

Haitian strike calls on junta to resign

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Virtually all economic activity in Port-au-Prince, the capital of Haiti, ground to a halt November 17-18. Tens of thousands of workers stayed away from their jobs in response to a general strike call issued by 52 political, human rights, trade union, and other organizations.

Gonaïves, Jacmel, Marigot, Petit-Goâve, Mirebalais, Jérémie, Les Cayes, and other cities and towns across the country were likewise paralyzed by the strike. The police and army responded by killing at least six protesters.

The central demand of the strikers was for the resignation of the National Council of Government (CNG), the ruling junta headed by Gen. Henri Namphy, which has governed the country since the overthrow of the dictatorship of Jean-Claude Duvalier in February.

This general strike came a little more than a week after a huge throng of 200,000 marched through the streets of the capital — the largest protest demonstration ever held in Haiti.

This resurgence of popular struggle has been spurred, above all, by the CNG's active connivance with those responsible for the repressive terror of the Duvalier family's 29-year-long dictatorship — in particular with the remnants of the Tontons Macoutes, Duvalier's dreaded secret police.

"Down with the Macoutes!" and "CNG = Macoutes" were among the slogans most frequently raised during the recent protests.

Although the CNG has been forced under popular pressure to try some of the most notorious officials of the Duvalier regime, it has let others go free. In Sep-

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Gov't crisis continues to rock Philippines

BY FRED FELDMAN

Philippine President Corazon Aquino ordered all 25 members of her cabinet to resign November 23. She announced that she had accepted the resignation of Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile. Enrile and his supporters in the officer corps of the armed forces have been threatening to take action to force the Aquino government to implement their policies.

At the same time, she issued an ultimatum to the National Democratic Front to reach a cease-fire agreement by November 30 "or terminate all further negotiation." The NDF is a political coalition that supports the guerrilla movement, which has won wide support in many rural areas.

Saturino Ocampo, an NDF negotiator, said the discussions would resume. They broke down after Rolando Olalia, head of the country's largest union federation, and his driver were murdered by assassins widely believed to be linked to the armed forces.

"With the removal of Enrile," said Ocampo, "we can meet with the government panel again. As a matter of fact, we have sent word to meet very soon."

Aquino replaced Enrile as defense minister with Rafael Iletto, a West Point graduate who played a leading role in the military suppression of a peasant-based rebellion in the 1950s.

Unlike Enrile, Iletto said he would "go along partly" with Aquino's cease-fire negotiations. "If you can convince a person to go down, why do you have to shoot him? It is that simple."

The government shake-up followed a series of events that highlighted the growing polarization between the workers and peasants on the one side and the landlords and capitalists on the other. These counterposed forces have been placing heavy pressure on Aquino as she seeks to form a



Huge funeral procession in Manila on November 20 protested murder of union federation head and his driver.

stable government capable of containing the popular struggles for change.

On November 20, hundreds of thousands of marchers paraded through Manila in a funeral procession for Olalia, chairman of the May 1 Movement (KMU) trade union federation and the Party of the Nation, and Leonor Alay-ay, Olalia's driver.

The demonstrators demanded the resignation of Enrile, whom they held responsible for the assassinations. Enrile has campaigned for a government crackdown on the trade unions and on the guerrillas in the countryside.

Two days later, fears of a coup escalated as troops at military camps in Cebu, the second-largest city, and in Butuan on the island of Mindanao staged rallies in support of Enrile. Military helicopters dropped leaflets over Cebu voicing demands that

Aquino fire "leftist" cabinet members and call early presidential elections.

Armed forces Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos ordered officers to refuse directives from the defense ministry and from top Enrile supporters in the army. Aquino's dumping of Enrile followed.

Ramos has attempted to exact a price for his opposition to a coup by the Enrile supporters. He met with Aquino November 21 to deliver the armed forces' demands for the firing of certain cabinet ministers and for a harder stance toward the rebels.

