

CIA man exposes U.S. gov't's military flights in Nicaragua



Eugene Hasenfus, employed by CIA to transport arms to *contras*, is taken to Managua by Sandinista troops.

Support rally celebrates meat-packers' struggle

BY CATHERINE FRASER

AUSTIN, Minn. — "Welcome one and all — united we stand" read the banner on the stage of St. Edwards Community Center here on October 11.

The center was the scene of a rally and concert to celebrate the second anniversary of the Austin United Support Group. It was also a day of solidarity with the more than 1,000 meat-packers and their families in Austin; Ottumwa, Iowa; and Fremont, Nebraska, who continue to be locked out by Geo. A. Hormel & Co.

Earlier in the day members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9, members of the North American Meat Packers Union (formed after UFCW officials put Local P-9 into trusteeship), family members, and supporters crowded into the support group's offices to meet each other, exchange experiences, and grab something to eat before the day's activities began.

Heavy rain transformed the planned parade through Austin into a motorcade. Altogether about 125 vehicles took part, driving through the streets with lights on and horns blowing.

Supporters of the meat-packers had come from all over the country and from many different unions. There were auto workers from St. Louis and Detroit; shoe workers from Missouri; a steelworker from Greensboro, North Carolina; aerospace workers from New York and California; electrical workers from Denver; and many more.

One carload drove down from Edmonton, in Alberta, Canada, where 1,080 members of UFCW Local 280P have been on strike against the Gainers meatpacking company since June 1.

Supporters didn't come empty-handed. Members of the National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 9 in the Twin Cities in Minnesota brought 4,100 pounds of vegetables and apples. Others brought messages of solidarity from their union locals, money donated by their coworkers, and winter clothing for the families of out-of-work meat-packers.

Many had been to Austin for solidarity activities before. For others, it was the first time. Pam and Karen, two young women who belong to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 2300 in Denver, first heard of the meat-packers' struggle at a union meeting. Their local had voted to adopt a P-9 family. After that, Pam explained, "I started sending money on my own."

A miner from Gillespie, Illinois, had driven 10 hours to get here after coming off afternoon shift at midnight. He first found out about P-9 through reading the pamphlet, *The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota*, by Fred Halstead. "I really enjoyed the day," he told me that evening. "I didn't know what

Continued on Page 2

Salvador quake victims need aid

BY ANDRÉS PÉREZ

LOS ANGELES — The Salvadoran community in this area, which numbers 300,000, has mobilized itself to aid the victims of the earthquake that has devastated the capital city of their impoverished and war-torn homeland. The toll in the San Salvador quake now stands at around 1,000 dead and 200,000 homeless and thousands injured.

Many of the Salvadorans here are refugees who have come to the United States to escape the U.S.-backed dictatorship and the economic crisis in El Salvador. There are about 200,000 more Salvadorans in the rest of the United States, most of them in California.

Immediately after the news of the earthquake was announced, the Salvadoran community here formed the Committee for the Salvadoran Earthquake Victims. The committee held a press conference on October 13 where it explained that it wants to channel aid to the church in El Salvador rather than to the government. The people trust the church, explained Mario Salgado from CARECEN, an agency that aids Sal-

New openings for antiwar protests

When Nicaraguan soldiers shot down a U.S. C-123 plane over their territory October 5 and captured Eugene Hasenfus, a U.S. crew member who was the only survivor, they further exposed the dirty war that Washington is waging against Nicaragua.

This has given new impetus to protests against the war, such as the regional ac-

EDITORIAL

tions being held on October 25, November 1, and November 2. These actions were called by the Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice coalition, an umbrella formation of antiwar, anti-apartheid, labor, and other groups.

Hasenfus has confessed that he was employed in a CIA operation that used dozens of U.S. personnel to supply arms to the *contras*. Despite Reagan administration denials, his admissions are being confirmed in every detail by reporters in the big-business media.

The shipments were flown from a Salvadoran air force base that is the operational center for the U.S. "advisers" to the Salvadoran armed forces. Although Washington claims there are only 55 U.S. "advisers" in El Salvador, reporters describe seeing many other U.S. personnel on and around the base.

The capture of Hasenfus dealt another blow to the credibility of Washington's pretense that U.S. government operatives are not directly participating in the contra war against Nicaragua.

"It may cross the reader's mind," conceded the editors of the *New York Times* October 12, "that Americans are learning more of the truth from Managua than Washington while their Government, as in

Continued on Page 14

U.S. supplies arms to *contras* from Salvador

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Behind the backs of the American people, the U.S. government is flying military missions inside Nicaragua in total violation of U.S. law.

Details of the secret operation began to come out October 5 when Sandinista troops shot down a camouflaged plane that violated Nicaraguan airspace near the Costa Rican border. One man, Eugene Hasenfus, survived the crash and was captured the next day. He turned out to be a U.S. citizen from Wisconsin who has worked for the CIA dating back more than 20 years.

Large quantities of weapons were found in the plane wreckage, along with the bodies of two other U.S. citizens working for the CIA — William Cooper and Wallace Blaine Sawyer — and a third man who remains unidentified.

Hasenfus has since revealed extensive information about a massive CIA network that delivers weapons to the U.S.-backed terrorists, called *contras*, who are trying to overthrow the government of Nicaragua.

A reminder of how these weapons are used occurred October 14 when *contras* opened fire on civilians in a passenger bus on the main highway between the cities of Rama and Juigalpa. This is the region where Hasenfus was to drop arms and ammunition on October 5.

The terrorists blasted away at the passengers indiscriminately, murdering two and wounding 15, among them several women. Two others were kidnapped.

The revelations by Hasenfus leave no doubt that the weapons used to carry out these kinds of terrorist attacks come directly from Washington. Far from enjoying mass support inside Nicaragua, the *contras* are entirely dependent on outside military support to survive. And what has come out so far is only a tiny portion of the larger U.S. role. If Washington has to provide the pilots, the airplanes, the weapons, and the boots for these hired killers, what else is it doing to keep the contra war going?

On October 9, Hasenfus made a lengthy statement to the media here.

He said that in 1965, after serving in the U.S. Marines, "I took employment with a company called Air America. This company worked in southeast Asia. There, I was hired as an air freight specialist." He flew missions in Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, and Thailand.

Explaining that the CIA actually ran Air America, he said, "There were 'customers' — these people that worked at outstations, plus at the bases. These people were only referred to as 'the customers.' Most of these people were CIA agents."

The CIA also ran several other air companies, including Civil Air Transport, Air Asia, and Southern Air Transport, he added.

Hasenfus said he stopped working for Air America after 1973.

"In 1986, June," he continued, "ex-Air America pilot Bill Cooper called me and asked if I would be interested in flying in Central America." Cooper told him they would be working for a company called Corporate Air Services. But when Hasenfus met with Cooper in Miami, they went

Continued on Page 13

Support rally celebrates Hormel struggle

Continued from front page

to expect, but I learned a lot. Now I want to go home and do things."

About 350 people attended the rally, and many more came to the evening's activities. Welcoming everyone, Jan Butts, president of the Austin United Support Group, said there were now 42 support groups outside Austin.

Speakers from the support group pledged to continue campaigning for the boycott of Hormel products and expressed optimism that this was already having a significant impact on company profits.

Among the meat-packers' supporters who spoke at the rally was Larry Bastain, recording secretary of UAW Local 325 in St. Louis. He explained that many workers thought all the striking Hormel meat-packers had gotten their jobs back and the struggle was over. This made it very important, he stressed, that P-9 and Local 431 in Ottumwa, Iowa, get their speaking teams back on the road.

Other speakers included Helen McDermott, representing TWA flight attendants in St. Louis; Minnesota dairy farmer Chris Heaton; and farmer activist Bobbi Polzine.

One of the expressions of solidarity at the rally came in the form of a taped message from Kathy Kennedy, president of UFCW Local 7040P at Lakeside Packers in Alberta, Canada. The workers there have been on strike for nearly 28 months.

Also speaking was Ray Rogers, from Corporate Campaign Inc., who has been involved in the Austin meat-packers' struggle almost from the beginning.

"I have been watching the situation to see what's happening down in FDL," Rogers said, referring to the 1,750 workers on

strike at FDL plants in Dubuque, Iowa, and Rochelle, Illinois.

"It really amazes me, watching the news, Hormel is never mentioned. It's as if FDL Foods and Hormel weren't part of one another," he said.

Rogers blasted UFCW President William Wynn's role in relation to the FDL strike. "And all of a sudden we get to September 1 when the entire Hormel chain and FDL could get together and shut the whole operation down. The one time — forget about the Hormel workers for a minute — that those poor FDL workers at Dubuque and Rochelle had some real leverage to begin to get decent wages, the UFCW once again failed all its workers.

"Justice is going to reach the doorsteps of the company and the UFCW," Rogers said.

Several other speakers, including North American Meat Packers Union representative Merrill Evans, also blasted the UFCW

International tops.

Fred Halstead also spoke. He said that the meat-packers' strikes against Gainers in Edmonton, Canada, and FDL in Iowa and Illinois represent "your future."

A highlight of the afternoon was a report from three members of the delegation of Hormel meat-packers and supporters who recently toured Britain. Barbara Collette spoke first (see page 3 for the text of her speech), followed by Bill Cook, one of the Local 431 workers at Ottumwa fired for respecting P-9's picket line.

Summing up their experiences in Britain, suspended Local P-9 President Jim Guyette explained, "The stories are the same, only the places and the people are different."

Pointing to reports that Hormel had suffered a \$30-million net loss in the last two quarters, he declared, "This is not going to be a cheap victory for the Hormel company. It's not going to be a victory for the International union."

FDL meat-packers win strike backing

BY JIM LITTLE

DUBUQUE, Iowa — More than 500 striking FDL workers and supporters held a march and rally in front of the FDL meat-packing plant here October 10.

FDL tried to portray the rally as potentially violent by boarding up the plant windows beforehand. The event was peaceful.

Hundreds of striking members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 150-A at the Dubuque plant were joined by strikers from UFCW Local 1218 at the

Rochelle, Illinois, plant. Workers at both plants have been on strike since September 11.

Members of United Auto Workers Local 94, on strike against John Deere for seven weeks here, and members of International Association of Machinists Local 1238, on strike against the Eska company, were also at the rally.

Five union leaders addressed the rally from the back of a truck bed. Mel Maas, president of UFCW Local 150-A, explained that meat-packers had made concessions between 1978 and 1982 to Dubuque Packing Co., the predecessor of FDL, totaling some \$25 million. The company closed the plant in 1982 and reopened under the new corporate structure as FDL.

Local 150-A members started under the new company with a base pay of \$6 an hour, a \$4.69 cut. By 1986 meat-packers at the Dubuque plant have still only reached \$8 an hour, well under the \$10.69 wage they earned in 1981.

Meat-packers in Dubuque feel they have given up enough. An informational leaflet distributed by the workers stressed safety and dignity on the job as major goals.

Members of Local 150-A at the rally and on the picket lines discussed problems in the plant before the strike. Several women described working as part-time workers in the cutting area. They said they did not know what their hours would be until they arrived at the plant and their hours were posted. They explained that this made it doubly difficult to arrange child care.

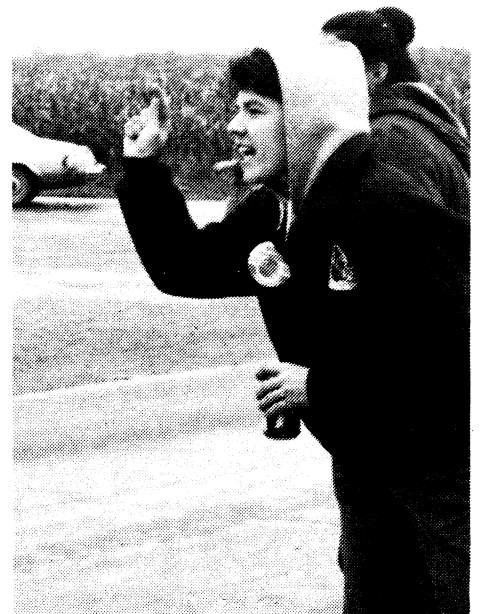
Until now, FDL has not tried to introduce scab labor at Dubuque. Workers stress that they would fight to defend their jobs if FDL brought in scabs.

On October 12 members of UFCW Local 1218 at the Rochelle plant met at the

The fight against Hormel is "a turning point for the labor movement in this country," Guyette said. "We're all going to go back, we're all going to go back with our heads held high, and we're all going to go back under decent wages, decent hours, and decent working conditions, or this Hormel company can be past history as far as I'm concerned."

One final speaker addressed the P-9 members and supporters during the concert that night. Fred Dube, a member of the African National Congress mission at the United Nations, traveled to Austin after taking part in anti-apartheid activities in the Twin Cities earlier in the day.

"I come to you with greetings from the oppressed masses in South Africa," Dube said. "In particular, with the greetings of the true, authentic trade unions in South Africa — SACTU and COSATU." He explained that one-third of the opponents of apartheid imprisoned by the racist South African regime are trade union leaders.



Militant/Jim Little

UFCW strikers at Rochelle, Illinois, plant.

local high school to hear an offer from FDL to the local. The company offer was worse than the previous one — withdrawing even the paltry "profit-sharing" plan included in the previous proposal. The union members decided not to vote on the offer.

The company floated a rumor that it would introduce scabs at the Rochelle plant the next day if the proposed contract was not approved. Strikers responded with large-scale picketing that Monday morning.

But only management personnel, office personnel, and 18 workers who had previously crossed the picket line showed up. The hog-slaughtering operations at both FDL plants are shut down at present.

Unionists protest mural destruction

AUSTIN, Minn. — "When I heard they were going to sandblast the mural I got real mad," Larry Bastain, recording secretary of United Auto Workers Local 325 in St. Louis, said here October 11. His comment expressed the feelings of everyone attending the P-9 solidarity activities that day.

On October 8 sandblasters began removing the 16-by-80 foot outdoor mural from the wall of the Austin Labor Center. The mural had been painted by striking meat-packers from United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 and their supporters, and dedicated to imprisoned South African anti-apartheid leader Nelson Mandela.

In June, P-9's offices at the labor center were taken over by trustees appointed by UFCW top officials. Deputy trustee Ken Kimbro told journalists that the trustees had ordered the sandblasting because "it has become an irritant to many people." Community residents had asked that it be removed, he said.

As North American Meat Packers Union activist Merrill Evans said, however, "The

only reason the mural was sandblasted was because Hormel wanted it to be sandblasted. They were the 'community residents' who supposedly complained."

About 50 P-9 members and supporters gathered at the labor center during the sandblasting to protest the destruction of the mural. Kathy Buck, one of the local's suspended executive board members, was arrested on the basis of a citizen's complaint filed by the trustees and later charged with trespass.

A court order halted the sandblasting — at least temporarily. On October 11 the basic design could still be seen but the faces and slogans had been destroyed.

"I'm absolutely appalled," Denny Mealy, a P-9 member who coordinated the creation of the mural, said of the destruction. "I can hardly believe that people who have come in and taken over the residency of a local union have the right to destroy something the union built. The unique thing about the mural was not that it was done by one person, but by 100." — C.F.

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GOOD OFFER
November 15

At the plant gates, mine portals, and picket lines; at antiwar actions and demonstrations against apartheid in South Africa; at schools, the *Militant* is there, reporting the facts and participating in the struggles.

The *Militant* is written in the interests of workers and farmers. Every week it tells the truth about the war Washington and the employers are waging against working people at home and abroad. It provides firsthand coverage of important struggles in other countries, such as Haiti, the Philippines, and Nicaragua. Regular on-the-scene reports come from its Nicaragua Bureau.

Take advantage of the special introductory subscription offer (good only until Nov. 15, 1986): 12 issues for \$3.

Plus for only 50¢ more you can get the new pamphlet *The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota*, by Fred Halstead.

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Hormel unionists find British workers eager to give support

BY NORTON SANDLER

DURHAM, England — Twenty-four hours in this industrial area in Britain's northeast was barely enough time to cover the meetings that had been set up.

Unionists and community activists alike were anxious to learn about the struggle U.S. meat-packers are waging against Geo. A. Hormel & Co.

Barbara Collette, Bill Cook, and Bob Langemeier stopped here during the final leg of a two-week tour of Britain. Cook from Ottumwa, Iowa, and Langemeier from Fremont, Nebraska, were among the workers victimized by Hormel in early 1986 for honoring picket lines set up outside the plants where they worked by striking members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota. Both are fighting to be reinstated to their jobs.

Collette is an activist in the Austin United Support Group.

The Durham stop began with a tour of Redhills, the headquarters of the Durham-area National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). From there, Cook and Langemeier went to the outlying mining villages.

Langemeier spoke that evening at the meeting of the Murton branch of the NUM.

"They were real glad to hear what we had to say. They presented us with a check for \$50, and they took up a collection where we received another \$10," he said.

That same evening, Cook spoke to nearly 40 miners at the Wearmouth NUM branch. The miners donated 132 pounds (\$189.00) to the tour and expressed interest in the United Support Group's "Adopt-A-Family" program.

After the NUM meeting, Cook hustled to a meeting of local activists from the National Union of Public Employees (NUPE).

The U.S. workers were in Durham at the same time as a march focusing British attention on the plight of the unemployed was passing through. Several dozen marchers, mostly unemployed youth, are retracing the several-hundred-mile route of the famous Jarrow unemployed march of 1936.

Several festivities, including a play, were held in conjunction with the march. Barbara Collette received enthusiastic applause from the more than 250 people attending the play after she explained the issues in the Hormel struggle during intermission.

