labor Food Shelf. Arlo Guthrie and Holly Near, with John McCutcheon. Thurs., Nov. 20, 8 p.m. Orchestra Hall. Tickets \$10, \$14.50, and \$16.50. For more information call Hormel Strike Support Committee, (612) 228-1243.

St. Paul

Turmoil in the Philippines: Workers and Farmers Press Demands. Speakers: representative, Alliance for Philippine Concerns; Janice Prescott, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 15. Social, 7 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant

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 Whitaker, 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; Aaron Ruby, Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. 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: 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

Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

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.

Winnie Mandela. Film about leader of anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. Sat., Nov. 22, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEW YORK

Albany

For a Workers' and Farmers' Government. An educational weekend.

"The Crisis in Dairy Farming and How to Fight Back." Speakers: John Gaige, Socialist Workers Party, and striking New York dairy farmers. Fri., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m.

Two classes (speaker: John Gaige): "The Farmers' Movement in the United States." Sat., Nov. 22, 1 p.m.

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.

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. 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.

"The Struggle for a Workers' and Farmers' Government." Sat., Nov. 22, 4 p.m.

114E Quail St. Donation: weekend \$5, or \$2 per event. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

Manhattan

Immigration Laws: Attack on Workers' Rights. Speakers: Richard Harvey, British human rights lawyer and counsel for Irish POWs; Claudia Slovinsky, National Lawyers Guild; Héctor Marroquín, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, threatened with deportation. 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.

Militant-Perspectiva Mundial Subscription Campaign Victory Party. Sat., Nov. 22, 8 p.m. until —. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (212) 219-3679.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

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.

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

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 114E Quail St. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 434-3247. **New York:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668. Socialist Books, 226-8445.

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

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-dock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. **Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. **Columbus:** YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 1701 W Bancroft St. Zip: 43606. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

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

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

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

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.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Fall Publications Fund Rally. Speaker: Olga Rodríguez, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., Nov. 15. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. CAMP, 722 18th Ave. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

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.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Grand Opening of Pathfinder Books. Speakers: Akili Jabari, Black community activist who recently visited Cuba; Ken Sierzen, member of United Electrical Workers Local 1111 and Milwaukee Hormel Support Committee; Pat Grogan, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., Nov. 15. Open house, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Pathfinder Books. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

OHIO

Cleveland

Upheaval in Southern Africa: The Struggle of the Frontline States Against Imperialism and Apartheid. Speakers: Hamidah Ghanem, United Muslim Women; Kathleen Geathers, Women Speak Out for Peace and Justice; Scott Ware, Socialist Workers Party and member of Teamsters Local 293. Sat., Nov. 22, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

The Fight Against the Perry Nuclear Power Plant. A panel discussion. Sat., Dec. 6, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Life in the Soviet Union. Eyewitness report and slideshow. Speaker: Ed Fruit, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 15, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

USX Workers Locked Out: How to Fight Back and Defend Jobs. Speaker: Mary Zins, former Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., Nov. 22, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

The Role of Socialists in the Fight for Democratic Rights. Speaker: Olga Rodríguez, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sun., Nov. 16, 12 noon. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

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

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 1306 1st Ave. N. Zip: 35203. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1809 W. Indian School Rd. Zip: 85015. Tel: (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 2803 B St. Zip: 92102. Tel: (619) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

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

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

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 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.

By capitalist standards, probably so — Californians will bear the full brunt of cost overruns on the San Onofre nuclear power plant. The plant was finished



Harry Ring

seven years late and cost 10 times the original budget of \$437 million. The Public Utilities Commission ruled the job was done "in a reasonable and prudent manner."

Un-American — Defending

the god-given right of manufacturers to unload schlock on the public, Prez Reagan vetoed a bill to set minimum energy efficiency standards for home appliances. He complained the bill "intrudes unduly on the free market" and "limits the freedom of choice available to consumers. . . ."

Scrambles your brains — With the support of the American Civil Liberties Union, high school students and their parents in Purdy, Missouri, are fighting to hold the senior prom at the local high school. A long-standing ban on dancing was upheld by school board members on the grounds that such activity led to alcohol abuse, drug use, and illicit sex. One supporter of the ban labeled

opponents as "God-hating communists."

Don't miss a trick — The U.S. ranks #1 in the production and export of waste products, ranging from iron and steel scrap to edible offal — dead animal parts, including heads, tails, tongues, kidneys, livers, and entrails.

Cancer Hall — A newly redecorated ceremonial suite at the State Department has a tobacco motif, with the trim work featuring tobacco leaves, flowers, and seed pods. Two "discreet" signs credit seven coffin nail companies with financing the redecoration. A State Department official said, "When the tobacco companies pledged a very generous gift, we

put a little more emphasis on tobacco than we might have."

Big Mac, USA — The United States ranks fourth in the world in the consumption of fat, 11th in protein consumption, 15th in calcium consumption, 24th in vitamin A, 49th in iron, and 59th in vitamin C.

Esthetics dep't — A mail order house offers a porcelain monkey with a dish on its head. "Magnificent as a candy dish or an objet d'art." \$250.

Philosophical dispute — "Old," "country," and "cozy" were the bywords at the recent High Point, North Carolina, furniture showings. "It started with President Reagan," opined the

manufacturer of a rope bed. "Conservatism runs rampant in the country." But a contrary-minded maker of brass beds says, "The bedroom is a place to recreate yesterday, a place to close off Star Wars and spaceships."

A more earthy view — Assessing the mass of old-style furniture, a Bloomingdale exec observed, "Whenever there is a poor business climate, manufacturers play it safe."