The military's key goals were reported to be slashing the authority of Aquino aide Joker Arroyo and firing labor minister Roberto Sanchez. Both are lawyers with records of challenging human rights violations. Sanchez, in particular, had angered

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Angolan people resist S. African aggression

BY SAM MANUEL

LUANDA, Angola — As I arrived here in Angola's capital, the people of the country were marking the 11th anniversary of their independence from Portuguese colonial rule. But 11 years later, the signs of war and the struggle to defend indepen-

dence can still be seen here.

Every factory, economic project, government building, and health clinic must be guarded against attack and sabotage by armed counterrevolutionaries of the so-called National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and commandos of the South African apartheid regime.

Despite the defeat of the massive South African invasion of 1975-76, the U.S. and South African governments have not given up their efforts to overturn the Angolan government, which is headed by the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

Just this year, Jonas Savimbi, leader of the UNITA terrorist outfit, went to Washington for an official visit. He met with U.S. government officials and businessmen. The Reagan administration has since announced that it is sending weapons to UNITA. Other UNITA arms come from South Africa.

As part of the 11th anniversary activities, the army opened an exhibition of weapons captured from UNITA between August and October.

Paulino Pinto João, director of the MPLA's Department of Information and

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Our reporter in Angola

In this issue we carry three firsthand reports from Angola by Sam Manuel, who is in that southern African country as a *Militant* correspondent. Manuel will be there for several more weeks, covering the U.S. and South African-backed war against Angola and other topics. His reports will appear in coming issues.

It costs money to get this kind of on-the-scene coverage. We urge readers to help meet the added expense by sending a contribution, of whatever amount. All are welcome. Please send them to: The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Nicaragua warns of threatening moves by U.S. ships, planes

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — On November 21, Nicaragua's Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto denounced a recent increase in the U.S. naval and air forces threatening Nicaragua. In a letter of protest to U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, D'Escoto also protested plans for U.S.-backed mercenaries to attack the Honduran town of Danlí, with the goal of making it look like a Sandinista assault.

D'Escoto reported that since November 13, a growing number of U.S. warships have been stationed off Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, east of the cities of Bluefields and Puerto Cabezas. Other U.S. warships have arrived at Costa Rican ports, and there has been an increase in U.S. Air Force activity at bases in Panama, he said.

On November 21, the Nicaraguan daily *El Nuevo Diario* reported that the Honduran Committee Against War and in Defense of National Sovereignty had exposed

a U.S. plan for its mercenaries to attack Danlí, near the Nicaragua-Honduras border, in December. "The aim of such a criminal action by the *contras* is to blame the attack on the Sandinista army and thus create conditions that would permit the Reagan administration to launch an armed invasion against Nicaragua," the committee said.

In speeches and interviews earlier this month, Nicaraguan Defense Minister Humberto Ortega also denounced the new threats facing Nicaragua, now that the *contra* mercenaries have \$100 million in open U.S. funding.

Ortega cited the reappearance of the attack speedboats known as "piranhas." These were used by the CIA to attack Nicaraguan ports and shipping in 1983 and 1984.

Ortega also reported that the "Pia Vesta," a ship seized recently by Panama-

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Haiti strike demands military junta quit

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tember, for example, two who had been jailed for human rights abuses — former senior police official Col. Jean Valme and ex-mayor of Port-au-Prince Franck Romain — were summarily released and allowed to leave the country.

The junta itself includes some members who were particularly close to Duvalier, such as Col. Williams Regala.

Death squads resurrected

Evidence is mounting that some Tontons Macoutes have resumed their operations. Political activists have been threatened or kidnapped, including members of the League for the Defense of the Rights of Rural Women and the People's Unity Movement of Les Cayes. Death-squad style killings have again become common. In mid-September a young literacy worker, Charlot Jacquelin, was seized during a police raid and has not been heard from since.

Former Macoutes are reported to be undergoing military training near the capital. And several military officers who recently left Haiti for the United States revealed that CNG member Regala and Jean-Claude Paul, a military commander, have been involved in reorganizing some of these former Macoutes into death squads.

Encouraged by these developments, several former Duvalier officials publicly proclaimed the formation of an openly pro-Duvalierist party in late October, known by its French initials, PREN.