The following morning Cook and Langemeier began the day with an 8:30 a.m. discussion with a leader of the Northern Region Trades Union Congress (TUC). From there they went to a meeting with an

official of the local public service administration.

After that they went to the nearby Vickers Defense System plant, where an officer of the union met with them just outside the plant gate. They were then taken to lunch by eight leaders of the local TUC.

Their last stop was at a Rolls Royce factory, where they met with seven officers of the union in a room just inside the plant gate.

Collette, in the meantime, was meeting with members of Women Against Pit Closures and was interviewed by the *Durham Miner*, the local NUM paper.

But the day wasn't over. After a three-and-a-half-hour train ride to London, the U.S. workers immediately went to the picket lines outside News International's Wapping printing plant.

The printers have been on strike at Wapping since January. News International opened the new facility with scabs and is refusing to recognize the print unions. They had just rejected a cash buyout offer that would have precluded getting their jobs back.

After a brief stop at the picket lines, Cook, Collette, and Langemeier traveled a few blocks down the road, where 1,000 strikers were assembling for a march to the



Militant/Kipp Dawson

Members of Barnsley, England, Women Against Pit Closures wear Hormel struggle caps

picket lines. After talking to strikers briefly and watching the march kick off, the three called it a day.

While Collette, Langemeier, and Cook were in the north, two other members of the delegation, Jim Guyette and Gale Shango, traveled to Nottingham, Chesterfield, and London.

Guyette spoke to 30 students at a Notts college and attended a reception for author Joan Witham, whose new book *Hearts and Minds* chronicles the experiences of NUM miners and their families during the 1984-85 strike. Guyette was interviewed by radio and newspaper reporters at the reception.

In Chesterfield, he addressed a meeting of the Constituency Labour Party.

In London Guyette visited the national offices of the Trades Union Congress. Several people there recognized him from dozens of speaking engagements the previous

week at the annual British Labour Party conference in Blackpool and offered encouragement for the struggle.

He also visited the offices of striking printers and made a 30-minute presentation on the fight in the United States to a meeting of 250 print union delegates.

In the course of their stay, the U.S. workers spoke to audiences of more than 3,500 people and distributed several thousand pieces of literature with information on the Hormel fight. Two hundred copies of *The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota*, by Fred Halstead, were exchanged for donations along the way.

The trip to Britain was financed by donations from many unionists in the United States. Contributions are still needed. They can be sent to: British Labour Party Conference Travel Fund, c/o Kathy Mickells, 68 Dunkard Ave., Westover, W. Va. 26505.

'The things we have won are universal'

A delegation of fired Hormel meat-packers and their supporters toured Britain for two weeks in late September and early October. Included in the delegation were Jim Guyette, former president of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota; Barbara Collette, an activist in the Austin United Support Group; Bill Cook from Ottumwa, Iowa; and Bob Langemeier from Fremont, Nebraska.

Their tour began with a visit to the British Labour Party's annual conference in Blackpool. The delegation then traveled to other parts of England, talking to unionists and winning support for the struggle being waged against Hormel.

Two days after their return to the United States, Barbara Collette spoke at the October 11 rally in Austin to celebrate the second anniversary of the founding of the support group. She described the delegation's visits to mining communities and the welcome they received from British miners and their support group, Women Against Pit Closures.

Below are major excerpts from her speech.

* * *

I have a heart full of gratitude for being one of the many people who went to England to represent you here in Austin. It was a privilege, and it was one of the greatest experiences in my life.

The miners in England are all men and so their support teams are basically all women. The miners' strike started sometime in 1984, and it went on for one year.

They learned basically the same things that we have learned. They learned that the amount of time and the things you give up materially are so unimportant because, if you look back over the year, you realize the things that you have gained — the pride, the dignity — could not have been purchased with the money you lost.

One of the miners' wives told me that their struggle was also a dignity struggle. And we, in our conversations, both agreed that dignity was not something that someone could take away from you unless you were willing to give it up. We know that our P-9 members and the miners all over England would not give up dignity and therefore called a strike.

There were 11,000 people arrested during the year of their strike. Their strike was called for the very same reason ours was, except they were facing many "pit" closures, which are mine closures.



Militant/Kipp Dawson

Barbara Collette, activist in Austin United Support Group who toured Britain, told meeting in Austin: "We cannot separate ourselves from any struggle that's going on."

Since the strike ended, although they were promised that there were not going to be any more mine closures, 35 mines have been closed. Forty thousand people have lost their jobs since 1985, and they're still continuing to close the mines over there.

Understood struggle

We got tear-gassed, we got arrested, we were put in jail. They were not tear-gassed, but they were put in jail. They were attacked by policemen on horses. They were beaten with clubs. They were struck with rocks and bricks.

The minute you sat down to speak, all you had to do was say that you were on strike and that you had been "sacked" — sacked is the word that means fired over there — and they understood immediately.

When we asked them to boycott Hormel products, they said, "Of course."

There were no questions as to exactly the reasons you did what you did. There were no questions asking if we thought we were going to be successful. They didn't care because they knew that staying out on strike for one year and fighting as hard as they had fought was in itself a victory. So

they knew that we were in a winning situation and not a losing one because they knew what they had won.

The things we have won, the things we have learned, and the friends we have made are universal. They're not just in Austin. They're not just in New York. They're not just in California. We have friends who you cannot believe — in London, in Barnsley, in Durham, in York, in Nottingham — and I could name many other places.

We were welcomed everywhere. They shared their tea, which was delicious. They shared their lager, which was grand. They shared their feelings. They shared everything with us. They kept nothing back.

Opened homes, hearts

They did the same thing for me that hundreds of us have done here. They opened their homes, they opened their hearts, they were totally honest.

Mrs. Thatcher, in a video I saw while I was there, called the miners "the enemy within." Well, I just want to make it perfectly clear right now that if they're the enemy, they're the only ones I want to know.

We went to Nottingham, where the biggest struggle went on and where the largest number of scabs went back. Twenty thousand scabs crossed the line in Nottingham because they were told that this mine would never be closed, because they were told that if they crossed they would get back-pay, because they were promised financial rewards. Greed forced these men across the picket line.

I was so proud to say that the majority of us stayed out, and I was so proud to say that I was a member of the support group that supported all of you.

I want to sincerely thank every union member here who made my trip possible, every single union member who contributed to make all our trips possible.

We should know that we must not allow ourselves to be separated by what the newspapers say. We must not allow ourselves to be separated from the farmers, from the Blacks. We cannot separate ourselves from Nicaragua. We cannot separate ourselves from any struggle that's going on because all the struggles are somehow related.

We have to know and understand that unless we all stick together — unless there is solidarity between England, America, wherever it is — all of us will lose.

British Labour Party leaders salute Hormel fighters

The following letter was sent to meat-packers in Austin, Minnesota; Ottumwa, Iowa; and Fremont, Nebraska. It was signed by seven Labour Party members of Parliament in Britain: Tony Benn, Jo Richardson, Michael Meacher, Joan Maynard, Eric Heffer, Jeremy Corbyn, and Dennis Skinner.

We are sending you this expression of our backing for your historic campaign for Justice against your employers George A. Hormel & Company in Austin, Minnesota.

The tremendous response made to the many speeches delivered by your representatives at so many crowded meetings of trade unionists and Labour Party members at our Conference in Blackpool, will have convinced you of our determination to support your demand for a complete international boycott of all the products of the Hormel company.

Working people everywhere are engaged in a common struggle for Peace, Jobs, and Freedom, and we salute your courage and your commitment.

Iowa, Illinois workers seek facts on fightbacks

BY MITCHEL ROSENBERG
DUBUQUE, Iowa — "Our local gave a big contribution to the Austin meat-packers. I don't regret it."

pany and talk about FDL's collusion with Hormel in driving back the working conditions and standard of living of meat-packers nationwide. She expects the Militant subscription she bought will

Union hits cover-up in Utah mine fire

BY JOE GEISER
AND DAVE HURST

CASTLE DALE, Utah — "This situation was intentionally created by the company and aided by MSHA [Mine Safety and Health Administration] to cover up their own inadequacies. For 21 months the image of this investigation that has been created was far removed from the reality of 27 deaths in the Wilberg mine on Dec. 19, 1984."

With these words, Joe Main, international administrator of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Safety Department, took MSHA to task for what he called its "incomplete investigation" of the tragic Wilberg mine fire. The fire claimed the lives of 18 union men, a union woman, and eight Emery Mining Corp. supervisors during a company attempt to set a 24-hour longwall production world record.

According to Main, MSHA's investigation team prevented UMWA participation in the investigation, sidestepped union investigators, and dragged out the investigation needlessly for 21 months. Main gave this assessment at a press conference late last month immediately following MSHA's release at another conference of preliminary findings from their investigations.

According to MSHA chief investigator Herschel Potter, the main purpose of the investigation was solely to determine the cause of the fire, not to find out why the 27 victims became trapped so quickly or to fix any blame for the fire's outbreak.

Potter did say that as far as MSHA is concerned, "the fire originated at the air compressor" located at the mouth of the section where the 27 were working. According to Potter, two safety devices on the compressor, the on/off switch and the heat-sensor switch, were "rendered inoperative" at the time of the fire. Potter refused to say if the switches were intentionally tampered with or were just out of service.

These points were hotly contested by Main. "The investigation has to be viewed in terms of the deaths that occurred. That's our bottom line," he said. "The fire did not kill" the 27 victims, but "the system failed" whereby the miners might have escaped.

According to Main, the fire-detection and communications systems in the mine were in a state of failure. Meanwhile, short circuits in the mine ventilation system immediately caused contamination of the fresh air escapeways with carbon monoxide and smoke. In addition, the UMWA believes the fire began in the conveyor belt system near the Fifth Right section, as stated by eyewitnesses early on in the investigation.

In response to reporters' questions, Potter allowed that the granting of a variance to Emery Mining to continue coal production in that section when one of the escapeways was blocked by a cave-in "was a mistake." But the company was in full compliance with the law on maintaining the required number of escapeways, according to Potter.

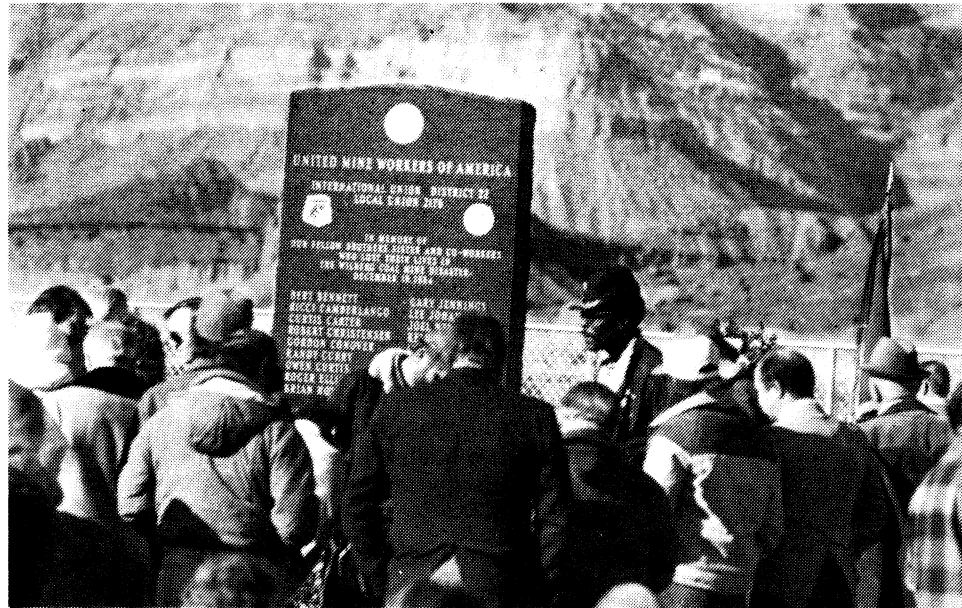
Main responded to this by saying that the world record attempt "tripled the number of people in the section, reduced the amount of protective equipment available, and exposed them to the danger." The blocked escapeways definitely "reduced the escape capabilities" of the 27 who were trapped.

The Emery County sheriff and FBI agents were at Potter's side throughout the investigation and at the press conference. Both declared a total lack of evidence that would lead them to investigate any further the possibility of arson as a cause of the fire.

Main said, "It's a sad state of affairs that arson was even raised as a possibility." At their press conference, however, Emery Mining Corp. officials Neal Savage and Bob Henrie still clung to the possibility of arson as one of their "options" as a cause of the fire.

Two actions will be taken as a result of MSHA's release of its findings. Potter stated that MSHA will issue citations to Emery Mining, in spite of his claim that the mines appeared to him to be "well-managed" by the operator. However, no penalties against Emery are guaranteed as a result of the citations, according to Potter.

The UMWA, on the other hand, will call for a congressional investigation of what Main called the "mishandling" of the investigation by MSHA. Main charged that Potter gave "different stories to the UMWA and to the press" about MSHA's investigation procedures, and the UMWA is demanding



Militant/Dave Hurst
Miners at 1985 dedication of union memorial to those who lost their lives in Wilberg mine disaster.

hearings before the congressional oversight committee to find out why.

The investigation is far from over. A lot of lab work on equipment extracted from the mine still needs to be done by MSHA, which will release a final written report on its investigation sometime in 1987. Meanwhile, the UMWA continues to press its own inves-

tigation to fix the blame in the failures of the system which allowed the victims to be trapped and overcome by carbon monoxide that night in December 1984.

Joe Geiser and Dave Hurst are members of UMWA Local 1769, currently laid off from Utah Power & Light Co.'s Deer Creek mine, which is next to Wilberg.

N.Y. rally pledges funds for 'Militant' teams

BY CHRIS RAYSON

Beneath a banner proclaiming, in the words of Cuban President Fidel Castro, "The truth must not just be the truth, it must be told," a New York City meeting raised \$2,777 in pledges toward the \$100,000 Fall Publications Fund. This is the first of many public meetings supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* plan to hold throughout the United States.

Featured speaker at the event was Sam Manuel, who recently covered the Movement of Nonaligned Countries conference in Harare, Zimbabwe. Manuel noted that the *Militant*'s coverage was sharply different from accounts in the big-business media. A comparison showed "a tale of two summits," he said.

The conference was in reality a strong demonstration against South Africa's apartheid regime and the U.S. government, apartheid's chief backer. It also condemned the U.S.-backed mercenary war against Nicaragua. These accomplishments elicited contempt from the editors of the *New York Times* and others of their ilk. One *Times* editorial was titled "The Aimless, Spineless Non-Aligned Movement." Manuel said this reminded him of the old saying, "A hit dog will holler."

Ben Dupuy, editor of *Haiti Progres* and coordinator of the Committee Against Repression in Haiti, also spoke. He urged the *Militant* and *PM* to keep up their coverage of struggles in oppressed countries. This is important in Haiti, Dupuy said, "especially when imperialism tries to keep things

under cover through a conspiracy of silence."

Selva Nebbia, staff writer for *Perspectiva Mundial*, invited everyone in the audience to join the ambitious circulation campaign of the *Militant* and *PM* to win 10,000 new readers this fall. She noted that Secretary of State George Shultz recently defended Washington's massive "disinformation" campaign against Libya with a quote from Winston Churchill that "in time of war the truth is so precious it must be attended by a bodyguard of lies."

But this is so only for those who seek to cover up or distort the truth.

The *Militant* and *PM* believe "the truth needs no such bodyguards," Nebbia stated. It does need to be told as widely as possible, and this is what our circulation campaign helps to accomplish.

This lends added urgency to reaching the \$100,000 Fall Publications Fund goal by November 15. The fund helps to pay the additional costs of fielding more than a dozen traveling circulation teams throughout the United States and in Puerto Rico.

We urge our readers to help us by contributing.

The fund is for the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International*, and *Pathfinder Press*. So far \$12,500 has been collected of \$32,700 pledged. If you can help, fill out the coupon below. Any contribution, no matter the amount, will be appreciated.

Delta catfish workers vote union

Workers at Delta Catfish Processors, Inc., in Indianola, Mississippi, voted by a 58 percent majority October 10 to join the United Food and Commercial Workers union. The vote marked a victory for an organizing drive that faced a well-financed campaign of intimidation by the company.

Delta Catfish is the largest employer in Sunflower County in the Mississippi Delta. Each day the 1,050 workers kill, fillet, and

freeze some 400,000 pounds of catfish raised on farms in the region.

Ninety percent of the workers are Black. Their pay averages \$3.90 an hour — and when the supply of fish runs out they must often punch out and wait without pay for another truckload. Workers are punished for unauthorized bathroom visits and other violations of company rules. Dignity on the job was a major issue in the drive.

Mississippi, with only 9 percent of its workers belonging to unions, is one of the least unionized states in the country.

The union supporters at Delta Catfish won the support of the state National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The union also received community support, including from a local minister.

"We joined this campaign because here was a labor union finally doing what we had always hoped they would be doing," Cleve McDowell, state field director of the Mississippi NAACP, told a *Washington Post* reporter. "I hope this will be a signal to unions all over the country that Black people are important, and poor people in the Deep South need help, too."

The company pulled out all the stops to prevent the workers from organizing. According to the National Labor Relations Board, eight union supporters were fired. Some workers were pressured by the company to spy on suspected union activists.

Delta Catfish also hired Charles Evers, mayor of Fayette, Mississippi, to tour the area urging a vote against the union.

"A lot of people were really scared," said Diane Williams, a fillet-cutter who supported the union. "But they were more tired of being pushed around and treated like kids. We believe in what we are doing."