Uneasy rests the head. . . — Bruce Barsumian, who peddles voice scramblers, wiretap detectors, bullet-proof attaché cases, etc., confides: "The smart people in megabuck corporations assume there's a problem."

Clyde Cumming: 40 years' commitment to socialism



Clyde Cumming

Militant

BY MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

Clyde Cumming, a 40-year veteran of the Socialist Workers Party, died of cancer in San Francisco in late August. She was a member of the San Francisco branch of the SWP at the time of her death and active in the party's campaigns until the last few months of her illness. A memorial meeting was held September 7.

Cumming joined the party in 1946 in Philadelphia, one of hundreds of young Blacks who came into the SWP during the post-World War II strike wave and upsurge in the labor movement. This was a time of large-scale recruitment to the revolutionary party all over the country. But many of these new members dropped away during the period of economic prosperity and the witch-hunt that followed.

Cumming was one of the few that stood up to the pressures of the next few decades and was around to see the renewed growth of the party in the 1960s and to participate in the civil rights, antiwar, and women's liberation movements.

Cumming first met the SWP through the *Militant* newspaper during the big subscription drive of the fall of 1945 — the

goal was 10,000 new subscribers.

Forty years later, as the party prepared for another big subscription drive, she told the story to a friend. The housing project where she lived was way at the back of a whole mass of projects, almost in the shipyards, she explained. It was late in the day, and she said the *Militant* supporters could certainly have found an excuse to call it quits and not go on to the set-apart, half-occupied, ratty building where she lived. But they did knock on Cumming's door and sell her a sub, and forty years later she said, "It was just what I was waiting for."

Cumming's perspective at the time she joined the SWP was to try to make it as an artist. She had a new art teacher and, although she realized there were big obstacles, thought she could make it in the art world. But at that time the party was encouraging members to get jobs in factories to be part of the big upsurge in labor militancy. She became part of this campaign, went to work in a garment factory, and became a skilled industrial sewer. She was a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU).

In the 1980s when party members sought jobs in the garment industry as part of its turn to industrial unions, Cumming was an enthusiastic supporter. She loved to talk about every aspect of the work, from the technical side of production, to problems with the ILGWU bureaucrats, to what working piece rate does to workers' solidarity. And she used her skills to help younger members learn industrial sewing.

Cumming came to San Francisco in the early 1960s, after leaving Philadelphia for Los Angeles and then living for a number of years in Seattle. She was working at San Francisco State University at the time of the student strike in 1968-69 and was active in strike support activities. She had earlier gone on a party delegation to the South in solidarity with the civil rights struggle.

She was also an SWP candidate for public office. In more recent years, she was an enthusiastic builder of the party's election campaigns, as well as carrying out other activities, from selling the *Militant* to staffing the bookstore.

Cumming never stopped studying and learning. In the 1960s she had a job as a medical illustrator at San Francisco State,

and she characteristically set out to make a serious study of anatomy. In the 1980s, after she had already had a couple operations for cancer, she went back to school and got a Masters Degree for illustrating a book of poems by Phillis Wheatley.

This was in addition to carrying out a full schedule of political activity. In the last few years, as more and more Spanish-speaking people started coming around the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance in San Francisco, she resumed a study of Spanish, which she did by studying bilingual poetry anthologies. She was one of the more faithful participants in the SWP's weekly class on Lenin's writings. The reading project she was involved in during the last few months of her life was a study of the rise of fascism in Germany.

Cumming was a special inspiration to young Black women entering the party in the 1970s and 1980s. But her four decades of loyal membership, through all kinds of ups and downs in the party's life and in her own, make her an inspiration to all of us.

Ray Rogers speaks on J.P. Stevens and Hormel labor battles

BY RICK HIGGINS

NEW YORK — Ray Rogers spoke to a meeting of 85 people here October 31 on "Labor battles from J.P. Stevens to Hormel, a perspective."

Rogers and his organization, Corporate Campaign, Inc. (CCI), played a role in the fight to force the J.P. Stevens company to negotiate with the textile workers' union in 10 plants in the Carolinas and Alabama.

For the past two years, he has been a consultant to Austin, Minnesota, meatpackers during their fight with Geo. A. Hormel & Co.

At the meeting, sponsored by the *Militant* Forum, Rogers presented a slide-show on CCI and how it helps unions in their fights against employers.

He explained that one of the aims of CCI is to activate union members and their supporters on the broadest possible scale. The organization also exposes the financial interests that stand behind the corporations.

CCI helped organize protest actions against First Bank, Hormel's major financial backer, in the six months before the strike.

CCI also encouraged the workers and their supporters in Austin to reach out to other workers and farmers. Rogers said that literature explaining the story of the strike was distributed to more than half a million people.

According to Rogers, the key to the mobilizations against Hormel has been union democracy. "Everything was discussed by the rank and file, everything was scrutinized by the rank and file, and everything was decided by the rank and file."

He explained a little of his own story. "I became politicized in the hills of Tennessee in Vista seeing people living in hunger with rats and roaches."

In the 1970s, Rogers worked on the Miners for Democracy campaign in the anthracite coalfields of Pennsylvania.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

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

November 19, 1976

In the spring of 1972, while women were marching in the streets for the right to abortion, a secret document was circulating behind their backs to sabotage their struggle.

Its title: "Exploitation of Women's Movement by Socialist Workers Party."

Its author: the FBI.

Four years later, this scurrilous document has come to light through the lawsuit against government spying filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The document is the most extensive single one the FBI has yet released on the women's struggle. A few other, highly censored files on FBI surveillance of women's groups have also come out, alerting the movement as a whole to the fact that feminists have been a target of government attack.