Other policies of the CNG have also heightened popular discontent.

It has tried to restrict the freedom of the press that was won following Duvalier's flight from the country. Employers have been encouraged to fire workers seeking to form trade unions. According to labor leaders, 2,500 workers have lost their jobs because of union activities.

In line with the economic policies of Washington and the International Monetary Fund, the junta has reduced govern-

ment support for state-run enterprises and sought to open up the Haitian economy to even greater involvement by foreign corporations. As a result, many factories have shut down.

According to official figures, 12,000 workers have lost their jobs since Duvalier's overthrow, exacerbating an unemployment level that surpasses 50 percent.

'Haiti is not for sale'

Discontent with this situation gradually mounted. By late September and early October, demonstrations openly calling for the CNG's ouster became increasingly common and widespread.

Gonaïves — the northern city that was at the center of the mass upheaval that brought down Duvalier — again led the way. Throughout September thousands of youths repeatedly took to the streets, chanting "Down with the CNG and Namphy," erecting barricades, and clashing with the police.

These actions soon spread to nearby L'Estère and Saint Marc, where demonstrators protested the repression and the lack of jobs. They then erupted in Cap-Haitien, also in the north; the junta sent tanks there in an effort to contain the unrest.

But by the beginning of October residents of the southern towns of Jérémie, Miragoâne, and Les Cayes went into action as well. Thousands in Les Cayes demanded the CNG's ouster and proclaimed, "Haiti is not for sale," a reference to the junta's economic policies.

Rice farmers have also held protests, as have peasants driven off their land.

In various neighborhoods of Port-au-Prince and other cities, youths have set up new Anti-Macoutes Brigades to help organize the local communities to defend themselves. This was in response to a call for the formation of such committees issued by the Autonomous Confederation of Haitian Workers (CATH).



Haiti Progrès
Recent protest against Haitian government. Banner, in Creole, reads: "Down with the CNG, down with the Macoutes, down with America."

The kidnapping and disappearance of the literacy worker, Charlot Jacquelin, has become a particularly volatile issue. "Give us Charlot Jacquelin!" has been demanded at many of the demonstrations.

On October 31, at the initiative of two women's organizations, more than 7,000 people marched in the capital to protest Jacquelin's kidnapping.

On November 6 public transport drivers, belonging to a union affiliated to the CATH, shut down transport in Port-au-Prince to protest the killing of a driver by the army.

The next day came the demonstration of 200,000, which focused on the Jacquelin kidnapping and the formation of the new pro-Duvalierist party, the PREN. One soldier who refused to fire on the crowds was himself shot to death at the directive of

commanding officers.

Tens of thousands more protesters took to the streets of provincial cities that day and the next. In Petit-Goâve, they chanted, "Down with American military aid!"

In face of popular opposition, leaders of the PREN announced November 12 that they were dissolving the party. A few hours later General Namphy addressed the country, promising more action to counter "Macoutism."

Namphy's speech had almost no effect. Besides the November 17-18 general strike, new demonstrations broke out in Gonaïves, Petit-Goâve, Jacmel, L'Estère, Saint Marc, and other cities. "We demand the CNG's resignation!" protesters chanted. "We want a revolutionary government!"

U.S., French gov'ts back junta in repression of Haitian people

Confronted by an increasingly rebellious population, the governing junta in Haiti has turned to its allies in Washington and Paris for yet greater backing.

In early September a team of French military advisers was sent to Haiti to help "reorganize" the army and police, in particular the riot control units.

On November 7 — the same day as the massive demonstration in the capital — a U.S. Air Force C-141 transport plane arrived in Haiti filled with some of the \$4 million in military aid that Washington has allocated for the Haitian army this year. Also getting off the plane were 11 U.S. military "mechanics," in Haiti for a one-month tour of duty.

On November 21, Namphy met in Washington with President Reagan, who promised \$100 million in U.S. economic assistance.

Seeking to justify the provision of the military aid in particular, the U.S. ambassador to Haiti, Brunson McKinley, claimed that it was "indispensable to the maintenance of the freedoms and rights of Haitians."