Some sell, others process subscriptions

BY JIM WHITE

When supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* gathered on Saturday morning October 11 to form subscription sales teams in the New York-New Jersey area, one team was sent to an unusual location — the business office.

Eric Huffman and Jon Erway came in from Newark for several hours to help us stay on top of getting the papers to hundreds of new readers. While other teams were setting up tables on the streets of Newark, Jersey City, Elizabeth, and East Orange, Jon and Eric were opening the mail from places like Atlanta, Denver, and Los Angeles. They entered the names in the computer, proofread what they did, and left at about the same time as the other teams were heading back.

If Eric and Jon had sold subscriptions on Saturday as they usually do, it would have given Newark a higher total on the scoreboard. But they recognized that this would have been a narrow way to approach the subscription drive.

The effort to get 10,000 more readers is an integrated one consisting of many tasks.

The kind of trade-off Eric and Jon made — less subscriptions for helping process subscriptions from other cities — is indispensable. By getting regular help from Newark and New York, we will be able to ensure every new reader that the only delays in getting their subscriptions will result from the postal system, not us.

We continue to get a lot of help during the week, too. On Thursday we got the mail at 11:00 a.m., and it contained more than 200 new subscriptions. Thanks to the work of our supporters, we had them all in the computer by the end of the day.

Theresa Delgadillo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York, was able to help because of a short layoff from her garment job. Ethel Lobman, who recently retired, was able to put in some time. And Lynn Fain was able to help because her airport job gives her "weekends" at all different times of the week.

If you live in the New York-New Jersey area and would like to help with the subscription drive, call one of the numbers in the directory on page 12. Or give us a call in the business office at (212) 929-3486.

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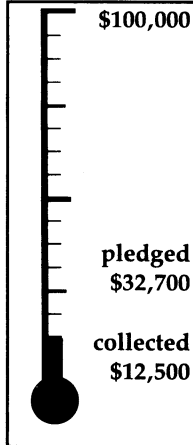
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Nicaraguan assembly delegates debate 'right to life'

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

The issue of abortion rights came to the fore briefly in Nicaragua's National Assembly on October 1, as deputies debated a draft

NOTES FROM NICARAGUA

national constitution. The assembly — made up of representatives of seven different parties — is currently voting on the draft constitution article by article.

Abortion is illegal in Nicaragua, except for therapeutic abortions approved by a medical board. During mass meetings this summer to discuss the draft constitution, some women proposed adding a clause guaranteeing their right to decide whether to have children. The draft was revised following those meetings, but a right-to-choose clause was not included in the new text.

On October 1, Clemente Guido, an assembly deputy from the capitalist Conservative Democratic Party, attempted to insert an anti-abortion clause into Article 23 of the draft constitution, which states, "A human being's right to life is inherent and inviolable. In Nicaragua, there is no death penalty."

Guido proposed adding to the article that the right to life begins "at the moment of conception." His amendment was sharply denounced by several deputies of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), including Ray

Hooker, delegate from Bluefields on the Atlantic Coast, and Benigna Mendiola, a delegate from one of Nicaragua's peasant areas.

Mendiola pointed out that when poor women have abortions, they are considered criminals, whereas wealthy women have abortions without suffering any social stigma.

Carlos Núñez, president of the National Assembly and a member of the FSLN National Directorate, also condemned Guido's amendment. Núñez said that in his opinion abortion "is one of those issues loaded with dynamite. A decision either way would provoke an explosion."

Carlos Cuadra, delegate of the ultraleft Marxist-Leninist Party, said he thought the real threat to the right to life was the constitution itself, which in his party's view "establishes capitalist exploitation."

Guido's motion was rejected overwhelmingly.

The consumption of basic goods by Nicaraguan families declined by 5.8 percent in 1985, reports the FSLN daily newspaper *Barricada*. The primary cause of this erosion in living standards was the U.S. mercenary war.

Defense against the war costs roughly half the Nicaraguan government budget. The terrorists paid by Washington prioritize attacks on agricultural centers and farm machinery, reducing food production both for domestic use and for export.

In addition, the U.S. embargo on trade with Nicaragua hits the country heavily in the areas of farm equipment, raw materials,



Militant/Harvey McArthur
Women at June 10 town meeting in Managua discuss draft constitution. Abortion was single-most-discussed issue.

transport and electronic machinery, and medical equipment.

A delegation of central government officials headed by Nicaraguan Vice-president Sergio Ramírez visited the Atlantic Coast province of Northern Zelaya in September to evaluate progress being made by government ministries in providing resources to the war-torn area.

Northern Zelaya is the home of Miskito and Sumo Indians and has been hit hard by the U.S.-backed mercenary war. A significant number of Miskitos remain in mercenary units attacking Indian villages, while a growing number of those in arms are signing cease-fire pacts with the Sandinistas.

Ramírez stressed that the plan to establish governmental autonomy on the coast "is completely serious. We're not just using it as a tactic. We are seriously carrying it out."

An important aspect of doing so, he said, was following through on government projects to improve the supplies of food, social services, road and housing construction, and employment opportunities in Northern Zelaya.

Washington, he noted, is trying to use the shortages and poverty in the area to provoke opposition to the government. "That's why the economic situation, production and services, is extremely important," he explained.

The government survey found that several ministries had successfully completed their goals for the province, but that the transportation and mine ministries were behind on projections. Develop-

ment and social service projects were going the slowest in the Río Coco area bordering Honduras, where military conflict remains intense.

While in Northern Zelaya, the vice-president also inaugurated a new airfield, an electric plant, and a concrete prefabrication plant built with Cuban aid.

In keeping with the principles of democratic rights established with the 1979 Sandinista revolution, Nicaragua's Ministry of the Interior (MINT) announced that four lower-level police officials will be punished for mistreating prisoners.

With the 1979 revolution, the death penalty was abolished in Nicaragua and all physical or mental abuse of prisoners strictly prohibited. The maximum jail sentence is 30 years.

On October 2, the MINT reported that four of its officers had physically and mentally abused some prisoners in Region VI, in northern Nicaragua. The abuses came to light when families of the prisoners reported the violations to the MINT's public relations office in the region. These offices exist in each region to monitor police behavior and maintain close working relations with workers and peasants.

The four accused officers will be tried in a military court. In an editorial column, *Barricada* commended the MINT's "exemplary manner of responding, by punishing those who, despite their undoubted merits, temporarily lost their perspective and did something that neither the revolution nor the MINT permits: they abused the power conferred upon them by the people."

Daniel Ortega salutes African liberation struggle

BY RUTH NEBBIA

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "A victory for the South African people is a victory for all workers of the world. To insure this victory we must make every effort to build solidarity with the people of South Africa, Namibia, and the Frontline States," declared Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega during a tour of Africa, Asia, and eastern Europe. The 25-day tour ended on September 19.

In Africa, Ortega visited and met government leaders in Burkina Faso, Ghana, the Congo, and Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe, Ortega also attended the eighth summit conference of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, held September 1-6.

During the summit, Ortega met with Oliver Tambo, leader of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa; Sam Nujoma, president of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) of

Namibia; as well as with other leaders of national liberation movements and governments attending the summit.

Nicaragua condemns apartheid

In a press conference held the last day of the summit, Ortega expressed his support for the struggle against the apartheid regime of South Africa. "International opinion is already demanding that concrete actions be taken to end the apartheid regime once and for all," Ortega said.

The Nicaraguan president declared that U.S. policy in Central America and southern Africa is one and the same. In Central America, Ortega said, the U.S. government uses countries such as Honduras to attack the Nicaraguan people, and in southern Africa, the Pretoria regime is used to attack the Frontline States.

In his speech to the summit of the Nonaligned movement, Ortega told the

delegates that among the reasons Washington attacks the Nicaraguan revolution is "because we salute the 26th anniversary of the ANC, because we recognize SWAPO as the legitimate representative of the people of Namibia," and because of the solidarity Nicaragua offers other struggles for national liberation around the world.

Barricada, the daily paper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua, ran articles explaining what apartheid is and the history of the struggle against it. *Barricada* also ran articles on the struggle in Namibia, Angola, and other Frontline States that were recently attacked by South Africa.

A glimpse of African culture

The Sandinista Television System carried an hour-long program on Ortega's tour. It gave Nicaraguan working people a glimpse of the culture of the various countries visited, as well as how Ortega and his delegation were received.

In Burkina Faso on August 27, for example, the delegation was met by Capt. Thomas Sankara, head of the governing council. Sankara awarded Ortega a medal of honor, which he accepted "in the name of [Nicaragua's] combatants, peasants who work the land, industrial workers, women who participate in the defense, all of whom are shouldering their rifles."

Ortega and Sankara were greeted in a packed national stadium in Ouagadougou, the capital, by thousands who chanted, "Nicaragua, you are not alone, Burkina is with you!"

Barricada commented on the mood in Ouagadougou: "The chants and spontaneous dances in salute to the Nicaraguan people, and the structure of the city itself, reminded the delegation of some of the cities of [Nicaragua's] Atlantic Coast region."

Tours Asia

After the summit of the Nonaligned movement, Ortega also visited India,

China, and North Korea. He and Chinese government leaders signed general agreements for commercial, scientific, and technological cooperation. One of the agreements includes a \$20 million interest-free loan from China to Nicaragua.

Ortega gave Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and North Korean President Kim Il Sung the Augusto César Sandino medal of honor.

Ortega also presented the medal to Erich Honecker, secretary general of the Socialist Unity Party of East Germany. The Nicaraguan president visited both East Germany and Yugoslavia during his tour.

U.S. volunteers needed for Nicaragua harvest

Six brigades of volunteers from the United States are being organized to help Nicaraguans harvest cotton and coffee from December through March. The first group, made up of women, will begin December 6.

The two- to three-week brigades are sponsored by the Nicaragua Exchange. This organization has sent more than 1,200 volunteers to help harvest cash crops in Nicaragua since 1983. This year, contingents include students, elderly people, youth, and oppressed minorities, as well as the women's brigade.

According to a news release issued by Nicaragua Exchange, volunteers bed down in rough dormitories, eat beans and rice three times a day, and work alongside Nicaraguans and internationalists from Europe and Latin America.

Applications are available by calling the Nicaragua Exchange at (212) 219-8620 or International Work Brigades/N.Y., the local New York committee, at (212) 865-5904.

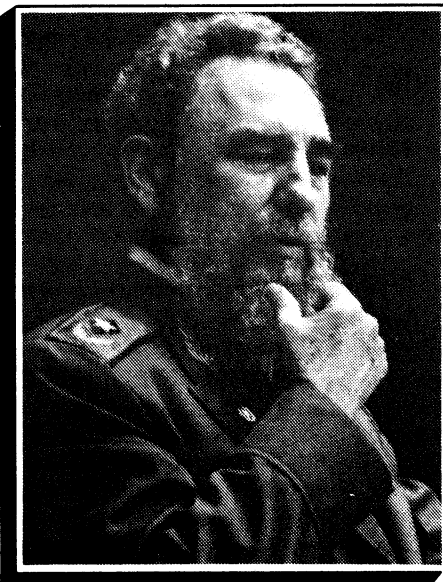
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Pentagon's latest ruse: 'low intensity war'

How U.S. government tries to disguise its dirty war against Nicaragua

BY JON HILLSON

Has Washington developed a new military strategy, one that can thwart, contain, and cripple popular revolutionary struggles around the world? A strategy that's "learned" from the Vietnam War experience and can overturn popular revolutionary governments such as Nicaragua's without the introduction of U.S. troops?

Is this strategy succeeding in Nicaragua?

The Pentagon and its think tanks and pundits would like working people in the United States and the rest of the world to believe this is so. They want to convince opponents of U.S. intervention in Nicaragua that Washington has the upper hand.

The Reagan administration wants us to believe that U.S. troops will never be sent to Central America. It seeks to keep its dirty wars sanitized in front of U.S. public opinion and thereby defuse popular protest against the escalating U.S. intervention in Nicaragua.

The Pentagon's latest effort to carry out this ruse is called "low intensity warfare."

It's been the subject of discussion for months in Washington. Studies have been undertaken and manuals published in the various branches of the U.S. armed forces.

"Low intensity warfare" discussions have been held by members of Congress. And, in January of this year outside the nation's capital, at Ft. McNair, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, Secretary of State George Shultz, and White House Communications Director Patrick Buchanan addressed a two-day conference on the subject.

Lead articles on this topic have appeared in journals from the *Black Scholar* to *Playboy* to the *Wall Street Journal* and other major U.S. daily newspapers. And in the last year, virtually every publication concerned with opposing the U.S. war in Central America has devoted space to analyzing so-called low intensity warfare.

Deepening debate

This has produced a deepening debate among antiwar activists, some of whom, while defending the Nicaraguan revolution, have been convinced by the Pentagon's advertising campaign that Washington indeed has made big advances and major adjustments enabling it to contain and roll back the struggles of the oppressed around the world.

The implications of this debate are important because they bear directly on how to explain the U.S. war to working people, and how best to mobilize opposition to it.

The term "low intensity warfare" itself derives from the Pentagon's cynical rating game of possible "conflicts."

"Low intensity" is U.S.-backed warfare without the direct use of ground combat troops.

"Medium intensity" levels describe U.S. military intervention in Vietnam.

A "high intensity war," the Pentagon holds, is U.S.-Soviet nuclear confrontation.

According to this jargon, Nicaragua is the new laboratory for low intensity war-

fare.

But Nicaragua is victim to a war that is anything but low intensity.

More than 15,000 have died in this country of 3.4 million since Washington began organizing, training, and equipping the *contra* army. Nearly 1,000 of those killed by the CIA mercenaries have been under 12. The war has created 10,000 orphans. Hundreds of workers, farmers, students, doctors, and teachers have been kidnapped by the contras.

More than 120,000 Nicaraguans, mostly peasants, have been displaced by the war.

Imagine a war in the United States that produced 700,000 orphans, nearly 9 million refugees, and over 1 million dead.

A war that wouldn't exist without the direct intervention of the mightiest and wealthiest military power on earth.

The Pentagon's obscene "low intensity" terminology to describe Washington's cruel war against Nicaragua has only one function: to obscure the fact that Washington is waging a real war.

Moreover, it is a war that is being escalated.

Approval by congressional Democrats and Republicans of \$100 million in direct aid to the contras along with so-called supplemental CIA contingency funds of \$400 million represent *double* Nicaragua's projected 1986 export income.

Nicaragua solidarity activist Sara Miles, in a major article in the April-May *Report on the Americas*, states that low intensity warfare is a "radical departure from conventional military thinking."

Robert Armstrong, executive director of the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), which publishes the *Report*, wrote along similar lines in the December 1985 issue of the *Progressive*. He cites Deborah Barry, a senior researcher at the Managua-based Regional Coordinating Committee for Economic and Social Studies, who claims that "there is a new strategy at work in Nicaragua and Central America: low intensity war. It's what was learned from Vietnam. It's not about gunboats and invasions. It's a major shift from the concept of conventional warfare."

Training maneuvers

But far from shifting from conventional warfare, the U.S. military has conducted naval and ground maneuvers off Nicaragua's coasts and in Honduras, involving more than 50,000 soldiers and sailors. Mock invasions and simulated ground combat have familiarized tens of thousands of troops with Central American terrain.

The obvious threat implied by these actions, along with the construction of five U.S. air bases in Honduras, makes clear there's been no shift or departure in Washington's approach to governments it doesn't like and wants overthrown.

More than two decades ago the Pentagon buzzword for intervention without troops was "counterinsurgency warfare."

Now, in honor of the U.S. president who "sparked the first official enthusiasm for fighting battles against communism in the



U.S. troops landing in Honduras. In preparation for conventional warfare, U.S. military has conducted maneuvers off Nicaragua's coasts and in Honduras involving 50,000 soldiers and sailors.

third world," Fred Kaplan noted in the *Boston Globe* last July, the U.S. Army's new training and command center for the study of low intensity warfare is called "the JFK Special Warfare Center."

"The fact that [President John F.] Kennedy was a Democrat and Reagan is a Republican doesn't much change the substance of the model," Gregorio Selser explained in Cuba's *Granma Weekly Review* last May.

"Thirty-five years after the counterinsurgency doctrine transformed the military thinking of Pentagon strategies and catapulted the United States into the Vietnam war," Selser noted, "low intensity conflicts are simply a modern-day version of the same policy of aggression and strategic hegemony."

Vietnam parallel

In Vietnam, Washington lied when it claims that its military advisers — who numbered 12,000 by 1963 — were there only to train, just as it claims Green Berets and CIA personnel serve the same function with the contras.

In Nicaragua, as in Vietnam, Washington holds its strategy is aimed at capturing "hearts and minds" and promoting "democracy." And in Nicaragua, as in Vietnam, the U.S. president swears he will never send combat troops.

In Vietnam, it was "counterinsurgency" rhetoric that disguised the escalation towards much greater involvement. In Nicaragua, the words are changed but the meaning remains the same.

Is this "strategy" working?

Some solidarity activists, citing the impact of the war, the economic pressures of the U.S. trade embargo, and anti-Sandinista diplomatic pressure mounted by Washington, lean towards Armstrong's analysis that it is.

This policy of "attrition aims to turn the screws so tightly," Armstrong stated, "that the Nicaraguan government will run out of resources, its people will rise up in frustration, the leaders of the revolution will turn against each other in fratricidal recrimination, and the Sandinistas will be squeezed dry and lifeless at the feet of the Yankee giant. This policy is working."

Ten months after Armstrong's gloomy assessment, however, his predictions are no closer to realization than they were when he made them. To the contrary, in spite of big difficulties the Nicaraguan revolution is stronger than at any time since the workers and peasants overthrew the Somoza tyranny in 1979. The government's decision to distribute more land to peasants and the gains made in reaching a cease-fire with the Miskito Indians on the country's Atlantic Coast have helped to win greater support for the government and strengthen it in face of the mercenary war.

Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomás Borge answered the "attrition" scenario in an interview published by the magazine *Pensamiento Proprio* last year.

"Imperialism has wanted to bleed us," the Sandinista commander said. "Imperialism thinks that the coercive-type economic measures and the counterrevolution-

ary war can cause the internal situation to deteriorate. But this shows a lack of understanding of reality. It is a strategic, historic error on the U.S. government's part, because it should be known that real revolutions, those that have succeeded in changing the character of the government through a change in the classes leading the state, are irreversible."

The reason that Washington hasn't raised the intensity of its war in Nicaragua even higher — to the point of sending in combat troops, for example — is not because of a new strategic perspective. It doesn't do so because, at the present time, it believes the political price would be too high.

U.S. troops going into Nicaragua would meet fierce resistance from a mobilized people. Victory for Washington would be neither easy nor certain. Moreover, this action would spark massive protests in the United States and in other countries.

It is the Nicaraguan people and the fear of a huge antiwar movement in the United States that stays Washington's hands from intensifying the war even more. This fact should encourage antiwar activists to redouble our efforts to win more people to protest U.S. intervention and to make it even more difficult for Washington to carry out its mercenary war.

Nicaraguan teacher tours United States

Estela Rocha, a 29-year-old teacher from Nicaragua who was an activist in the 1980 literacy crusade in Nicaragua, began a speaking tour of the United States September 19. Rocha is a member of the National Association of Nicaraguan Teachers (ANDEN), the teachers' union.

So far she has made tour stops in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York state, and State College, Pennsylvania.

Rocha has taught in Nicaraguan schools since 1977. She was a participant in the popular insurrection that brought down the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship in 1979.

In 1980 she participated in organizing the campaign that reduced illiteracy in Nicaragua from 52 percent to 12 percent.

Since 1983 she has participated in Nicaragua's expanding program of evening classes for students from ages 12 to 70. She teaches science, mathematics, and social studies in this program.

In 1981 and 1982 she was a member of the executive board of ANDEN.

Rocha's tour is being organized by NICA (New Institute of Central America).

Rocha will be speaking in the Pittsburgh area October 18-20; Philadelphia, October 21-24; Washington, D.C., October 25-28; New York City, October 29-31; Boston, November 1-10 and November 26-December 1; Cleveland, November 10-11; Detroit, November 11-15; Milwaukee, Racine, and Madison, Wisconsin, November 16-24; Minneapolis-St. Paul, November 25-26; and in California from December 1 to December 15.

Protest supports Salvadoran workers on sit-down strike at garment plant

BY DEBORAH LIATOS

SAN FRANCISCO — Thirty people here expressed solidarity with workers of the CIRCA textile plant in El Salvador by picketing Levi-Strauss' international headquarters. The September 30 action was sponsored by the California Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), and the Labor Network on Central America.

Workers at the San Salvador plant, which makes Levi-Strauss jeans, have been on a sit-down strike in the capital city since September 1. They are demanding a raise in their \$3-a-day wage and the rehiring of fired unionists.

Union leader Febe Elizabeth Velásquez, who had been arrested and tortured by the police in July and freed after international

protests, has now begun a hunger strike inside the plant. Velásquez and five other leaders of striking unions are demanding that negotiations begin immediately.

Mary Ann Barnett, representative of ACTWU in California, told the *Militant* that at a California delegates' meeting September 20, ACTWU members voted to become a sister union of the CIRCA local. "ACTWU did this in California," Barnett explained, "because it's in the interest of our members to support these workers. We're hopeful other unions will do the same thing."

Also participating in the picket line were members of the Service Employees International Union, America Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union.

South African freedom fighters slandered

Boston University president calls African National Congress 'terrorist'

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Who is the cause of terror and oppression in South Africa? Most people would naturally point to the apartheid regime.

But not John Silber, president of Boston University. According to Silber, in an opinion article prominently featured in the October 9 *New York Times*, it is the African National Congress (ANC) that is "committed to terror, oppression, and poverty."

Silber charges that the ANC, which is looked to for leadership by millions of South Africans, is seeking to impose a "Soviet-style dictatorship [that] would deny basic human rights to South Africans of all colors and destroy what is now the most dynamic economy in Africa."

According to Silber, "The view of the ANC as the South African equivalent of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference is a tragic mistake. In recent decades, the ANC has become dominated by leaders voicing strident Leninism, an ideology they have sought to implement by terrorism and murder — largely against blacks, so far."

The vehemence of Silber's arguments is not matched by any particular regard for the facts. His "proof" amounts to a string of dubious quotations.

For example, one quote the South African regime has attributed to Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, appears to advocate "necklacing" — execution by fire. But Mandela herself has said the quote was taken out of context and misinterpreted.

Another reflection of Silber's level of accuracy is his identification of Johnny Makatini as the ANC's representative to the United Nations. In fact, Makatini is now the ANC's director of international affairs, while for the past two years its UN representative has been Neo Mnumzana.

Slurs and disinformation

Silber's views on the ANC are in line with other reactionary stands he has taken,

from support to the Nicaraguan *contras* to opposition to union struggles by university employees.

His slanderous portrayal of the ANC is also part of a much broader campaign of slurs, propaganda, and disinformation directed against the South African freedom movement.

President Reagan and other officials have made similar attacks on the ANC. The sanctions bill recently enacted by Congress likewise includes accusations that the ANC is "promoting terrorism" and is "infiltrated by Communists."

The aim of this concerted effort is twofold: to obstruct the growing movement toward recognition and support for the ANC, both within South Africa and internationally, and to put pressure on the ANC to compromise its struggle for a democratic and nonracial South Africa.

The apartheid regime itself has long attempted to do the same thing, using arguments virtually identical to those employed by Silber. And the ANC has answered them.

'We chose to defy the law'

In his last court appearance in April 1964 before being sentenced to life in prison, Nelson Mandela explained why the ANC adopted a course of armed struggle.

"All lawful modes of expressing opposition to this principle [of white supremacy] had been closed by legislation," Mandela said, "and we were placed in a position in which we had either to accept a permanent state of inferiority, or to defy the government. We chose to defy the law."

He went on, "We first broke the law in a way which avoided any recourse to violence; when this form was legislated against, and then the government resorted to a show of force to crush opposition to its policies, only then did we decide to answer violence with violence."

"But," Mandela stressed, "the violence which we chose to adopt was not terrorism."

sion," which could be caused by a "laundry list of minor-party candidates."

Johnson claimed that the circulation of nominating petitions for candidates, a requirement in many states, does "not add to the debate in an election." He asserted that being on the primary ballot in order to validate third parties for the general election is actually to the advantage of smaller parties.

State SWP leaders, however, say their experience has shown otherwise. Since being moved to the primary ballot, they note, votes for SWP candidates have fallen dramatically. The SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in 1976 received more than 7,400 votes on the general election ballot, while the 1983 SWP U.S. Senate candidate, who appeared on the primary ballot, received only 596 votes.

Dan Smith, attorney for the SWP, argued that by eliminating virtually all parties other than the Democrats and Republicans from the ballot for statewide offices, the 1 percent primary statute infringes on 1st and 14th amendment rights to vote and to associate for the advancement of political ideas.

Smith explained that being on the ballot is an essential aspect of advancing political ideas, not just a means of gaining political office. An example he cited was the abolitionist Liberty Party, which received only .25 percent of the vote in the 1840 presidential election held before slavery was abolished. "If the party had been eliminated," he said, "this would have dealt a significant blow to the abolitionist movement."

Speaking to reporters after the hearing, Smith said that if the Supreme Court overturns the appeals court and upholds the 1 percent requirement, it would "open the way for other states to restrict their electoral system to the two major parties." A decision in the case is not expected for several months.



Funeral for protester killed by South African police. Banner reads, "The people shall govern," a demand from the Freedom Charter, which is program of African National Congress. Millions of South Africans look to the ANC for leadership.

By employing armed methods of struggle, the ANC's approach is different from that followed by Martin Luther King, who advocated nonviolence.

Moreover, while there are many similarities with the civil rights movement that smashed the Jim Crow system of segregation in the United States, one major difference is that apartheid cannot be destroyed short of a revolution that replaces the apartheid state with an entirely new one based on the people of South Africa. It is the revolutionary struggle to accomplish this that the ANC is leading.

Freedom Charter

Pretoria and those who echo its views have frequently accused the ANC of being a communist or "communist controlled" organization. Like the terrorism slanders, this red-baiting charge aims to undercut support and sympathy for the ANC.

"The ANC is not a 'communist' movement," ANC information secretary Tom Sebina stated in April 1986, in response to such a claim by South African President Pieter Botha. Rather, he said, the ANC is "a wide movement that has always accommodated people from a wide spectrum."

The program that the ANC advances is codified in the Freedom Charter, adopted at a Congress of the People held in South

Africa in 1955. It is a program for a national, democratic revolution.

Referring to the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP), ANC President Oliver Tambo declared in a November 1985 interview in the *Cape Times*, a major South African daily, "The Communist Party has its positions and the ANC has its positions. The ANC is guided in its policy and all its members are loyal to the Freedom Charter, and that is where you find all the positions of the ANC. . . . We don't depart from the Freedom Charter. So there is no problem of the ANC being controlled."

At the same time, the ANC has strenuously defended the right of communists to participate in the anti-apartheid struggle, including as members of the ANC. Those advocating a witch-hunt against suspected communists within the organization, ANC leaders point out, are seeking to foster a split within it, to weaken it.

Speaking at a news conference during the recent summit of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries held in Zimbabwe, Tambo referred to the notion advanced by some in South Africa and abroad that there are two ANC's, "a communist and a non-communist" ANC.

"We reject any such idea," Tambo said. "There are no two ANC's."

Francisco 'Kiko' Martínez convicted in government frame-up trial

BY BERNIE STEVENS

PHOENIX — Chicano-rights activist Francisco "Kiko" Martínez was found guilty October 9 of using a false name when he returned to the United States in 1980, a felony that can bring a sentence of up to five years in prison or a \$10,000 fine. His conviction in Tucson stems from a 13-year-long prosecution against him by the government.

Martínez was an activist lawyer in Colorado in the early 1970s. He participated in legal battles around Chicano rights, migrant workers, bilingual education, prison reform, and student rights. During that time the FBI and local police conducted a campaign to discredit and disrupt the Chicano movement. One tactic the government used was to falsely accuse leading figures of the movement of violence.

In 1973 Martínez was charged with mailing letter bombs to political opponents. He went into hiding after a shoot-on-sight order was issued by the Denver police and a campaign of hysteria was mounted against him by the local news media.

Martínez was arrested as he was crossing the border into Arizona seven years later. Over the next five years the government tried to convict him on the letter-bomb charges. But at each of the numerous trials Martínez succeeded in getting the charges dropped or in proving his innocence to the juries.

In January 1985, shortly after the last letter-bomb charges were dropped, a SWAT team surrounded Martínez' home in rural Alamosa, Colorado, and arrested him for having given a false name to government officials when he returned to the country in 1980. The Tucson judge threw those charges out of court in May 1985 on the grounds that Martínez was being subjected to vindictive prosecution. But the government won an appeal and retried the case this month.

Martínez told the *Militant* that "the judge refused very early in the case to permit us to put on any kind of defense. We tried to show that the defense was motivated by a well-grounded fear. We had witnesses who came from Colorado ready to testify to that effect. But the judge denied us our defense."

The only testimony the judge allowed in the Tucson trial was from police agents. Martínez was not allowed to present any testimony or witnesses showing that it was reasonable for him to fear assassination by police at the time of his disappearance.

Martínez will be sentenced on November 24. He plans to appeal the conviction and is continuing to build public support for his case.

Financial contributions and statements of support can be sent to the Francisco E. Martínez Defense Committee, P.O. Box 753, Alamosa, Colo. 81101.

U.S. Supreme Court to rule on undemocratic state ballot law

BY DEAN PEOPLES

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Oral arguments were presented before the U.S. Supreme Court on October 7 in a case that will determine whether Socialist Workers Party candidates or candidates of other parties will be able to challenge Democrats and Republicans on the general ballot in Washington state in future elections for statewide offices.

The case arose out of a legal victory won by the SWP in 1985 when a federal appeals court overturned an undemocratic election law passed by the Washington state legislature in 1977. This law added the requirement that candidates, other than Democrats and Republicans, poll 1 percent of the total primary vote in order to appear on the general election ballot.

The effect of this new law was to virtually eliminate all candidates, other than Democrats and Republicans, in the election, which takes place only after the primary is held and the major party candidates have been determined. If this requirement had still been in effect, Jill Fein, the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in Washington, would not have been able to gain ballot status in this November's election.

The state attorney general's office brought this case to the U.S. Supreme Court on an appeal, hoping to reinstate the 1 percent requirement.

At the hearing, James Johnson, attorney for the state of Washington, argued that since parties other than the Democrats and Republicans had no success in winning elections or even substantial numbers of votes, they should not be allowed to appear on the general election ballot. He said they should be kept off to avoid "voter confu-

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Meat-packer activists and supporters sponsor rights fund

BY FRED FELDMAN

Lynn Huston, former vice-president of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers union, is an active leader of the meat-packers' struggle against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota.

Bobbi Polzine is a leader of protests by Minnesota farmers against foreclosures.

They are among the fighters who signed up as sponsors of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) at the October 11 celebration in Austin of the second anniversary of the Austin United Support Group.

Their response was typical of the growing number of farmers and unionists who recognize the recent victory of the Socialist Workers Party suit against the federal government as an important victory for the democratic rights of all.

Federal Judge Thomas Griesa ruled August 25 that government spying and disruption of political activities are unconstitutional.

The PRDF is raising funds and rallying support for the ongoing litigation in this case.

Others who signed up as PRDF supporters at the Austin gathering were John "Skinny" Weis, a suspended member of the P-9 executive board; Rod Huinker, a charter member of the North American Meat Packers Union, who has spoken to unionists in many parts of the country about the Austin struggle; Jim Fisher, another Hormel worker denied his job for supporting the P-9 strike; Betty Fisher, a P-9 supporter; and Tony Dutrow, an activist in the Austin United Support Group.

Fred Halstead, author of the pamphlet *The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota*, also was on hand and signed up as a sponsor.

PRDF Executive Director John Studer and Joe Swanson, who participated in the October 11 event, were involved in the discussions that won these new sponsors.

Swanson, Midwest representative of the PRDF, joined the Austin event on his way to Omaha, Nebraska. There he will open a six-week, full-time effort to speak to unionists, farmers, and others in the Midwest about the significance of Griesa's ruling for all working people. He expects to win many new sponsors for the PRDF in this region.

This is part of the campaign launched at a national meeting of PRDF union sponsors last month to win the support of thousands of trade unionists and their unions for the next round of the court battle in the SWP case.

In Denver, Francisco "Kiko" Martinez, who has just been convicted on frame-up charges in a federal court in Tucson, Arizona, issued a statement supporting the SWP suit. Because of his fight for Chicano rights, Martinez has been the target of a 13-year drive by the government to frame him up.

"The government has systematically attacked groups and individuals who have been critical of foreign or domestic policy. This happened to your party."

"I have no hesitation at all in supporting your case. It is just like my case. We won all these cases in Colorado, and yet we always end up having to defend our victories."

Legality of SWP's internat'l links strengthened

Judge notes no gov't action taken in socialists' ties with 4th International

BY DOUG JENNESS

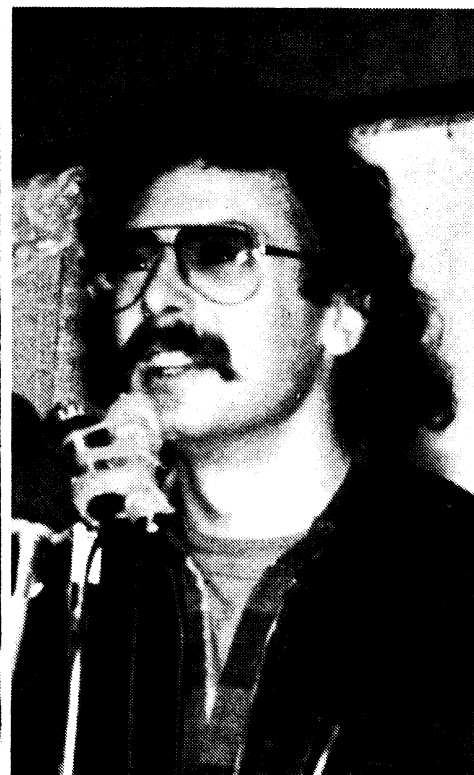
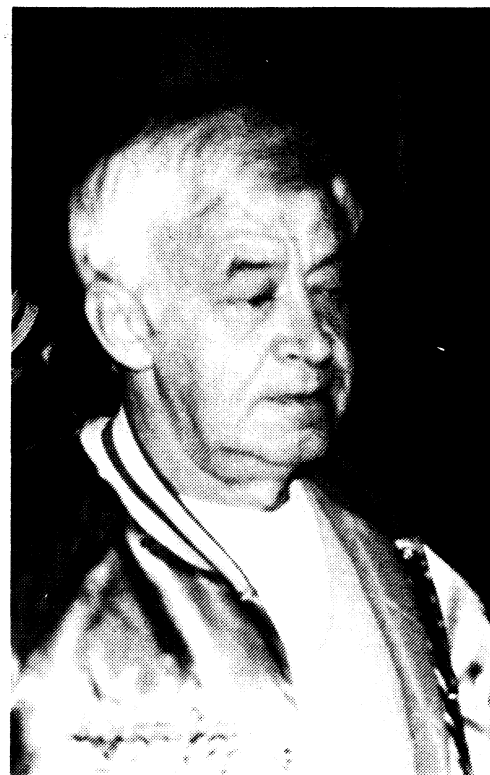
In an important part of the August 25 court decision on the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI, Judge Thomas Griesa noted that the U.S. government "has taken no steps to enforce the Voorhis Act against the SWP."