One of the groups spied on was the National Organization for Women (NOW), which is currently seeking access to its files through the Freedom of Information Act.

This new document on the SWP and women's liberation confirms that the U.S. government has waged a persistent war against the struggle for equal rights.

It also confirms that a central weapon in the FBI's arsenal against feminism has been red-baiting.

The purpose of red-baiting is to cast suspicion on the motives of socialists, or anyone labeled a socialist. Socialists are alleged to use "manipulative" tactics to gain control of organizations, which they then supposedly use to further their own, ulterior motives.

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

November 20, 1961

Price 10c

Any ambiguity about Stalin's role in Soviet history that may have existed after the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party [in 1956] was completely dispelled at the recent 22nd Congress. There were not, nor can there any longer be, claims that the dead despot simply made "mistakes" in the "latter years of his life." From the rostrum of the Soviet CP he was branded repeatedly and in detail as a bloody tyrant, responsible for murders, suicides, frame-ups, extortions by torture of false confessions, and mass purges of innocent and loyal Communist Party members and Soviet citizens.

Without mincing words, [Premier Nikita] Khrushchev told the congress that defendants who confessed in 1937 to being "German, British, or some other spies" had done so "in order to have done with torture, to die the quicker."

In carrying his revelations about what he still euphemistically calls the "cult of the individual" back to 1934, Khrushchev is opening a veritable Pandora's box for himself and the bureaucratic oligarchy he represents.

He is saying that the "cult" had reached such monstrous proportions by 1934 that Stalin was able to organize a crime, requiring entire branches of the party and government, in order to stage a gigantic frame-up drastically affecting the lives of hundreds of thousands, if not millions of people in every layer of Soviet society. Inquiring Soviet youth and conscientious Communists everywhere will ask how this can be explained as the aberration of an individual.

Memoirs of a radical rank and filer

By Ben Stone

The story of one who turned radical during the Great Depression and was a militant, rank and filer through the '40s, '50s, and '60s. Today, in his seventies, he marches to the same drummer.

Price: \$7.95. Send check or money order to Prometheus Press, P.O. Box 318, Gracie Station, New York, N.Y. 10028.

How to fight GM layoffs

The decision by the wealthy owners of General Motors Corp. to close 11 assembly and stamping plants by 1990 is an attack not only on the 26,000 United Auto Workers (UAW) union members employed in them but on auto workers across the country.

GM executives claim the shutdowns are necessary to help the company maintain its competitive edge with its domestic and international rivals. The GM bosses also said that additional plant closings could be expected.

How will auto workers be affected by the largest U.S. auto company's cold-blooded drive for profits?

- Thousands of UAW members are going to be thrown on the streets without jobs. Most will be able to collect unemployment benefits for a short time, if at all.

- Many workers with high seniority at the closed plants who qualify for Guaranteed Income Stream (GIS) benefits or other benefits negotiated in the contract between GM and the union will in all likelihood be forced by the company to relocate to another GM plant or risk losing the benefits.

The company will then push younger workers at those plants onto the unemployment lines.

- By forcing workers to relocate, GM tries to pit employees in plants that are closing against those in the plants that will remain open. And it pits workers with high seniority against those with fewer years in the auto plants.

- GM will use what it claims to be the perilous state of the auto industry as a way of trying to bludgeon the UAW members into accepting a new round of far-reaching givebacks in the 1987 national contract negotiations.

The company is already pressing for sweeping changes in work rules, stricter absentee policies, and for the removal of health and safety regulations in plants across the country. The concessions won in one plant are used as a hammer against workers in other plants.

- It is not ruled out that some of the plants will be reopened. GM closed the Fremont, California, plant in 1982 only to reopen it in 1984 under the name New United Motor Manufacturing Inc. (NUMMI) as part of a joint venture with Toyota. The newly opened plant had totally revamped working conditions and had a different wage structure from other GM plants. Only some who worked in the plant earlier were rehired.

The GM plant closings are similar to attacks on workers at Ford and Chrysler. And the moves by the auto bosses are part of an overall push by the employers in steel, coal, meat-packing, and other industries to restructure their operations to remain competitive.

Several things are common to the restructuring drive. When the bosses think it will help increase profits, they introduce the latest technology designed to maximize production with the fewest possible number of workers.

Older, more obsolete plants, mines, and mills are being shut down or totally refurbished.

There is an across-the-board drive by employers to reduce job classifications, do away with health and safety rules, and push back as far as possible other hard-won union rights on the job.

While thousands are being thrown out on the streets, others are being forced to work hours of overtime.

The employers try to convince working people that it is in our interests to help bosses solve their problems. But the only sure reward GM and other companies hold for workers who do help to keep their employers profitable is a spot on the unemployment line.

UAW President Owen Bieber has responded to GM's announced plant closings by urging a common campaign between the company and unionists to "protect" U.S. industry from imports. This is the same proposal echoed by union officials in other industries faced with plant closings.

But it is only by recognizing that our enemy is here at home, not somewhere else, that we can begin to mount a campaign to protect ourselves from the employers' attacks.

We can begin by launching a national fight to have the workweek shortened to 30 hours a week without a reduction in take-home pay.

The fight for a shorter workweek is in the interest of all working people, those with jobs and those who do not have one.

Winning the demand would put millions of the unemployed back to work, allow those threatened with unemployment by the introduction of new technology or plant closings to maintain their jobs, and put an end to mandatory forced overtime.

In addition, unemployment benefits should be paid at union wage rates for as long as it takes someone to find another job.