Griesa said this was in spite of the government being "fully aware" that "the SWP has remained an important factor and very active participant in the Fourth International."

This part of Griesa's ruling essentially upholds as lawful the relationship the SWP has had to the Fourth International, an international organization of revolutionary communists, for the past 46 years. It is a substantial victory that strengthens the legal position of the SWP.

The Voorhis Act, enacted in 1940, requires certain political organizations to register with the U.S. attorney general. A group must comply if it advocates "the overthrow of the Government of the United States" and is "affiliated directly or indirectly with a foreign government . . . or an international political organization."

If an organization registers it must turn over to the attorney general the names and addresses of every single member and financial contributor every six months. Moreover, every publication, every inter-



Militant photos by Tom Jaax
John "Skinny" Weis (left) and Lynn Huston, suspended executive board members of UFCW Local P-9, were among those who became PRDF sponsors on October 11.

nal document, every leaflet, and every mailing produced by the group or any of its members will have to be turned over.

The attorney general would, then, by law, make all of this material public.

In response to adoption of this legislation, which flouts the democratic guarantees in the Bill of Rights, the SWP disaffiliated from the Fourth International in December 1940. The SWP had been one of the founding organizations of the Fourth International in 1938.

Since disaffiliating, the SWP has paid no dues to the Fourth International. It has neither made nor received any other financial support, loans, or contributions to or from the Fourth International.

In his ruling, Griesa noted, "In order to avoid registration under the Voorhis Act, the SWP withdrew as a formal member of the Fourth International."

"However," he went on, "the SWP continued to participate in Fourth International activities as a 'consultative member' or 'sympathizing section.' The evidence shows that this change made almost no practical difference. The SWP remained an important factor and a very active participant in the Fourth International."

Griesa noted, "The SWP has, over the years, participated actively" in world congresses, the United Secretariat, and the Bureau of the United Secretariat.

He added, "The SWP has always had at least one of its leaders stationed, more or less regularly, in Europe." He listed seven SWP leaders that resided in Europe between 1963 and 1981.

The SWP has never hidden its political support to the Fourth International. It has played a leadership role in the Fourth International's discussions and participated in meetings and congresses with the right to speak and cast consultative votes on all questions before elected bodies of the Fourth International.

SWP leaders described this relationship in the courtroom during the 1981 trial of the SWP suit. They explained that the SWP also has relations with revolutionary organizations that are not part of the Fourth International.

During that trial witnesses claimed that one of the reasons the SWP was the target of investigations for 40 years was to determine whether it had violated the Voorhis Act.

Arthur Greene, a retired FBI agent who admitted breaking into SWP and YSA offices "75 to 90" times, was called to the stand by government attorneys. He claimed that one of the FBI's "highest objectives" in the break-ins was to determine whether the organization was violating the "original Voorhis Act or subsequent federal statutes."

Another FBI agent, Charles Mandigo, made a similar assertion.

When questioned by SWP attorneys and by Judge Griesa, however, the witnesses

could not produce a single scrap of evidence that the SWP had violated the Voorhis Act.

When Griesa asked Greene whether the FBI came "to any conclusion as to whether the Voorhis Act was violated or not," the FBI man replied that he could not "recall." Griesa reminded him that the SWP had, in fact, "never been prosecuted for the violation of the Voorhis Act."

Judge Griesa's statement in his recent ruling that the SWP's disaffiliation from the Fourth International "made almost no practical difference" is immediately followed by the observation that the U.S. government has been aware of this but has "taken no steps to enforce the Voorhis Act against the SWP."

If the government were now to attempt to take legal action against the SWP for continuing the activities in relation to the Fourth International that it has carried out for the past 46 years, the party would be able to use Griesa's ruling to defend itself.

This legal protection, however, would be nullified if the SWP were to change its relationship to the Fourth International, such as by reaffiliating to the International or accepting any proposal to receive, contribute, or solicit funds for the International or any of its publications or activities.

This, however, does not negate the significant gain that Griesa's ruling represents.

Minnesota, Wisconsin farmers dump milk

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Working farmers in Wisconsin and Minnesota have been taking direct action to draw attention to the economic crisis they face.

Dozens of dairy farmers dumped milk September 29 through October 1. On the final day of the protest, several farmers gathered outside Merrick Community Center on the east side of St. Paul and handed out 500 gallons of milk and 1,000 pounds of cheese to unemployed workers.

Tom Saunders, a board member of the Wisconsin Farm Unity Alliance, explained that the protests were organized to press for passage of the federal Save the Family Farm Bill, which would raise milk prices paid to farmers. Their other demand, he said, was for an immediate moratorium on farm foreclosures.

On September 25 more than 100 farmers and supporters gathered in Benson, Minnesota, to stop the scheduled foreclosure sale of Bertice Jacobson's farm and machinery. The action was organized by local farmers with the help of Groundswell, a Minnesota grassroot farmers' organization.

The protest action forced the cancellation of the sale. On September 29, however, the sheriff forcibly removed the machinery from the farm.

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Havana book fair draws broad participation

Big Latin American presence defies Washington's anti-Cuba campaign

BY LARRY SEIGLE

HAVANA, Cuba — The Third International Havana Book Fair, held here in September, drew publishers from all over the world to this Latin American and Caribbean island. Their book displays were examined by students, teachers, librarians, researchers and other interested Cubans, who jammed into the exhibition each day of the week-long event, straining the capacity of this city's Convention Palace.

Publishers came from 45 countries and 8 international organizations, representing 1,000 publishing houses. The participation was double that of the previous fair, held in 1984.

The number of publishers present from Latin America was a measure of the extent to which the U.S.-organized campaign to isolate the Cuban revolution in the Americas has been pushed back in recent years. Brazil, which only recently reestablished diplomatic relations with Cuba, was represented at the fair by publishers displaying some 500 titles.

The largest Latin American exhibits from outside Cuba were the Mexican and Argentine stands. Also on hand were publishers from Bolivia, Costa Rica, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guyana, Panama, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Chile was present with a booth organized by fighters for democratic rights in that country, who displayed posters and videos protesting the repression being carried out by the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Gen. Augusto Pinochet.

Nicaragua had one of the most popular booths, featuring many new books. Among these were the first volumes to be brought out by the newly established publishing house of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, known as Editorial Vanguardia.

Nicaragua will host an international book fair next July, its first. A pledge to support the Managua book fair and help ensure broad participation despite Washington's war against Nicaragua was made by representatives of publishing houses from a number of Latin American countries. They met several times during the week to explore the possibilities of greater collaboration among Latin American book publishers.

First U.S. participation

For the first time, publishers from the United States participated in the Havana

book fair. A collective exhibition was organized by Sandra Levinson of the Center for Cuban Studies in New York.

The U.S. delegation included representatives from Monthly Review Press, Duke University Press, Pathfinder Press, Children's Book Press, Solidarity Publications, Curbstone Press, and *North Star* magazine. In addition, books from International Publishers and Brunner-Mazel, Inc., were displayed on the U.S. shelves.

Australia was also there for the first time, with the participation of Pathfinder Press/Pacific and Asia, based in Sydney, Australia. They are distributors of Pathfinder books and have recently published the first English-language edition of *Fidel and Religion*, which helped make their stand one of the most crowded and widely publicized spots at the exhibition.

The workers' states of Eastern Europe were well represented. The Soviet Union had the largest exhibit in the international section of the fair. China and North Korea also had booths.

The Angolan booth was the liveliest from Africa, showing a wide selection of children's books and textbooks. The South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is fighting to end South African occupation of Namibia (also called South West Africa), also had a booth, as did the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Cuba's publishing revolution

Above all, the fair reflected the development of the publishing industry in Cuba since the overthrow of the Fulgencio Batista tyranny in 1959. That triumph opened the door to the liberation of Cuba from domination by U.S. imperialism — a domination that distorted Cuban cultural life as surely as it blocked economic development.

Much of the population was illiterate, and many who could read couldn't afford to buy books. Moreover, the repression forced many Cuban intellectuals and artists into exile if they wanted any chance of freedom of expression.

One of the proud accomplishments of the Cuban revolution has been the transformation of Cuba from a literary desert into a land where writing and other intellectual and artistic activity thrive. The revolution has also turned Cuba into an international center of attraction for intellectuals and artists from throughout Latin America and the rest of the Third World.

Cuba today has 14 publishing houses. They print about 50 million books a year,

more than any other country in Latin America or the Caribbean. Cuba's production of 1,500 titles annually ranks behind only Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico.

Textbooks are given top priority, and children's books are also high on the list for allocation of scarce publishing resources, reflecting the revolution's commitment to Cuba's youth.

The demand for books far exceeds the supply. Book publishing requires use of imported materials, including paper and printing supplies. The economic squeeze drastically limits the resources that can be allocated for printing books. Obsolete printing technology in much of the industry makes the situation worse.

The result is that many new books are sold out in a matter of days, with no immediate prospect for reprinting. Nonetheless, book prices are kept remarkably low, subsidized by the government. Equally important, the book distribution system guarantees that bookstores throughout the island — even in the most remote rural areas — get copies of every new edition.

José Martí Publishing

The book fair was the occasion for the launching of a number of new books by Cuban publishers. Several new volumes were brought out by the José Martí Publishing House, which publishes in foreign languages. A special event was held to celebrate the publication of the Dutch edition of Fidel Castro's *History Will Absolve Me*.

Melba Hernández, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, addressed the celebration, held at the headquarters of the Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples, known by its Spanish initials, ICAP.

The José Martí Publishing House also has published *Race Toward Equality*, a book in English by Johnetta Cole, a professor at Hunter College, about the steps taken to eliminate race discrimination in Cuba. Another new English-language book is *Straight Flush*, which describes the use of Cuba by the U.S. military to train pilots for the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

Each day during the fair, readings and lectures were given at the Convention Palace by some of Cuba's best-known authors. These included novelists Lisandro Otero and Miguel Barnet, poets Eliseo Diego and Nancy Morejón, journalist Marta Rojas, and Norberto Fuentes, the author of *Hemingway in Cuba*, whose new book, entitled *Position One*, has just been published in Cuba.

Also on hand was the Argentine cartoonist Quino, creator of Mafalda, an irreverent youngster whose sharp social conscience has made her a favorite in many Spanish-speaking countries. Quino was autographing copies of his new book of cartoons, recently published in Cuba.

The books from the United States that had the biggest impact were works by Malcolm X and Nelson Mandela, published by Pathfinder Press. The Pathfinder books and pamphlets by Malcolm X, including the Spanish-language collection *Habla Malcolm X* (Malcolm X Speaks), drew considerable attention.

Pathfinder's new books, *Habla Nelson Mandela* and *The Struggle Is My Life*, a collection of Mandela's writings and speeches, also were much discussed by Cuban visitors to the U.S. exhibit. Many said they hope to learn more about the struggle in South Africa, and in particular to find out more about Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress.

Pathfinder in the Pacific and Asia

Of all recent Cuban books, the one that has received the biggest response is *Fidel and Religion*, the record of a discussion between the Cuban president and Frei Betto, a Brazilian friar. In addition to Cuba, the book has been published in seven Latin American countries, and in Spain, Italy, France, Portugal, and Poland.

The edition brought out by Pathfinder Press/Pacific and Asia, featuring a preface by René Rodríguez, president of ICAP, marks the first edition of the book in English. (The book is not yet available in North



Granma/Felicia Hondal
Pathfinder Press/Pacific and Asia director David Deutschmann before his book fair display of titles on Cuba. *Fidel and Religion* published in an English-language translation by Pathfinder in Australia was a special attraction at event.

America or Britain.)

The appearance of the book helped focus considerable attention on the Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia stand, which also featured a wide range of Pathfinder titles.

David Deutschmann, a director of Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia, was interviewed on Cuban radio and television, and by several newspapers, including *Granma*. A special segment on the national morning news television program featured *Fidel and Religion* as well as other Pathfinder books on display at the Australian exhibition stand.

Following the closing of the book fair, Deutschmann and Francisco Tosco, head of the Asia department of ICAP, held a news conference to announce that Pathfinder Press/Pacific and Asia, working in collaboration with ICAP, will be organizing a speaking tour to launch *Fidel and Religion* in India and in Sri Lanka.

U.S. trade blockade

Despite the recent growth in interest in the United States in Latin American literature, few Cuban writers are known in the United States. Cubans who talked with the U.S. publishers in Havana were often surprised to learn that works by even the best-known Cuban writers, such as the novelist Alejo Carpentier or the poet Nicolás Guillén, are difficult or impossible to find in the U.S.

In part this reflects the impact of the imperialist blockade, which makes it a crime to do business with Cuba. This includes signing a contract with a Cuban author to publish a book in the United States, or importing Cuban books to sell here. The lack of participation in the Havana book fair by big U.S. publishers is another result of the blockade: it is illegal for a publisher in the United States to sell books to Cuba.

In addition to the ban on almost all travel by U.S. residents to Cuba, the U.S. government also makes it difficult or impossible for Cuban writers to travel in the United States. One of the U.S. publishers participating in the book fair, Duke University Press, is publishing the correspondence between the U.S. poet Wallace Stevens and the well-known Cuban writer José Rodríguez Feo. Rodríguez Feo has been invited to speak at Duke University on the occasion of the book's publication, but it remains to be seen if the U.S. government will issue him a visa.

Iván Pérez Carrión, of the José Martí Publishing House, expressed the hope that more U.S. publishers will participate in the next Havana book fair, set for 1988. "After all," he said, "it is North Americans, not Cubans, who are behind the iron curtain."

Do you know someone who reads Spanish? Mexico and the debt crisis

One year after the earthquake that hit the Mexican capital, the country is still reeling from the destruction. This came on top of another social calamity — Mexico's unpayable debt of more than \$100 billion. International bankers recently agreed to loan Mexico another \$12 billion to stave off default. But they demand harsh austerity measures against Mexican working people: deep cuts in social spending, plant shutdowns, and price hikes for staple foods and services.

In the current issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, correspondent Martín Koppel reports on the Mexican economic crisis and the fightback by Mexican working people, particularly garment workers who are struggling for dignity, better working conditions, and to defend their newly won union.

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Antiwar mov't among Israeli soldiers

Interview with an Israeli socialist

The following is an interview with Michel Warschawsky, a leader of the Revolutionary Communist League (RCL) of Israel, a section of the Fourth International. It was obtained in Jerusalem by Carole Lesnick.

Question. Could you describe the political work of the RCL today?

Answer. We circulate a monthly paper in Hebrew and Arabic. The RCL holds educational forums twice a month in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. We are active in the antiwar movement, the anti-occupation movement that grew out of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982.

It is mandatory that Israelis 18 years old serve two years in the army. A movement of soldiers was organized against the 1982 invasion of Lebanon and over the occupation in general. Our party was involved in this.

We are also involved in the Committee Confronting the Iron Fist. This is a common initiative of Israelis and Palestinians to organize, mobilize, and inform the public. It is the first committee of its kind against the various aspects of the occupation.

Our focus now in all of our work is to prepare for the next Israeli war — to denounce it and prepare for this war, which is inevitable.

Q. Will the RCL's work in the soldiers' movement be helpful in this process?

A. The soldiers' movement is a real turn in the political situation as a consequence of the Lebanon war. There was a break in the "national consensus." This was the first mass opposition to the Israeli government during a war. It brought a lot into question. The popular slogan was, "Down with the occupation!" Now even moderate, left Zionists are debating the question, "Is a Jewish, democratic, Zionist state possible?"

A harder, racist right wing has emerged, represented by the government and including the Labor Party, against the Palestinians. But also emerging is a stronger and advancing minority giving answers to questions that never would have been asked 10 years ago. The situation is more polarized, and more moderate Zionism is disappearing.

Q. I read that some soldiers refused to fight.

A. Yes. Two thousand reserve soldiers signed a petition asking not to be sent to Lebanon. Of them 140 were put in jail for refusal during those two years. This was the first time that people questioned war. It was the first time in the history of the Zionist state that it was acceptable to refuse to fight.

In my army unit there is the typical political spectrum. Although most of the soldiers served, most supported the people who refused. To refuse to serve in Lebanon did not isolate people, since the war was so unpopular. In this situation our members refused to go to Lebanon. Many male members were in jail two or three times for 14-35 days at a time. We were very popular in prison and in our military units.

When the movement became too popular the government tried to break it by saying that anyone who refused once would get a second order to serve and an indefinite stay in jail until he accepted to go. This tactic did not work for the most part.

Q. Has this new awareness influenced the opinions of Israelis on questions like the government's close ties to the apartheid regime in South Africa?

A. South Africa seems far away for most people here and a movement against apartheid has not yet developed. Most people feel that it is the duty of the government to have good relations with whoever will befriend Israel. Also, people identify the Black liberation struggle of South Africa with the Palestinians here, and their tendency is to reject it.

Q. How about the attitude toward the war in Central America?

A. There is very little opposition to the open support the Israeli government gives to the Nicaraguan contras and to governments in Guatemala and El Salvador. Many view the business of selling arms as good because Israel needs the money.

Basically, opposition to the war in Central America is expressed by my party, as well as the Israeli Communist Party and a few others.

Q. Lately the "democratic facade" of the Israeli government has become more exposed. What's the situation?

A. Israeli society is like a ghetto. The government views it as Jews and the State of Israel versus anti-Semites (those openly anti-Semitic and those who don't know they are).

Because national unity was so strong for so long, the government could afford bourgeois democracy. But recently people have become more critical, with mass opposition. So the government wants to limit democracy. They want a more repressive state that will be able to kill prisoners.

Q. Is the RCL still involved in work with political prisoners?

A. Yes. The Committee Confronting the Iron Fist has several current campaigns. The first is to stop the deportation of Palestinian activists. Another is to stop administrative detention, in which a person is held six months or more without trial. Today, it appears that no deportations are scheduled.

The situation with the 1,150 prisoners who were released in May 1985, with the exception of war prisoners, is that about 35 have been deported. Others have been harassed by having their ID cards taken, and with arrests and frame-ups.

Women in prison face special harassment. After the release of the "veteran" women prisoners, the authorities tried to take back gains that had been won such as a library, and separation from those imprisoned on criminal charges. We are doing work around their struggle.

There has also been a new wave of town arrests. Town arrest means people can't leave their town or village, must be home at night, and must report to the police up to two times a day.

Q. What about the Palestinian refugees? I saw United Nations refugee camps on the border with Jordan that looked empty.

A. There were more than 60,000 people in these refugee camps alone. They had fled there from the terror of Israel's creation in 1948. Then in 1968, they fled again to Jordan, following the new Israeli occupation of the West Bank the year before.

In 1985 most of the camps were bulldozed and emptied. I was given a few days "leave" from my military unit so that I wouldn't be able to see this destruction firsthand as it was taking place. The government said the houses in the refugee camps were old and empty. But the main target was to crush any hope the Palestinians had of going back in the future.

Q. Where have the Palestinians who have survived gone?

A. There is a Palestinian majority in Jordan, where they have the right to citizenship. Sixty percent of the people in the West Bank are Palestinian. There are large refugee camps in Syria. In Lebanon, there are more than half a million Palestinians.

Q. What's the state of the Israeli economy?

A. One and a half years ago inflation was 400 percent — the country was close to bankruptcy. An austerity program was applied that was a big success for the government. Wages were lowered an average of 25 percent. Services were cut. The government said it needed a national effort by



Israeli protest against occupation of Lebanon. RCL is active in Committee Confronting the Iron Fist. "Iron Fist" is government's term for its occupation policy.

all. Today all is rotten at the roots of the economy, but inflation is about 20 percent.

Q. How have the trade unions responded to this attack on the working class?

A. There is a state institution called the Histadrut that represents workers in the social field. It can veto the decisions of unions. So the unions have no autonomy. A union can call a strike. But if it's not ratified by the Histadrut it is called illegal.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

France criticized at UN for South Pacific role

The French government's refusal to grant independence to the Kanak people of New Caledonia and the French nuclear testing program in the South Pacific came under attack in two speeches at the General Assembly of the United Nations on October 6.

Vanuatu's delegation head, Robert Van Lierop, told the UN that Vanuatu would not be intimidated by threats "that economic aid will be terminated if we persist in bringing the question of New Caledonia to the United Nations."

Moses Qionibarawi, deputy prime minister of Fiji, condemned France's underground nuclear testing program at Moruroa atoll that continues despite the "strong and unanimous opposition" of the countries in the region.

The South Pacific Forum, which consists of the governments of 11 independent South Pacific island countries plus Australia and New Zealand, voted in August to take the question of New Caledonia to the UN Committee on Decolonization. This marks a reversal of the stand taken by the majority of Forum members at previous meetings and reflects the growing isolation of French imperialism in the Pacific.

The UN decolonization committee will take up the question of New Caledonia in January 1987.

PLO headquarters to leave Tunisia

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is moving its headquarters from Tunisia, where it has been based since it was driven out of Lebanon by the invading Israeli army in 1982.

PLO chairman Yassir Arafat told journalists on October 7 that his military



Militant/Sam Manuel
Yassir Arafat at recent summit of Nonaligned countries.

command posts would be shifted to Yemen and Iraq. On October 1 last year the PLO's Tunisian headquarters was bombed by Israeli jets. More than 60

Palestinians and Tunisians were killed in the raid.

The Israeli government has also continued to conduct air force bombing raids on Palestinian refugee camps and guerrilla bases in Lebanon. On October 6 Israeli jets bombed a building in northern Lebanon said to be a base for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

This raid — the 12th in Lebanon this year — was within 10 miles of the Syrian border.

Left-wing activists arrested in Egypt

Several hundred left-wing activists were arrested in late September by Egyptian security forces.

Twelve members of the banned Egyptian Communist Party were arrested September 18. Three days later, large-scale dawn raids in nine regions, including Cairo and Alexandria, led to about 280 arrests.

Those arrested were charged with stirring up the people against the government, calling for general disobedience and strikes in the public services, and announcing the formation of organizations and cells to overthrow the regime.

Another 25 members of one left-wing group were arrested for distributing leaflets.

Canadian Supreme Court discusses abortion law

A hearing to decide whether Canada's highly restrictive federal abortion law violates the federal Charter of Rights began in the Supreme Court of Canada on October 7.

In addition, the court will decide whether doctors Henry Morgentaler, Robert Scott, and Leslie Smoling should be put on trial again for performing abortions at their Toronto clinic. While the three doctors were acquitted by a jury in November 1984, the Ontario Court of Appeal reversed the acquittal and ordered a new trial. The three doctors then appealed that decision to the Supreme Court.

In an effort to influence the outcome of the court's hearing, on September 24 the Toronto police arrested doctors Morgentaler, Scott and Nikki Colodny, accusing them of performing illegal abortions. They were released a few hours later by the attorney general of Ontario, who had initiated the police investigation. The charges have only been suspended, however.

The Manitoba and Quebec governments have also suspended charges against a number of doctors for performing so-called illegal abortions. They too are waiting for the results of the Supreme Court's ruling.

Give it a good sweeping — In the wake of employee disclosures, two plutonium-producing units at the Hanford nuke complex in Washington state were shut down.



Harry Ring

Problems included lax inventory controls, substandard design changes, and defective welding. The findings "read like a script from a disaster movie," said Gov.

Booth Gardner. The shutdown will last from a week to a month.

Things-are-tough-all-over-dep't — Geoffrey Lindenauer, who admits pocketing a quarter of a million in bribes as a New York parking violations official, complains he was always being cheated by businessmen who paid off for special deals with the city. In response, he did added favors for those companies "that didn't give me any arguments."

Maybe they're anesthetized by the gas — Banker Felix Rohatyn, who wielded the ax in 1970s city cutbacks designed to ensure continued payments to the banks,

is now on an "ethics" commission responding to current graft revelations. He's disappointed by the absence of a mass outcry. "The stench that has come up is absolutely overwhelming," he said, "but people seem to be used to it."

Or if it's about to go broke — Union-buster Carl Icahn may not be quite the cold-blooded snake TWA flight attendant strikers see him as. Now involved in the takeover of USX, Icahn recently philosophized, expansively, "When money is rolling in, I have nothing against giving labor a small piece of a company, so they can also profit."

Free wheeling — "About 60

percent of the trucks inspected in recent months in New York and Connecticut were ordered off the highway as unsafe. This reflects in part, the authorities say, economic strains and cutbacks in repairs since the deregulation of the industry. Defective brakes were by far the single biggest problem." — News item.

Gimme a break — We vowed we'd never be caught in a restaurant offering "veggies." So now the local yuppiteria is offering "designer veggies."

The march of civilization — We almost dismissed it as one more useless gadget. A silver-plated crumb butler that deals with

table refuse between courses. But unlike your everyday table sweeper that uses synthetic bristles, this one features genuine horsehairs which don't miss a crumb. \$74.50.

You can't win 'em all — The U.S. ranks only fourth in size and population, but we're No. 1 in the size of our nuke stockpile. Health expenditures per capita? There we drop down to 10th spot. On doctors per capita, we place 21st.

A sweeter note — In case you find the above discouraging, take heart that we have the most dentists and, coincidentally, import the most sugar and other sweets.

—CALENDAR—

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The 1985-86 Hormel Strike: Its Meaning for Labor Today. Speaker: Fred Halstead, author of pamphlet, *Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 18, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Oakland

The Fight Against Apartheid from Southern Africa to the United States. A campaign rally. Speakers: Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, recently returned from Movement of Nonaligned Countries conference in Zimbabwe; Eugene Johnson, Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Oct. 26. Potluck dinner, 5 p.m.; rally 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. Donation: dinner and rally \$4; rally only, \$2. Ausp: 1986 SWP Campaign Committee and YSA. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Grenada: Three Years After the U.S. Invasion. Speaker: Ras Nkomo, a Caribbean student who lived in Grenada after the revolution. Video showing of *Maurice*. Sat., Oct. 18, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Meatpackers Fight for Justice. A panel of speakers. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 18, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

Grand Opening! Pathfinder Press Celebrates Pathfinder Bookstore's New Location. 3640 Magazine and Louisiana. Speakers, discussion, refreshments. Sat., Oct. 18, 6 p.m. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 865-1961.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Summit Conference of Nonaligned Countries. Firsthand report by Sam Manuel, correspondent for the *Militant*. Sat., Oct. 18. Reception, 7 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor

Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Abortion Rights and the Fight for Women's Liberation. Speaker: Rena Cacoullas, National Committee, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Oct. 25, 7:30 p.m. 107 Brighton Ave., 2nd floor, Allston. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 787-0275.

Capitalism, Women's Oppression, and the Fight for Socialism. A discussion class. Speaker: Rena Cacoullas, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Oct. 26, 11 a.m. 107 Brighton Ave., 2nd floor, Allston. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Boston Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (617) 787-0275.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Update on Battle Against Hormel. Speakers: unionists just returned from Austin, Minnesota. Sat., Oct. 18, 8 p.m. 2135 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Nelson Mandela: The Struggle Is My Life. Speakers: Chris Nisan, coordinator, Marketplace Forums; Sunshine, Leonard Peltier Support Committee; Dixey Lee Riley, National Organization for Women; Mahmoud el-Kati, Macalester College history professor; Ysef Mgeni, journalist and community activist; Argris Malapanis, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 18. Reception, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

The Philippines After Marcos. Speaker: Dr. Arturo Taca, Movement for a Free Philippines. Sun., Oct. 19, 7 p.m. 4709 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Hazardous Waste and Radon Soil: What Are Answers for Working People? Speakers: Margaret Hallaway, Kearny Environmental Committee of Concerned Citizens; Kathy DeRay,

Save Our State; Adrienne Markowitz, New Jersey Committee for Occupational Safety and Health; others. Fri., Oct. 17, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Benefit for the Nicaragua Construction Brigade. Harvest Moon Dance featuring Johnny Colon and his orchestra. Fri., Oct. 24, 9 p.m. to 4 a.m. Manhattan Plaza, 66 E 4th St. (btw. 2nd and 3rd aves.). Donation: \$12 at door. For more information call (212) 475-7159.

OHIO

Cleveland

Crisis in Steel: How to Fight the Attacks on Steelworkers. Speaker: Bill Kalman, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Steelworkers of America Local 6825. Sat., Oct. 18, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

Toledo

A Panel Discussion on Racist Violence. Speakers: Cassie Madden, president of Black Student Union at Bowling Green State University; Roosevelt Rudolph, Black resident of south Toledo whose home was attacked by racists; Abdul-Bashir Ali Rahim, broadcaster for WAMP radio and community activist; Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Michigan. Sat., Oct. 18, 7 p.m. 1701 W Bancroft St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Nicaragua: the Other Side of the Story. An eyewitness account and slideshow by Janet Melvin, author of forthcoming book on her decade in Central America. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 18, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

Pittsburgh

The Decline of the American Empire: What Does the Future Hold? Speaker: Mark Weddleton, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 14th C.D. Sat., Nov. 1, 7:30 p.m. 402 N. Highland Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party Campaign. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

Celebrate Victory in Socialist Workers Party Suit Against FBI. Speakers: Carl Griffler, Committee Against Racism and Apartheid; Lynn Hiller, peace activist; Chris Gauvreau, Socialist Workers Party; Alison Bradner, member Virginia State Board, National Organization for Women. Sun., Oct. 19, 7:30 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-5895.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Socialist Campaign Rally. Speakers: Jill Fein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; representative of the Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Oct. 18. Open house, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

Hear the Socialist Alternative in the 1986 Elections. Speakers: Kathy Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 2nd C.D.; representative of Young Socialist Alliance. Wed., Oct. 29, 12 noon. Activities Room, Mountainlair, West Virginia University. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

Socialist Campaign Rally. Speakers: Kathy Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 2nd C.D.; Rev. Pat Meechem; representative of Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sat., Nov. 1. Wine and cheese reception, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m.; party to follow. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: 1986 SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

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.

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

How CIA shipped arms to contra terrorists

Continued from front page

to the Southern Air Transport hangar at Miami International Airport to look at the type of planes they would be flying.

Hasenfus signed up and was sent to El Salvador.

"Upon arriving in El Salvador and talking with other employees from Southern Air Transport," Hasenfus continued, "I was told we were working out of the El Salvadoran air force base [of] Ilopango. I was told also that our salaries for flying in Central America would be \$3,000 a month plus housing and transportation expenses.

"We would be flying into Honduras to an air base called Aguacate, and there we would load up small arms and ammunition, and we would fly them into Nicaragua. These were dropped to the contras."

Hasenfus said that "out of these trips, I have flown 10 flights myself." He flew four trips into Nicaragua from the Honduran Aguacate air base, which was built by the U.S. Army in 1983. He flew six flights from Ilopango into Nicaragua by way of Costa Rica.

At the Ilopango base, the Salvadoran air force issued Hasenfus a special ID card identifying him as a U.S. "adviser." It allowed him access to off-limits sections of the base.

Hasenfus said he knew of 24 to 26 people working in the CIA supply operation at Ilopango, including "two Cuban nationalized Americans who worked for the CIA and that did most of the coordination of these flights and overseeing our housing, transportation, also refueling and some flight plans."

The names of the two Cuban-American CIA agents, he said, were Max Gómez and Ramón Medina.

Articles in the U.S. media have since charged that U.S. Vice-president George Bush personally met with Gómez and approved his assignment to El Salvador. Bush is a former director of the CIA. Gómez' history as a CIA agent reportedly dates back to the 1961 U.S.-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

Bush admits that he does, in fact, know Gómez, who he describes as "a patriot."

Following his statement, Hasenfus declined to answer questions from reporters. Ricardo Wheelock, head of military intelligence for the Sandinista People's Army, then elaborated on the CIA supply network to the contras.



Militant/Michael Baumann

Funeral in Managua for victim of U.S.-armed contras

Holding up log books kept by Wallace Blaine Sawyer, which were found in the plane wreckage, Wheelock explained that they recorded CIA supply flights going back to April 1985. They also listed the names of the people involved in these flights. Thirty-four names — only two of which were Spanish — were read off to reporters.

The plane downed by the Nicaraguans was only one of several CIA planes that have been flying into Nicaragua, Wheelock added.

In San Salvador, he continued, William Cooper lived in a "safe house," the location of which was unknown to most of the CIA employees. Hasenfus had stayed at the house, said Wheelock. He read out the street address and phone number. He also gave reporters the phone number of CIA agents Gómez and Medina.

At the Ilopango air base, Wheelock continued, the weapons and other military supplies being flown to the contras were stored in a warehouse. He said it contained 89,000 pounds of matériel when Hasenfus arrived on the base. The CIA plane downed by the Sandinistas had dropped a total of 131,335 pounds of supplies to the contras before it was destroyed on October 5.

Wheelock also reported a direct link between the supply operation and the government of Costa Rica. Those flights that passed over Costa Rican territory to enter Nicaragua always first made radio contact

with the Los Chiles air base in northern Costa Rica.

Judith Preston of the *Washington Post* asked Wheelock if the Sandinistas had evidence of "direct" U.S. financial backing for the supply network. In response, Wheelock held up the U.S. "adviser" ID cards issued by the Salvadoran air force. "What legal airline do you know of that could get cards like these?" he asked her.

Meanwhile, the U.S. embassy here has been in turmoil ever since the arrest of Hasenfus. On October 9 the Nicaraguan government tried to deliver the bodies of CIA mercenaries Cooper and Sawyer to the embassy. But embassy officials refused to open the gate. The Nicaraguans were forced to place the coffins in the driveway. Finally, someone gave the order to bring the coffins inside. They were whisked off to Miami the next day.

On October 10, the U.S. embassy announced it was having a news conference. When reporters arrived, U.S. officials barred all Nicaraguan, Cuban, Mexican,

and other "Latin-looking" journalists from entering. A sufficient number of other reporters were outraged, and the embassy reluctantly had to allow the Latin Americans to attend.

The "news conference," however, had unusual ground rules. Reporters were not allowed to tape record or film Consul General Donald Tyson while he answered questions. Tyson in fact refused to answer most questions he was asked about Hasenfus.

Nicaraguan workers here in Managua are jubilant over the downing of the U.S. plane and what it shows about their capacity to defeat the strongest military power in the world.

At an October 11 meeting with community leaders from eastern working-class neighborhoods of this city, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega was greeted with chants of "Here, or there — the yankees will die! They shall not pass!" Some of the workers brought handmade signs showing the CIA plane falling out of the sky.

Ortega gave a brief speech about the downing of the plane. He also announced that the Nicaraguan government had just dispatched a different kind of airplane — carrying 14 doctors and nurses — to El Salvador to aid people injured in the earthquake there.