A "restructuring" program, but one in the interest of working people, should also be launched. This program to build badly needed low-cost public housing, schools, and hospitals would provide millions of new jobs.

The program could be paid for by eliminating the Pentagon's \$290 billion war budget and by forcing the ruling rich to pay much stiffer taxes.

By using every arena at its disposal to fight for this type of social program, the labor movement would find millions of nonunion workers, unemployed, and working farmers as allies, greatly strengthening the overall struggle against the employers and their government.

That way we get beyond the employers' narrow trap of trying to force us to think only about "our plant," "our company," and "our industry."

No letup in anti-Iran policy

The revelation that a high-level U.S. diplomatic team spent several days in Iran earlier this year has sparked a renewed debate over U.S. policy toward that country. In government circles and in the daily newspapers that debate is being conducted in the framework of supporting Washington's provocative and antagonistic stand toward Iran.

The mission, headed by Robert McFarlane, former national security adviser to President Reagan, negotiated for the release of some U.S. citizens held hostage in Lebanon in exchange for secret arms shipments to Iran. This visit was made public November 4 by the Iranian government.

At one point during the discussions with Iran, U.S. officials also prepared a military operation against the pro-Iranian groups in Lebanon that are thought to hold the hostages. But the plan was junked as unfeasible.

Washington's dealings with Iran highlight the big role secrecy and lies play in U.S. government policy. This is only the latest example, following the exposure of Washington's campaign of disinformation against Libya and the secret government-organized supply network aiding the *contra* terrorists attacking Nicaragua.

The arms shipments to Iran drew strong criticism from some in Congress and from editorials in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*. Fears were voiced that the longstanding U.S. policy of isolating and weakening "terrorist" Iran will be undermined.

Although administration officials say they will continue secret dealings with the Iranian government on such matters as the hostages in Lebanon, Reagan reaffirmed his basic anti-Iran policy November 10 when he extended the 1979 executive order freezing Iranian assets in the United States.

Washington's measures against Iran stem from opposition to the 1979 popular revolution in that country that overturned the shah's hated tyranny.

After 1979 the administration of President James Carter sought openings to overturn the Iranian government led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. When that proved

impossible, it tried to destabilize the government.

When the shah was invited to the United States in October 1979, outraged Iranian students occupied the U.S. embassy in Tehran, capital of Iran. Washington seized billions of dollars worth of Iranian assets in the United States and halted oil imports. In April 1980 Washington even staged an unsuccessful military raid against Iran.

The administration also severed diplomatic relations with Iran.

When the Iraqi regime invaded Iran in 1980, U.S. officials claimed to be neutral. But virtually every step they took concerning the war was aimed at injuring Iran.

The Saudi Arabian monarchy, a close U.S. ally, poured at least \$35 billion into the coffers of the Iraqi regime. And in June 1984 a U.S. AWACS reconnaissance plane guided Saudi Arabian jets as they shot down two Iranian planes over the Persian Gulf.

U.S. satellite data on Iranian troop movements is regularly turned over to the Iraqi regime.

While Washington placed Iran on the list of nations it smears as terrorist, it reestablished diplomatic ties with Iraq.

And U.S., British, and French warships have moved into the Persian Gulf to threaten Iran on numerous occasions in the past seven years.

Iran has been the target of these actions because the Iranian people in a massive upsurge toppled one of the U.S. government's most loyal allies in the region and now refuse to take orders from Washington. The U.S. rulers have been outraged by such actions of the Iranian government as the abolition of the monarchy, shutting down of U.S. bases, expulsion of 45,000 U.S. advisers, encouragement of resistance to Israeli occupation of part of Lebanon, and providing aid to Nicaragua.

The U.S. government should stop its attempts to dictate to Iran. Instead, the assets that Washington has stolen from Iran should be restored, the arms embargo lifted, U.S. forces pulled out of the Persian Gulf and neighboring waters, and diplomatic relations reestablished.

Is socialism another religion?

BY DOUG JENNESS

Socialists are sometimes accused of being hypocritical in their rejection of religion by critics who argue that socialism is actually another form of religion. Those who level this charge contend that socialism consists of dogmas that are fanatically adhered to by their supporters, much like dedicated Christians, Muslims, and Jews defend their creeds.

Some who assert that socialism is another religion, however, don't consider this to be negative, but rather an affirmation that the commitment of socialists to social

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

justice shows that they have some universal values in common with religious people. Those holding this view sometimes argue that this is a basis for a marriage between traditional religion and socialism.

The fact is that socialism and religion have little in common. Socialists don't have any creeds, scriptures, doctrines, or dogmas that characterize most religions. Neither do they adhere to supernatural or mystical notions nor hold any truths, values, ideas, or principles to be universal or eternal.

Socialists start with the unfolding evolution of nature and the development of human society out of it. They recognize that the production of the means to support human life and, next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structures. That is, the means by which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and the products that are produced.

From this standpoint the causes of social change cannot be found in better insights into concepts of eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the way things are produced and exchanged.

This furnishes the real basis from which we can work out an explanation of juridical and political institutions as well as of the religious, philosophical, and other ideas of a given historical period.

This applies to views of social justice and equality. If some religious people find their beliefs compatible with positions held by socialists, it is because these beliefs reflect changes in society and the real advances humanity has made in who it considers to be human beings and how they should be treated. These advances, made through struggle, were not based on abstract concepts of fairness.

The facts about the existing system of production are also the source for understanding the sharp class conflicts in today's capitalist society.

By examining the origins of the working class in the industrial revolution in England at the end of the 18th century, its subsequent reproduction in other countries, and its continuing evolution, socialists have recognized that the workers' struggle with the capitalists is irreconcilable.

They have explained that the working class, as a result of the nature of its exploitation and the inner workings of the capitalist system itself, is capable of overturning capitalist political rule and beginning the transition to socialism.

This is not prophecy. It is a proposition derived from the generalized experiences of the working class. In this regard, socialism is *scientific* and a far cry from resembling a religion.

It is more like the natural sciences such as biology and chemistry, which aren't based on doctrines either but are grounded in the observation of facts.

Charles Darwin's explanation of biological evolution, for example, was derived from his own careful observations and knowledge of what other scientists had discovered, particularly in the fossil record of plants and animals. And our understanding of evolution today is even greater because of new discoveries, particularly in molecular biology and genetics.

Scientific socialists, likewise, adjust their views as new experiences shed more light on both the obstacles and the road forward for the working-class struggle.

Religious dogmas, however, are the opposite. They don't help open doors to understanding reality, but mystify it. They get in the way of working people understanding the nature and role of the ideology of their class enemies, which includes religion. Moreover, religious institutions today are instruments of oppression by the employing class against working people.

Many workers, however, hold religious views. The stance socialists take toward this will be the topic of next week's column.

Workers in airlines' merger unite against layoffs

BY NATASHA TERLEXIS

MINNEAPOLIS — At the beginning of October, Northwest Airlines completed its merger with Republic Airlines, creating the third-largest U.S. carrier. The combined airline will have 31,000 employees servicing and operating a fleet of 300 planes.

A couple of months earlier, Northwest President Ste-

UNION TALK

ven Rothmeir said on national television that "no layoffs" would follow the merger. But the layoff notices began to be handed out well before the final details of the merger were completed.

While negotiations were going on, workers at the two airlines were kept in the dark about the future of our jobs. In the mergers that have occurred recently in the industry, the employers have demanded major concessions from the unions.

That is why the International Association of Machinists (IAM), which organizes mechanics, cleaners, and ramp workers at Northwest and mechanics and cleaners at Republic, opposed the merger.

Many ground service and maintenance workers at Northwest, however, initially greeted the merger announcement as good news. "We will be working for a stronger airline," some said. Others said we would be able to fly to more places, such as the Grand Cayman Is-

lands, or "we are buying them, so Northwest will take care of its own people first."

But as time went on these initial responses changed. A big discussion took place about what to do with the seniority lists at the merged airline. Many workers said that a formula should be used that would give preference to Northwest employees. But this discussion also soon faded.

A large majority has been won to the idea that only by sticking together can we mount a fight against company attacks on working conditions and wages. The majority of workers now favor a seniority system that "dovetails" lists from the two airlines on a one-for-one basis.

Thus far, the employers are refusing to agree to the "dovetailed" list in order to pressure the IAM into accepting the introduction of part-time work.

The IAM struck Northwest in 1983 in a fight against the introduction of part-time work. As a result, Northwest is one of the few airlines that does not have part-time ground service workers. Most IAM workers say they would walk out again before agreeing to part-time work.

When the first layoff notices were handed out in September, it was in the midst of all departments being forced to work overtime.

Starting that night, almost all the workers lost any desire to go that extra mile for the company. Mechanics, cleaners, and ramp workers at both Republic and Northwest began to insist on working absolutely safely.

This unity sent shock waves throughout the company.

Northwest responded by canceling vacations, trade-off days, and birthday holidays.

In a particularly blatant move, they banned all non-company literature from the ramp.

Four workers were charged with sabotage, but the company was unable to get away with firing them because of the response of the union members.

One woman dug out her old button from the 1983 strike that read "No part time." "Captain Airport" emerged as a symbol in the struggle. "Captain Airport" is the name that has been given to the daily pro-union broadcasts of information that have been coming over the two-way radios that are used at the airport.

The broadcasts have been giving workers the latest information on "the fight to bring justice and liberty on the ramp."

The locals at both airlines have voted to unite into a single local. IAM members are anxious to hold a joint meeting.

As a way of overcoming divisions, union members have participated in two "let's get to know ya" parties in the last month. Meetings have been hosted for new union members and probationary workers to explain the importance of having a union.

The new button the two IAM locals put out after the merger that many workers are wearing says "Union solidarity-1833 + 780 = #1, IAM."

Natasha Terlexis is a member of IAM Local Lodge 1833 at Northwest Airlines in Minneapolis.

LETTERS

Solidarity

About three weeks ago workers at the Wadena County courthouse in Minnesota gave a very good example of solidarity with fellow farmers, hundreds of whom are losing their land and are squeezed by low prices for their products, exorbitant interest rates, and monopoly-rigged prices for agricultural implements and chemicals they have to use.

The 25 courthouse workers are bargaining for a two-year contract, which includes a proposal to donate half of any across-the-board wage increases to help troubled country farmers and their families. The workers are members of Teamsters Local 320, and they have been fighting to get a contract since April.

"The 25 workers are the first example of public workers in a hard-pressed farm area standing together to help farmers," said union business agent Jack Mogelson in a press interview. The money would be placed in a special fund and distributed by the local Protestant and Catholic churches.

As a result, farmers in the county have been rallying behind the union's demand for a decent contract.

Argiris Malapanis
St. Paul, Minnesota

ERA

While watching television, I found out that the Equal Rights Amendment was to appear on the Vermont ballot November 4, but I haven't heard if it passed or not.

They said that Vermont was the only state to have a feminist woman as governor, so the ERA had a chance of passing, although reactionary groups such as "Right to Life" were campaigning against it.

Do you have any way of finding out how the ERA did in Vermont and could you let me know?