Meanwhile, the three young Nicaraguan soldiers who shot down the plane and captured Hasenfus have become national heroes. They have received medals and are now touring the country, addressing meetings of soldiers, people wounded in the war, and gatherings in factories.

Raúl Antonio Acevedo Lara, age 20, tracked Hasenfus down in the jungle and brought him in.

José Fernando Canales, age 19, assisted by Byron Montiel Salas, age 17, fired the rocket that downed the plane. Canales joined the army five months ago. He said when his tour of duty is up, he hopes to finish high school and study medicine "so I can keep on helping my people."

— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

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

October 22, 1976

CINCINNATI — "I have never said it was going to be easy to chair this convention, and it hasn't been," said a weary Arnold Miller on the eighth day of the United Mine Workers convention.

Miller is president of the 277,000-member union, which met here September 23–October 2.

There were 2,000 delegates. Sixty percent were attending their first UMW convention. They weren't all experts on parliamentary procedure. But they had been sent by their locals to do a job, and they took that responsibility seriously.

What really made chairing the convention a herculean task was the right-wing opposition, which was determined to discredit Miller's reform leadership by disrupting the proceedings.

It was a stormy gathering. But every delegate had a chance to speak, and they set the course of the union.

Some would write history otherwise. According to an October 4 *Washington Post* story, "some union officials" attributed the convention's "turbulence" to "an overabundance of democracy at its permissive worst."

Post writer James Branscome continued, "Reporters who have covered the four-year-old reform struggle wonder whether they — in their excitement over a resurgence in trade unionism — overplayed the reform movement, which succeeded in ousting president W.A. (Tony) Boyle."

Before these fair-weather friends of union democracy set out to bury the UMW reform movement, they should take a look at what the convention accomplished for the union membership.

Convention committees considered thousands of resolutions submitted by UMW locals. The committees then reported to the convention with a series of recommendations. At any point, a delegate could request that a resolution not dis-

cussed yet be brought onto the floor. If 30 percent of the delegates agreed, the committee was required to report it out.

The delegates approved a sweeping series of health and safety demands for the next contract negotiations. They included as a "top priority" securing full-time health and safety committee persons at each mine, paid by the company but responsible solely to the union. They would have the power to shut down any unsafe mine.

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Last February A. Philip Randolph, the only Negro among the AFL-CIO vice-presidents, told the Executive Council that something had to be done about the racial discrimination that was becoming "institutionalized" within some of the unions.

Specifically Randolph proposed that the AFL-CIO's somnolent Committee on Civil Rights be activated by making President Meany himself its chairman and a Negro its director. He submitted a code of fair racial practices to be observed by AFL-CIO unions, including a six-month deadline for eliminating existing discriminatory clauses in union constitutions and apprenticeship programs.

Meany angrily retorted that the AFL-CIO was doing its best to persuade such unions to reform themselves. The Executive Council thereupon self-righteously passed a resolution praising its record of foot-dragging and of lip service to the civil rights struggle in general.

But last week it was made evident that the top labor bureaucracy is not merely a drag on the struggle against Jim Crow in the labor movement — it is a bitter and vindictive opponent of that struggle. The AFL-CIO Executive Council finally acted on Randolph's proposals — by censuring Randolph for having made them. Worst of all, this report was passed *unanimously* by the council, save for Randolph's vote.

INS apologizes to reporter

Strong protests by the Newspaper Guild, a newspaper employees' union affiliated to both the AFL-CIO and the Canadian Labour Congress, and other journalists' organizations forced the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to approve

Socialist activist Naomi Berman dies

Naomi Berman died September 16 in Philadelphia after a long struggle with cancer. She was 64. For a total of more than 10 years — first during the 1940s and again in the 1970s and 1980s — she was an active member of the Socialist Workers Party.

Although she left the SWP a few years after first joining it at the end of World War II, she retained her hatred of capitalist injustice.

During the 1960s she became active in the struggle to end the war in Vietnam. In the mid-1970s she began to play an active role in the women's rights movement, joining the National Organization for Women. Her collaboration with the SWP in these struggles led her to rejoin the party, and she became a member of the Philadelphia branch.

In 1978 she was the party's candidate for lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania.

She remained an active member until 1983, when she left the SWP as part of a split over political and organizational differences.

To the end of her life, she continued to advocate her socialist ideas and participate in the women's rights movement and the struggle against U.S. intervention in Central America.

the entry into the United States of Belgian journalist Tom Ronse.

Ronse was held overnight by INS cops at Newark airport September 25 after his arrival from Belgium. The cops searched his belongings and confiscated literature they said advocated "communist doctrine."

Ronse was released from detention the next day but ordered to return October 3 for clearance. INS Deputy Director James Puleo threatened that Ronse might be liable to deportation for possession of the literature.

Ronse is a North American-based correspondent for the Belgian daily *De Morgen* and the Dutch daily *Het Vrije Volk*.

On October 1 the International Federation of Journalists demanded that the INS "release Ronse from its further attention" and apologize to him for the inconvenience and indignity represented by this act."

In a September 30 letter to the INS, Newspaper Guild President Charles Perlik denounced the "detention and continuing harassment of Ronse." On behalf of the guild he called for "the immediate cancellation of all action against Mr. Ronse, including the October 3 interrogation, and the immediate return of all materials seized from him."

The guild also requested that the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) provide a lawyer for Ronse at the October 3 hearing. The ACLU did so.

At the October 3 interview the INS officials approved Ronse's entry into the United States, returned the materials it had confiscated, and informally apologized to him.

Reagan's summitry: cover for war

Although the two-day meeting in Iceland between President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was billed in advance as a "peace" summit, Reagan made it clear that peace was the last thing on his mind.

In an October 13 televised speech, a day after the summit closed, Reagan revealed that he and Gorbachev had discussed "regional conflicts" such as those in Nicaragua, Angola, Afghanistan, and Kampuchea. In all four countries, Washington is directly involved in counterrevolutionary wars designed to topple the established governments.

There have been no reports about precisely what was discussed or decided. But Reagan, in his speech, reiterated that the right-wing terrorists in those countries — whom he chose to call "freedom fighters" — would continue to get from Washington "the support they need."

What this meant was dramatically revealed on the very eve of the summit, when Sandinista forces shot down a U.S. plane carrying arms to the *contras* fighting against the Nicaraguan workers and peasants. The CIA employee who was captured exposed further evidence of the extent of direct U.S. government involvement in this "covert" war that has already claimed 15,000 lives.

In the meantime, Congress was getting ready to adopt appropriations bills that would give another \$100 million to the *contras* and an unprecedented \$290 billion to the Pentagon.

It was against the backdrop of this U.S. military intervention and arms buildup that the Reykjavik summit took place.

On issues of nuclear arms — the main topic at Reykjavik — Reagan also refused to back down. This was despite the concessions Gorbachev made with the aim of obtaining an arms control agreement. He proposed drastic cuts in both U.S. and Soviet stockpiles of medium-range missiles and long-range strategic weapons.

This came on top of the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear weapons testing that has been in effect since

August 1985.

Although Reagan maintained that he agreed with major nuclear arms cuts, he did not budge one inch on the Strategic Defense Initiative — popularly known as Star Wars.

Despite Reagan's claims, there is nothing "defensive" about this space weapons system. By providing a shield against nuclear retaliation, Washington hopes to move closer to a first-strike capability. Star Wars would also mark a major new extension of the U.S. arms buildup. If Moscow were forced to try to match these new, technologically advanced weapons, the costs to the Soviet economy would be staggering.

Even reports in the big-business news media pinned the blame for the arms control impasse in Reykjavik on Reagan's insistence on pushing ahead with Star Wars. "Star Wars Sinks the Summit," declared the cover of *Time* magazine.

Reagan's October 13 speech was part of an extensive public relations effort designed to counter this common perception of the summit's outcome. He sought to lay the responsibility at Gorbachev's feet instead.

Reagan also made a lame attempt to claim popular support for his military policy, stating that from the beginning of his talks with Gorbachev he has always regarded "the American people as full participants."

But the U.S. people never voted for the Star Wars program, or to provide \$290 billion of their taxes for this year's Pentagon budget. They never decided that Washington should arm and direct the Nicaraguan *contras*, or the proimperialist forces fighting in Angola, Afghanistan, and Kampuchea.

In fact, not one of the many wars, invasions, and interventions carried out by Washington since World War II has been voted on even by Congress.

It is only to provide some political cover for such military aggression that U.S. officials even go to summits such as the one in Reykjavik. The top item on Reagan's agenda is war, not peace.

Workers' stake in protecting the environment

BY DOUG JENNESS

A few weeks ago we published a letter (September 19 issue) from a reader urging us to carry more articles in the *Militant* on the environment. His suggestion was a good one, and we've resolved to try to improve our coverage in this area.

In motivating his proposal, this reader said he realized

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

that while the environment "is a half-issue with regard to politics, it is important."

This formulation is more defensive than is necessary, and our reader, who identified himself as "a bit of an environmentalist," would undoubtedly agree. Destruction of the environment is not a political "half-issue" for the workers' movement, but stands fully at the heart of its struggle against the employers.

Saying this may sound strange to some, because, when they think of the fight against environmental pollution, middle-class organizations like the Sierra Club and the National Audubon Society first come to mind.

Working people, however, have an immense stake in this issue. And their advances and setbacks have a big bearing on whether restrictions on environmental contamination are imposed and enforced. Moreover, the working-class movement will be decisive in fully resolving this problem.

To appreciate this, it's necessary to step back and take a look at a few basic facts.

Most of the despoilation of our land, air, and water and the consequent harmful effects on human beings is rooted in the production process. Humans, unlike other animals, are producers. As toolmakers, we don't just gather from nature, we transform it. The source of all wealth in our society is labor power and nature.

Ever since our primitive beginnings, human producers have been altering the environment we live in. And our capacity to master nature has increased many times over as our tools have improved.

The rise of industrial capitalism less than 200 years ago ushered in a new era in revolutionizing the tools we use. Just 100 years ago, for example, the most powerful means for transforming nature was the steam engine. Today we have oil- and gas-driven engines, powerful rocket fuels, nuclear energy, lasers, and potent chemicals.

This immense technological capacity offers us the possibility to shorten and enrich human labor and improve the living standards of all humanity. But as if under some strange spell, this power has been turned into its opposite, stultifying human life and sapping nature.

In the production of goods and services today, gigantic amounts of waste products are released into the atmosphere and our water systems. The problems of safely storing millions of tons of toxic substances are enormous.

When we pick up the newspaper every morning and read about toxic waste dumps, PCBs in the lakes and rivers, acid rain, rapid destruction of tropical rain forests, massive soil erosion, pesticides in our food, and accidents at nuclear power plants, the whole situation seems staggering beyond belief.

To some it may even seem hopeless. And I've heard others argue that all political activity should be dropped except to save the environment or there will be no world in which to organize a better society.

This catastrophist approach is off the mark. Environmental destruction goes hand in hand with the employers' ruination of workers. Just as the ruling families exhaust the soil, the water, and the very air we breathe in their drive for profits, they work their laborers with no regard for how hazardous, compulsory, and painful it might be.

The toxic chemicals, radioactive substances, and unsafe machinery that are found in the plants and mines are, in a sense, a microcosm of the same poisons and technological breakdowns that endanger thousands of communities across the land.

The workers' fight against unsafe working conditions and for more humane hours is intertwined with the fight to halt environmental damage.

It has been repeatedly shown that the stronger the labor movement is the more readily it can impose safety on the job and environmental safeguards.

When working people mobilize a movement powerful enough to throw out the profiteers now in command, we can then begin the process of rationally organizing production to regulate our interchange with nature.

Some steps can be taken right away, including closing down all nuclear power plants. But we can't expect that when workers and farmers take political power and appropriate the bankers, industrialists, and landowners, pollution will end immediately. A massive cleanup will be required. Moreover, in an industrial society such as ours, measures will have to be devised to deal with the wastes that are the byproducts of production.

The task of bringing our social relations into harmony with our natural environment will be a big challenge to a revolutionary workers' leadership in power.

New openings for antiwar protests

Continued from front page

the recently debated case of Libya, engages in disinformation."

Times columnist Anthony Lewis was harsher. "Everything about the Reagan war on Nicaragua has been a lie from the beginning," he wrote. He summed up the U.S. aggression as "a lawless crusade, resorting to the extremely dangerous device of private war because it does not have public support, designed to slip the American people into a commitment they do not want to make."

The revelations have also blown the *contras*' cover, puncturing the U.S. government's lie that they are "Nicaraguan freedom fighters."

The war against Nicaragua is a mercenary war. It is bought, paid for, and controlled from top to bottom by Washington.

Supplies for the *contras* are paid for by Washington and by the private U.S. mercenary outfits that work with the U.S. government in waging the war. They are carried on U.S. planes staffed by U.S. crews. The supply operation is coordinated by CIA agents.

Military operations, such as the July attack on a civilian passenger ferry, are directed by marine Col. Oliver North, a National Security Council official with an office next door to the White House.

Current U.S. government aid for the *contras* is administered for them by Robert Owen. Owen, the October 12 *Washington Post* stated, is reportedly the liaison between the titular *contra* leadership and Colonel North.

The *contra* bands are being beefed up by a growing force of U.S. mercenaries — a large number of whom are allegedly retired U.S. military or CIA personnel.

Among the prominent figures in this supposedly "private" war are Gen. John Singlaub, retired former chief of staff of U.S. forces in Korea, and retired air force Gen. Harry Aderholt. Singlaub's U.S. Council for World Freedom and Aderholt's Air Commando Association provide fronts for the U.S. war.

Administration officials have announced that U.S. Special Forces will soon take over the military training of *contra* units.

The use of a Salvadoran air base to supply the *contras* highlights the Central Americanization of the war. Since 1984, the October 15 *New York Times* revealed, the same base has been used to launch air and sea attacks against Nicaragua.

Washington's role in building an air strip in Costa Rica, near the Nicaraguan border, for the purpose of helping the *contras* was recently exposed. The Costa Rican government claims to have shut down the air strip.

All this U.S. military intervention has taken place before Congress gives final approval to the \$100-million

aid package to the *contras*, which includes a green light for the CIA to coordinate *contra* operations against Nicaragua. Democratic Sen. Patrick Leahy estimated that the CIA will provide the *contras* with \$400 million in addition to the congressional appropriation.

The parallels with the early stages of the U.S. war in Vietnam are striking, and millions of working people in the United States are noting them with alarm.

The response to Nicaragua's capture of the confessed CIA operative has sharpened debate among the U.S. rulers over what tactics to adopt in combating the Nicaraguan revolution.

The divisions in the ruling circles are spurred by the fact that the U.S.-organized *contras*, while murdering thousands of Nicaraguans and destroying many schools and other vital necessities, have been unable to make headway in reversing the Nicaraguan revolution.

"Their spokesmen admit that they are unable to maintain a permanent military presence anywhere in Nicaragua," reported a recent *Los Angeles Times* dispatch from Honduras.

The administration's tactics have inspired a new round of criticism in newspaper editorials and columns.

Republican Sen. David Durenberger of Minnesota has criticized the Reagan administration for refusing to admit its role in the shipments. Democratic Sen. John Kerry of Massachusetts has called for a congressional investigation into "whether the United States has abided by the law" in its dealings with the *contras*.

With each new revelation, the building of antiwar protests to be held in 16 U.S. cities between October 25 and November 2 is gaining steam.

A regional coalition of groups from seven states is building the demonstration to be held in Washington, D.C., on October 25. The *Journal and Guide*, the major weekly oriented to Blacks in the Norfolk-Newport News area of Virginia, is among the supporters of the action. On October 20, a united protest against the visit to Washington of Salvadoran President José Napoleón Duarte is expected to add momentum to the building of October 25.

Austin, Texas, will be the scene of a statewide antiwar protest on the same day. As part of a broad array of antiwar groups, Chicanos Against Military Intervention in Latin America is seeking to mobilize Chicano participation across Texas.

Foes of the U.S. war should seize the opportunity presented by the new revelations about crimes against Nicaragua. Unionists, farmers, Blacks, Chicanos, students, groups in solidarity with the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran people, peace groups, left organizations, and others should come together to make these actions as united, broad, and powerful as possible.

Minnesota oil workers debate 12-hour shift

BY MICHAEL MAGGI

The 12-hour day is an old idea. Workers used to work from "can't see in the morning to can't see at night." But unions came along with a simple idea: we should work to live and not live to work.

Koch Oil Refining Co. outside Minneapolis employs

UNION TALK

about 450 operators and maintenance people to refine about 1.5 percent of all the crude oil refined in the United States each day.

Operators work six days on shift, two days off, then rotate shifts on an eight-hour schedule.

We would like a better schedule, but the only schedule change the company is willing to discuss is the 12-hour day. Some operators think any change would be worth a try, and some fancy promises are being made about how everyone will make the same money and have a lot more time off with the 12-hour shift.

But the 12-hour shift is really a series of concessions to the company, beginning with the abolition of the eight-hour day, but certainly not ending there.

Concessions would include a pay cut of \$2 an hour on the basic hourly rate. The company would pay overtime rates, but such that at the end of the day we have worked 12 hours for our old straight-time rate.

The idea of employers paying a penalty (time and a half) for forcing workers to work long days would be lost, as would shift differential pay.

Pro-12-hour arguments say that we would get more time off. Instead of working 87 midnight shifts, 87 day shifts, and 87 evening shifts in a year we would work 87 nights and 87 days. This is supposed to be 87 more days off, but that isn't true.

We would be cheated out of one of our days off every

week because the night shift would start at 7:00 p.m. and go to 7:00 a.m. the next day. The day we come in and work five hours would be counted as our "day off."