G.M.
St. Paris, Ohio

Editor replies: The ERA was defeated in Vermont 52 percent to 48 percent.

Considering alternatives

Please send me any free literature on the Socialist Workers Party and your positions on the issues.

Under President Reagan and the capitalist parties, my VA check was slashed from \$617 a month to \$388 a month. Now Democrat

Tim Wirth says he's for further cuts in entitlement programs.

Therefore I'm considering other alternatives. I'm dissatisfied with the capitalist candidates, who are already making me go hungry and want to starve me some more.

Hungry,
R.W.
Colorado Springs, Colorado

Sinn Féin

On the question of abstention now at issue both in the military and political wings of the Irish Republican Movement, we categorically reject any move for elected representation of Sinn Féin to enter the Leinster House [Dublin] government, an institution imposed on Ireland in 1922 by British guns and bayonets to serve the interests of British imperialism.

The long lists of crimes committed by this institution of treachery against those who remained true to the oath they had taken to defend the Republic proclaimed by Pearse, Connolly, Tom Clarke, and their comrades, if necessary in arms, is endless. Its savagery and excesses even exceed its masters in Westminster.

The drive to the establishment of an Irish socialist republic free and independent from the last tentacles of the octopus of imperialism cannot be advanced by any recognition of or participation in the institution that was set up to overthrow the Republic in the first place.

We reaffirm our support to those who stand solidly behind the traditional Republican policy of abstention or boycott of all British-imposed institutions of servility and replace, not reform them, with Republican institutions of liberty and freedom.

Thomas Falvey

George Harrison

Brooklyn, New York

Baseball racism

Like many this time of year, I enjoyed watching the baseball World Series. But a passing comment one of the announcers made about Boston Red Sox pitcher Dennis "Oil Can" Boyd got me thinking.

What is the difference between a player who is "high-strung" or "volatile" and one who is merely "enthusiastic?"

Here's a hint. Mark "The Bird" Fidrych and Al Hrabosky were "characters." Tug McGraw is "en-

thusiastic." But Joaquin Andujar and "Oil Can" are "volatile" and "high-strung."

Got it now? The first three are white, but Boyd is Black, and Andujar is Latino.

This is really not surprising. As Richard Lipsyte points out in *Broken Promises: Racism in American Sports*, Black and Latino ball players make up the lion's share of home-run leaders and are better overall at hitting and pitching, despite the fact that they are less than 25 percent of the total number of players.

Sports racism should surprise no one, for another reason. Sports is big business, and big business uses racism to divide working people and their allies.

Athletes are exploited just like factory workers or working farmers, for the profit of a handful of wealthy owners. It's really sad that sports in the United States has to be spoiled by the capitalists. But until workers and farmers take the producing wealth of this country and put it to their own use, sports will continue to be infected by the worst capitalism has to offer.

J.W.
Indianapolis, Indiana

Happiness

I thought your readers would appreciate the sign on a pickup truck in this coal-mining region. It reads, "Happiness is seeing my boss's picture on the side of a milk carton."

Bruce Kimball
Morgantown, West Virginia

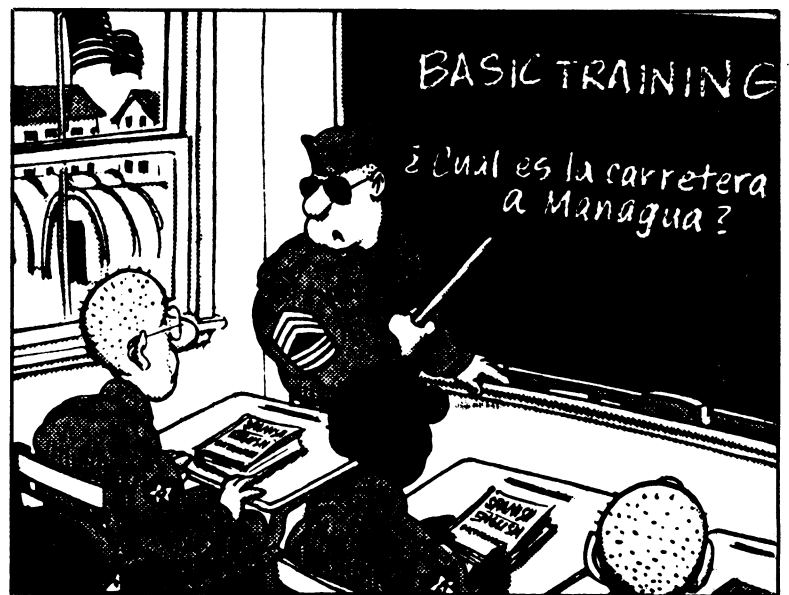
Circus school

While most newspaper reports make frequent references to the "threat" posed by Soviet military advisers in Nicaragua, they usually fail to point out that the bulk of foreign advisers are serving as educators, doctors, and technical advisers.

A recent wire service article was a refreshing change from that norm.

The Reuters agency reported in an article that appeared in some local newspapers on November 2 that three Soviet experts arrived in Managua in August to tutor Nicaraguan children in the arts of juggling and acrobatics. The three form the staff of the newly founded circus school, with a current enrollment of 35 young people.

In addition to the physical training, the children receive instruc-



H. Clay Bennett

"... Okay, men, let's try this one, 'which is the road to Managua?' ..."

tion in music and cultural history, as well as a traditional curriculum at the start of their day.

The founding of the school reflects a flourishing of interest in art and culture in Nicaragua since the toppling of dictator Anastasio Somoza in 1979. The school is one of only two schools of circus arts that exist in Latin America.

Under Somoza, only a few traveling circus troupes plied their trade in Nicaragua's provinces, frowned upon as vagrants and ruffians by the authorities. "The circus has been dignified by the revolution," explained Giaconda Belli, a Nicaraguan poet and journalist who writes about cultural affairs. Belli noted that circus performers are now highly esteemed as artists and represented by a trade union, the Sandinista Association of Cultural Workers.

The 35 pupils between the ages of 13 and 16 were selected from various children's agencies run by the Nicaraguan Ministry of Social Security and Welfare. The ministry deals with the problems faced by the estimated 5,000 homeless children in Managua who scrape by making a living on the streets.

Charlie Rosenberg

Baltimore, Maryland

Fighting apartheid

I marched with the Free South Africa contingent at the November 1 demonstration in Los Angeles against the new Vietnam War in Central America.

We were a small but noisy group of anti-apartheid activists who saw the need to protest the \$100 million plus that Congress gave to the *contras*. We started out by chanting, "Embargo South Af-

rica, not Nicaragua!" Another popular chant, "Hey, hey, ho, ho, apartheid has got to go!" was transformed into "Hey, hey, ho, ho, the *contras* have got to go!"

For many of us, it was the first march of this kind, and we talked about the need to encourage more Blacks to get out in the streets at every opportunity to protest U.S. support to apartheid.

Glova Scott
Los Angeles, California

Racist gangs

I'm a Black Muslim who is serving a life sentence. The reason I'm writing to you is to try to obtain some speeches and interviews or statements on the civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King.

There is a big problem that inmates are now facing inside the prison walls once again — gangs. This type of racist gang movement doesn't only concern the prisoner inside the prison walls, but people in the free world as well.

This is a growing problem and civil rights activists and socialist workers are very much needed to help bring about unity and develop more solidarity between the prisoner and the people in the outside world.

Anti-apartheid activist,
A prisoner
Palestine, Texas

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.

Coup rumors spur Philippine protests

Defense minister demands repression of worker, peasant struggles

BY FRED FELDMAN

Philippine President Corazon Aquino left for an official visit to Japan after conceding November 9 that her country "is awash with rumors of an impending coup or an emergency contrived to justify uncalled-for action by some military units."

Responding to the rumors of an ultrarightist move against the government, Aquino appealed to her supporters, "If it would be necessary . . . I shall once more ask you to take to the streets."

Aquino was brought to office in February when massive mobilizations toppled the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos.

In the face of the new threat, Aquino ordered the military to "repel any attacks around the country with all the force at our disposal." Armed forces Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos seized on this order to step up attacks on the peasant-based guerrillas of the New People's Army (NPA).

In recent negotiations with the govern-

pointed to draw up a new constitution presented its final draft to the president on October 15. The proposed constitution, to be voted on in a February 2 plebiscite, includes a provision guaranteeing Aquino a full six-year term in office.

According to the October 16 *New York Times*, two members of the commission who voted against the proposed constitution described it as "weak in safeguarding the rights of the poor majority and in asserting the sovereign rights of the nation itself."

The charter proposal also allows Washington to maintain military bases in the Philippines at least through 1991.

On November 5 Aquino set May 11 as the date for elections to a new national legislature. The former National Assembly, controlled by Marcos cronies, was disbanded after Aquino came to office. Aquino said that elections for local office would be held soon after the legislative elections.

Enrile has criticized the provision allowing Aquino to complete a six-year term, and the government's negotiations with the NDF, which politically represents the guerrilla movement.

Enrile's rightist campaign

Following publication of the proposed constitution, Enrile spoke to rallies packed with supporters of ousted dictator Marcos. These culminated in a Manila rally estimated by the press at 20,000, where Enrile led chants of "Down with communism!"

Oscar Lozano, a leader of the pro-Marcos forces at the rally, said they backed Enrile because "the fight against communism is the fight against Cory Aquino."

The *Washington Post* reported that in meeting with Aquino, Enrile called on her to "fire several cabinet ministers, to call a new presidential election, to scrap the new constitution scheduled for a . . . plebiscite, to reconvene the National Assembly which Aquino abolished, and to set a deadline for ending cease-fire talks with communist rebels."

Aquino responded by declaring "my intention to soon fix a deadline to mark the end of our efforts to achieve peace by talk."

She said the government's hand was "now open in the offer of peace, but soon to be clenched in a declaration of war."



Philippine President Corazon Aquino with armed forces Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos. Ramos says he opposes coup against Aquino government, but he has taken no action against participants in reported plot.

In some respects, Enrile's criticisms of Aquino's policies echo those made by some circles in the U.S. government. Sen. Robert Dole, top Republican leader of the Senate, has criticized the draft constitution for allowing the Philippine Senate to vote on any extension of U.S. bases beyond 1991.

When Aquino visited the United States in September, President Reagan lectured her about the need to be "careful" in negotiating with the rebels.

In the wake of Enrile's attacks, however, State Department spokesman Charles Redman insisted, "U.S. support for President Aquino's government is complete and unequivocal."

And the Justice Department opened an investigation of charges that Enrile has used U.S. aid to the Marcos regime to purchase real estate in California.