Some workers say that this is offset by the fact we get out of work early — at 7:00 a.m. on our last day of a series — but we have worked 7 hours of that day, only 1 hour less than the old workday.

How many hours we can be forced to work overtime to cover people away on vacations or sick isn't clear. The current system is that if someone is off sick, one operator remains four hours to cover the absent operator and one person comes in four hours early for the next shift. Each operator works 12 hours.

Under the 12-hour day system, operators at other refineries are forced to work 18 hours, with only 6 hours off until the next 12-hour shift begins.

The company would also reap the benefits of cut jobs. Under the 12-hour day system, the number of crews is reduced from the present three shifts with four to six operators per crew, down to two shifts with the same crew size. Each unit would lose one or two regular operators. They would be demoted to relief operators, who work part time in the units as operators and part time as laborers.

This job cut would also affect the numbers of relief operators available plantwide to cover regular operators during vacations or extensive sick leaves.

One of the biggest concessions this would give the company is on health and safety. Refineries are dangerous places to work. The process involves toxic gases and chemicals and temperatures and pressures that can produce violent explosions and fires. Longer days mean operators working when they are more tired and less alert. Overall, this means more accidents and more serious accidents.

There is a lot of forced overtime already, especially during extensive maintenance shutdowns (called "tur-

narounds"). Every turnaround produces more accidents due to "carelessness" (which is often a product of being tired or rushed by management to complete a job faster than can safely be done).

The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) union has a position against the 12-hour shift based on loss of jobs and increased risk with longer exposure to toxic chemicals and gases. The current Occupational Safety and Health Administration standards of "permissible exposure" relates to exposure during an 8-hour shift with 16 hours for the body to recover.

With the 12-hour shift, exposure limits have to be cut in half, but the refinery isn't doing anything to better working conditions and actually cut exposure to these dangerous substances.

One of the biggest concessions to the company is hardly discussed at all: undermining union democracy.

Only operators are being informed of the discussion. The maintenance people are excluded although they have a vital stake in seeing the 12-hour day voted down.

Operators going to 12-hour shifts would further weaken the union by making it harder for operators to participate in its activities at all. The company could attempt to sow divisions in the membership, to be exploited at contract time to force bigger concessions from everyone.

The real alternative to the 12-hour day is cutting the workweek with no loss in pay. Canadian refineries work a regular 32- or 36-hour week. U.S. refineries also had a short workweek to compensate for the rotating shifts until World War II, when all industries were forced to work 48 hours at a minimum. This was a "temporary" concession we still haven't recovered from.

Any proposal that starts out, "It can't cost the company money . . .," isn't going to change our lives for the better.

Michael Maggi is an operator in the crude and vacuum units at Koch Oil Refining Co. in Pine Bend, Minnesota, and a member of OCAW Local 6-662.

LETTERS

Margaret Randall

I would appreciate it very much if you could send me some information about Margaret Randall. I read in the *Militant* that she will be thrown out of the United States within a short time, and I have also read some of her books. Now I'm looking for details about the deportation and about the author herself.

If you have some articles or can tell me where to find out more about her, I would be grateful. You know, it's not very easy finding these things in Sweden. Even if we are fed up with all kinds of American stuff, finding American articles is hard work.

M.J.
Stockholm, Sweden

Editor replies: Further information about Margaret Randall's case can be obtained by writing to the Center for Constitutional Rights, 853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Very informative

I read your publication. A friend of mine receives it regularly. I found it quite interesting and very informative.

I would greatly appreciate it if you'd add me to your mailing list. Thank you very much.

A.S.
Gatesville, Texas

Irish freedom fighters

This is in response to the rather peculiar letter by Andrew Mohan titled "Not freedom fighters" in the September 26 issue of the *Militant*.

Contrary to Mohan, there is one force that oppresses and exploits the people of all Ireland — the same force that has dominated Ireland for the last 400 years, British imperialism. In the north, a British occupation army and British money prop up a sectarian Protestant statelet — the truncated six-county Orange Ulster.

Orange Ulster, established by British armed force, has a 60-some-odd-year history of continual pogroms against the Catholics, the Republicans, and the left. A six-decade-long record of

burned homes, smashed unions, political murders, police, terror, concentration camps, and "special powers acts" — that is the legacy of Ulster.

In 1968 Irish men and women launched a struggle in Ulster. The goal was civil rights, that the Irish in Ulster might be allowed to vote, hold office, and have access to public services — just as though they were human, just as though they were British. Those young people, influenced by the civil rights movement in the United States, chose the tactic of nonviolent civil disobedience.

The ruling class, the Orange establishment, responded to nonviolence with mass terror. Fascist bands, the police, the "B Specials," and Orange lynch mobs laid siege to the nationalist communities. Once the police and the Orange mobs had been beaten back by the community defense groups, British troops were sent in to "reestablish order."

Does Mohan remember how the British Army reestablished "order"? In operations involving thousands of troops and heavy tanks, the British carried out mass arrests, followed by routine torture of suspects, sexual abuse of women prisoners, and internment without trial. At one point, as many as 18,000 suspects were in British concentration camps.

If in Ireland the generation of the 1960s learned to "take up the gun," then they learned that lesson from men in Orange sashes and men in British uniform. The Irish freedom fighters in Derry and Belfast "picked up the gun" as a measure of elementary self-defense, not from some love of violence.

Roy Inglee
Wilmington, Delaware

Abortion

I want to commend R.B. Wilk for the excellent points he/she made in the letter regarding abortion (September 19 *Militant*).

Outlawing abortion is not going to stop it. It must be kept as a safe and legal option for women.

I, too, am enraged by the narrow-mindedness of the radical pro-lifer. Let a pregnant woman contemplating abortion approach a

pro-life picket line. Let this woman say, "I am pregnant, pay my medical expenses, support me after I lose my job, and foot the bills to raise the child. Then I won't have an abortion."

I'm sure the pro-lifer would be hard put to find a plausible answer, but would instead supply some useless platitude.

Abortions in this country are legal until 24 weeks! That, to me, is murder. A fetus does not develop the capacity for pain or awareness until about 12 weeks gestation. After that, spinal and cerebral development accelerates and, along with that, its awareness.

Why can't abortion be made legal only up to 12 weeks instead of the gruesome 24 weeks? They should be government-funded to avoid delays due to financial situations.

Women should be educated on the true ramifications of abortion. Preventing unwanted pregnancy is the most important link and should be given the most attention.

There is more to abortion than just the rights of women.

A. Smith
Charleston, West Virginia

Need to forge links

Workers here in Indiana seem to be caught in a time warp! We need help to educate people here who are isolated from the rest of the nation.

It seems to me that the impact the Hormel meat-packers' strike has had on other workers' struggles around the country has completely bypassed this area. Everything progressive seems to get within a few miles and then jump completely over us. The union movement is not only regressive here, but, I suspect, both the leadership and rank and file are light years behind neighboring industrial areas.

This used to be an industrial hub, with Studebaker, International Harvester, Oliver's, Torrington, etc. All of these industries have gone out of existence, and our area has suffered tremendously economically. The last traces of a Bendix plant will soon



be gone.

The recent strike at AM General, as well as some of the other plant closings, are but a few incidents in a long line of labor-management struggles that have plagued this area.

I've worked in a number of these industries over the past 30 years, and although many of the issues that plague the workers in these struggles parallel the situation of the Local P-9ers at Austin Hormel, I think the difference is the absence of the Jim Guyettes or other progressive people leading the fight.

We here in the St. Joe Valley who have been bypassed by the progressive movements need to forge nationwide links and ties with fellow fighters for workers' rights. This is a call for help and an invitation to other workers charged with challenging the money barons, union leadership, and corporations. Reach out and join us in our struggle to make the workers in our Midwestern area understand that we are not alone. Help expand our consciousness of the issues from the local level to the national and international.

Abdul R. Nur
South Bend, Indiana

Excess capital

I believe you failed to comprehend the nature of the question

posed in your letter column September 26 by D.B. of Kirkwood, Missouri.

By excess capital I believe the author is referring to income that may remain after basic wages are used to purchase food, shelter, and clothing. This surplus income (wages or capital) may be saved, invested for retirement, spent for a vacation, or used for a child's education. It may be used to provide a cushion against times of emergency, strike, or unemployment.

Many communists have small investments, mutual funds, IRAs, life insurance, saving accounts, or a second piece of real property. Many of these small accounts are part of larger accounts invested and managed by bankers and finance professionals in U.S. and foreign stock exchanges.

Should communists form collectives to provide these necessities or can they meet legitimate needs by using the institutions and forms of capitalist society?

D.H.
University City, Missouri

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.

Thousands join anti-apartheid protests

Demand end to all U.S. gov't, corporate links to S. Africa

BY ERNEST HARSCH

From Boston to Hawaii, thousands of protesters joined marches, rallies, and picket lines October 10 and 11 to express their opposition to apartheid and to demand the severing of all U.S. government and corporate links to South Africa.

Demonstrations were held in at least a dozen cities and on more than 50 campuses. They were sponsored mainly by local student organizations, anti-apartheid coalitions, and, in some cases, trade unions.

According to Joshua Nessen of the American Committee on Africa, which helped initiate the days of protest, "These demonstrations indicate the widespread support for an end to U.S. investment in South Africa that goes beyond the partial measures passed by Congress."

One of the largest actions was in Los Angeles, where more than 2,000 marched. There were union contingents of machinists, garment workers, service employees, auto workers, and teachers. Three truckloads of striking United Farm Workers members took part.

A Chicano and Latino contingent and a Salvadoran contingent condemned U.S. policies in South Africa and Central America.

Speaking at the rally, Neo Mnumzana, chief UN representative of the African National Congress, drew attention to some problems with the sanctions bill recently passed by Congress, which he termed "a mixed bag."

Mnumzana described "a strategy shift" among those who had previously debated whether apartheid is bad. "They now say apartheid is bad, apartheid has got to go," Mnumzana said. "But one thing worse than apartheid is a communist and terrorist future for that country. The ANC represents communism and terrorism, they say." He urged people to read the bill carefully.

Luis Olivares, a Catholic minister and prominent spokesperson for undocumented workers, linked U.S. backing to apartheid to support for the oppressive regime in El Salvador and the *contras* in Nicaragua. He called for all present to join a November 1 march against the U.S. war in Central America.

'From New Orleans to Soweto'

Chanting "From New Orleans to Soweto, racism has got to go!" 300 anti-apartheid protesters marched through downtown New Orleans October 11. Sponsors included most of the major labor unions in the city, as well as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and other groups.

The spirited demonstration was saluted by onlookers as it weaved through a Black housing project on its way to the French Quarter. A downpour did not discourage the marchers from assembling at Louis Armstrong Park at the conclusion of the demonstration to hear ANC representative Shuping Coapoge and other speakers. Coapoge urged participants to step up the divestment struggle.

The march ended a week of activity for Coapoge, who spoke at four universities in the area. He was also given the key to the city by the mayor of New Orleans.

In New York City, a few hundred people participated in a rally and picket outside the New York Stock Exchange October 10. "No business with South Africa!" the demonstrators chanted.

Speakers at the rally included representatives of hospital and public employees unions, as well as student representatives from several area campuses. Brian Willson, a Vietnam War veteran who is fasting to protest U.S. policies in Central America, demanded that the U.S. government embargo South Africa, not Nicaragua.

In Washington, D.C., a student coalition organized a march to the White House

involving 300 students from 10 campuses in the area. They demanded full sanctions on South Africa and an end to U.S. aid to the South African-backed UNITA terrorists fighting in Angola.

Other cities where demonstrations were held included Houston, Minneapolis, Albany, Portland, Boston, Buffalo, Phoenix, Rochester, and San Diego.

Students erect shanties

A prominent feature of a number of the October 10 campus actions was the building of shanties, to symbolize the plight of South African Blacks.

After erecting some shanties, students at the University of Hawaii joined a demonstration to protest President Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement" with the apartheid regime. At the University of Missouri, students put up a shantytown to protest the university's \$100 million in investments in companies doing business in South Africa; 17 of them were arrested.

A week earlier, on October 3, some 200 students rallied at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore to celebrate a victory in their struggle for free speech on campus. Following earlier anti-apartheid actions, they had forced the administration to drop charges against 14 students arrested for erecting "unauthorized structures."

Some 130 students held a mock funeral at Drew University in Madison, New Jersey, October 10. They carried a coffin with the names of South Africans murdered or imprisoned by the apartheid regime.

At the University of Pittsburgh, 300 stu-



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Unionists in contingents were among more than 2,000 who marched in Los Angeles

dents rallied to demand that the university trustees divest \$37 million in South Africa-related stocks. Mweli Nzizi, representing the ANC, likened the freedom struggle in South Africa to the Nicaraguan revolution and the fight of the Palestinian people to regain their homeland.

Anti-apartheid actions were also held in other countries.

In Toronto, Canada, about 500 marched and demonstrated October 9. Dennis Goldberg, a long-time South African political prisoner who spoke on behalf of the

ANC, demanded that the Canadian government act to impose sanctions against South Africa, and not just speak about them.

On October 11, a demonstration of 300 took place in Montreal. Around the theme, "Stop Canada's complicity with apartheid," the mostly student action was directed at a number of Canadian companies that have ties with South Africa.

In addition, demonstrations were held October 10 in London, Dublin, and Oslo to protest U.S. aid to the UNITA mercenaries in Angola.

Fasting vets protest war on Nicaragua

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

NEW YORK — "We want people to know there are four veterans who are willing to put their lives on the line. We've done it for war, now we're doing it for peace."

That was the message Brian Willson brought to some 300 people crowded into the south lobby of the Riverside Church here October 10. Willson is one of four U.S. veterans — three Vietnam vets and one World War II vet — who have been on a hunger fast since September to protest Washington's war against Nicaragua.

Willson and Duncan Murphy have been fasting since September 15. Charlie Liteky and George Mizo have gone without food since September 1.

Liteky, a Catholic chaplain during the Vietnam War, won the Congressional Medal of Honor. He renounced the decoration on July 29 in protest of Washington's war against Nicaragua.

Mizo was a winner of the Republic of Vietnam's Gallantry Cross and the U.S. Purple Heart.

The four veterans have been conducting a daily vigil on the steps of the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C.

Willson spent almost two months in Nicaragua last winter on a scholarship to the Spanish-language NICA school in Estelí, where he lived with a Nicaraguan family.

He told the New York meeting, which was organized by the Pledge of Resistance; that the killing of Nicaraguan workers and peasants brought back all of his memories of Vietnam. "This is for a lie," Willson said, "and I won't go through another lie like Vietnam." He explained that when he left Nicaragua he told his Nicaraguan family "that I would do everything in my power to stop the killing."

Willson told the meeting that the fast has won widespread support. The veterans have received more than 10,000 letters from around the world. More than 8,000

people have phoned to express support. The vets have heard from people in more than 20 countries, ranging from embassy officials to individual citizens. The Nicaraguan ambassador to the United States has visited them several times on the Capitol steps, and the fast and support for it is reported on Nicaraguan television daily.

A volunteer staff of 20 people has been answering these messages and recording support actions that are being organized in this country and around the world.

Willson pointed to the fact that the U.S. government is killing Nicaraguans every day without the use of U.S. combat troops. Unlike Vietnam, he said, "there are no [U.S. television network] cameras in the war zones, no body bags coming back to the United States." To call attention to this very real war, "we put our lives on the line to save lives in Nicaragua."

The veterans view their fast as an example that can serve to spur renewed and deeper protest action against the U.S. war. "All we really want," Willson said, "is the beginning of a protest movement of resistance — not just letters to Congress."

The fast has provoked a genuine response from other Vietnam veterans. Willson reported the fasters had recently conducted a ceremony at the Vietnam War memorial in Washington at which almost 100 medals awarded to U.S. veterans were turned back to the government in protest of the war in Nicaragua.

Dave Cline, a New York Vietnam vet and a member of the Transport Workers Union, also spoke at the New York meeting on behalf of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

"Reagan is doing the same thing in Nicaragua that LBJ [Lyndon B. Johnson] did in Vietnam," Cline said. "They're getting ready to send another generation off." But, he continued to loud applause, "we don't want to have to see 'Nicaraguan Veterans Against the War.'"

Another highlight of the meeting was when Willson read a telegram of support the fasters received from Rosario Murillo, a leader of the Nicaraguan Cultural Workers Association and wife of Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega.

The gathering also heard from Rev. William Sloan Coffin, Peter Yarrow (of Peter, Paul and Mary), and several poets and artists. The meeting took place in front of a large, three-dimensional wood and paper-mache scene of a Nicaraguan family designed and built by Dinny Forbes, who traveled to Nicaragua with Willson, along with a number of other artists.

At the conclusion of the meeting Irving Beinlin, a leader of the New York Regional Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice, made a brief statement of support for the fasting vets and appealed to everyone to join the October 25 demonstration in New York City.

Boston vets back fast

BY ELLEN BERMAN

BOSTON — About 100 war veterans here have been conducting a "Veterans' Vigil for Life" in support of four veterans in Washington, D.C., protesting the U.S. war in Nicaragua.

The vets keep their vigil 24 hours a day at the Boston Common, with at least two, and often as many as 6 or 10, present at all times. On Sunday afternoons and Wednesday evenings, the public is invited to join in the watch.

On September 14, the Veterans' Vigil held a rally at the Boston Common to explain their action. Standing in front of a camouflage banner that read, "Forget Nam? Never. U.S. out of Central America," several veterans denounced U.S. intervention in Central America and read poetry they had written about their experiences in Vietnam.