Rising pressure

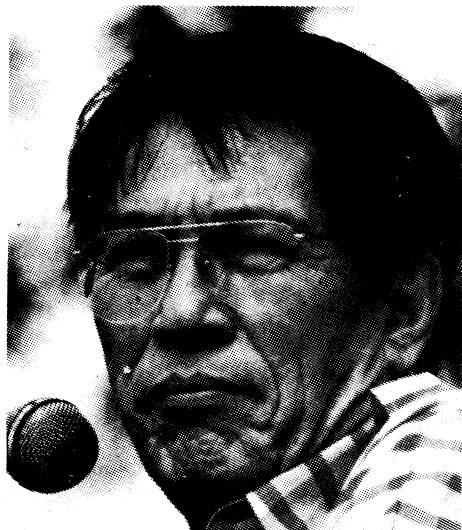
The conflicts within the Aquino government have sharpened as the regime has come under increasing pressure. U.S. and other big banks are demanding more payments on the national debt, which swelled to some \$26 billion under Marcos. Negotiations with a committee made up of repre-

sentatives of 12 major creditors collapsed November 7 when Citibank officials reportedly rejected proposals to ease payment terms for the Philippines. International Monetary Fund loans to the government could be endangered as a result.

Moreover, Enrile's opposition to negotiating with the guerrillas reflects demands by a layer of Philippine landlords and businessmen and their friends in Washington for tougher measures against the democratic gains made by Philippine workers and farmers since the downfall of Marcos. The clash between Aquino and Enrile revolves around the issue of how to contain and roll back these advances.

The number of strikes as of September this year had surpassed the total in 1985 under Marcos. "It's 'people power' run amok," complained Fred Whiting, president of the American Chamber of Commerce, an organization of U.S. businessmen in the Philippines.

Peasants are also increasingly making their voices heard. The armed struggle in the countryside has continued. And on October 21, more than 23,000 peasants marched on the presidential palace in Manila to protest abuses of human rights by the army and demand distribution of land to the peasants.



Juan Ponce Enrile, defense minister under Marcos dictatorship and Aquino government, seeks support of fallen dictator's backers.

ment, the National Democratic Front (NDF), a political coalition that supports the NPA, had proposed a 100-day cease-fire beginning as early as December 10.

Coup threat

On November 6 General Ramos warned that some military officers might be plotting against Aquino.

He cited a report in the newspaper *Business Day* that described plans for a "surgical operation" that would "take over the government, eliminate its inept and left-leaning elements, and retain Mrs. Corazon C. Aquino as president."

A statement from Ramos' office warned "any military adventurers against embarking on such a rash course of action because it could be bloody and destabilizing." As yet no moves have been taken against any officer implicated in the reported plot.

An estimated 15,000 people rallied in Manila November 9 to oppose the threats of a right-wing coup. Days before, 10,000 had marched to support the government's announced policy of seeking to negotiate a cease-fire with the rebels.

The leaders of Bayan (the New Patriotic Coalition), a broad alliance of left-wing organizations, called for a "people's uprising" in response to any coup attempt. So did a November 9 meeting of people who had been political prisoners under Marcos.

Fears that a coup attempt might be in the offing spread as Defense Minister Juan Enrile criticized the government in speeches across the country in recent weeks. Enrile, like Ramos, also held his current post under the Marcos tyranny. Both turned against Marcos in the last days of the popular upsurge against the regime.

New constitution

Enrile's attacks on the Aquino administration escalated after the commission ap-

Jersey City march targets apartheid

BY CHRIS BRANDLON

JERSEY CITY, N.J.— Some 2,000 people marched three and a half miles in a steady rain here on November 8 in the Second Annual New Jersey March Against Apartheid and Hunger.

Hundreds of the participants were high school, junior high, and elementary school students. The Weequahic High School band from Newark led off the march.

Scores of unionists also joined the march. Unions represented included District 65 and Region 9 of the United Auto Workers, Mailhandlers Local 300, the New Jersey International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and the American Federation of Teachers.

The march wound through the Black community to Liberty State Park. A rally following the march featured representatives of the freedom struggle in South Africa and entertainment by the Sechaba singers and folk musician Faith Nolan.

March participants speak

Most of the youths were participating in their first political demonstration, although many had been on walk-a-thons before. One of the most enthusiastic contingents

was from St. Francis School in Hoboken.

All along the route, these sixth graders could be heard chanting, "Free South Africa" and "Botha out, Mandela in!" When asked why they were marching, the students answered with a chorus of "to free the South Africans" and "to help the poor." (Providing aid for the homeless and hungry in New Jersey was part of the event's theme.) When 11-year-old Victor added, "and to free Nelson Mandela," everyone cheered, "Free Nelson Mandela!"

Teacher Pat Boursiewicz explained that the class had spent two weeks studying South Africa and would continue their activity by writing letters to U.S. President Ronald Reagan and South African President Pieter Botha demanding freedom for Nelson Mandela.

Al Murchison, a vice-president of UAW Local 731 in Trenton, New Jersey, compared General Motors treatment of workers in South Africa to its attitude towards workers in this country. "GM doesn't care about the workers here or in South Africa," he told the *Militant*. "I don't like what GM is doing in South Africa. They're still getting the profits out." Murchison pledged his local's ongoing support to the fight to

free South Africa.

Mamazane Xulu, a leader of the women's section of the African National Congress (ANC), told the protesters, "South African apartheid is beginning to disintegrate. Botha is desperately trying to put apartheid together, and always Reagan is behind him."

She warned the participants not to be taken in by the maneuvers of U.S. corporations currently making noises about pulling out of South Africa. "These companies are not leaving because they care about our people," she said.

Crediting the U.S. people with forcing the Senate to override Reagan's veto of the weak sanctions bill, Xulu said that the companies are "leaving because they are being hurt by the sanctions of the people. Continue boycotting these companies! Sanctions will not bring down the apartheid regime, but will weaken it and help the South African people to bring down the regime."

Lionel Louw, a member of the executive board of the South African Council of Churches, explained that "the young people of South Africa are determined to fight... there is an alternative to the apartheid system."