The weekly *Haiti Progrès* commented, "Such a statement carries a bitter taste, since the same day that the Haitian people were in the streets to demand their rights and freedoms, the army, firing on an unarmed crowd, was presented with emergency aid . . . to repress the population."



Haiti Progrès
On October 31, at initiative of two women's organizations, 7,000 marched in Port-au-Prince to protest kidnapping of Charlot Jacquelin, a literacy worker.

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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.

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Concert for Minn. meat-packers draws 1,800

BY MEG ELLIS

MINNEAPOLIS — A successful concert was held here to benefit the families of the 850 workers fighting to get their jobs back at the Hormel meat-packing plant in Austin, Minnesota.

Singers Arlo Guthrie, Holly Near, John McCutcheon, and Larry Long donated their talents for the November 20 benefit, which was attended by 1,800 at Orchestra Hall here.

The event was organized by the Twin Cities Hormel Strikers Support Committee. Union members and support committee activists publicized the event throughout the area.

Twenty-five hundred tickets were sold, with many unions buying blocks of tickets. Delegations of electrical workers, refinery workers, letter carriers, auto workers, and steelworkers attended, as did college and high school students. Over a dozen activists from the Wisconsin Farm Unity Alliance were also there.

Meat-packers and supporters chartered a bus from Austin to attend and had a big presence in the crowd dressed in their blue union jackets and hats. They set up a literature table of material on their struggle in the concert hall lobby.

John McCutcheon opened the concert saying that the artists wanted to share their music out of regard for democratic trade unions. "This," he said, "is a struggle for all of us, it's just luck and timing. That means it's folks in Austin on the line now, not you."

At one point the audience stood and sang the song "We Shall Not Be Moved" along with the performers. New verses were added encouraging people to boycott Hormel products and offering solidarity with the meat-packers and their families.

Other songs protested the U.S.-sponsored war against the people of Central America, farm foreclosures, and attacks on immigrant workers.

Concert promoter John Heegard, son of a Hormel meat-packer, told the *Militant* that the concert raised over \$17,000 for the Austin United Support Group's Food Shelf.

The day before the concert United Food and Commercial Workers union Deputy Trustee Ken Kimbro held a news conference in Austin announcing that the UFCW would also organize Thanksgiving food donations for the Hormel meat-packers.

Kimbro said that \$10,000 would be collected from UFCW locals around the country.

In June UFCW top officials put Local P-9 in trusteeship and forced an end to the

strike at the Austin Hormel plant.

A new contract signed in September excluded the 850 meat-packers from getting their jobs back.

While local media tried to play up the two food donations as rival political events, the meat-packers themselves welcomed and encouraged aid both from UFCW locals around the country and from the Twin Cities Support Group.

A semitrailer truck loaded with 24,000 pounds of food and displaying a banner reading "Jobs and justice for all Hormel workers" led a caravan from the Twin Cities bound for Austin on November 23.

On the outskirts of town the caravan was joined by dozens of cars filled with meat-packers and their families.

The offices of the Austin United Support Group were soon filled with people pitching in to unload the truck.

Another truck was loaded in Austin with food destined for meat-packers in Ottumwa, Iowa. Over 200 workers who honored P-9 pickets during the strike have been prevented from returning to work at the Hormel plant there.

Kathy Buck, former P-9 financial secretary, spoke to those assembled at the office, thanking the caravan participants and contributors of the food. "Because of you, we'll have a happy Thanksgiving and Christmas. We know the best way we can repay you is to continue our struggle," Buck said.

A solidarity letter was read from the



Militant photos by Ernest Harsch and Janice Prescott

Singer Holly Near (left) performed at benefit concert. Kathy Buck, former financial secretary of Local P-9, thanked those who brought food caravan to Austin.

Wisconsin Farm Unity Alliance that donated 250 half-gallons of milk. "This milk is not surplus commodities. It is being donated by family farmers. As long as there are hungry people, there is no surplus. We are making a humanitarian as well as a political statement," the letter said.

Bud Schulte, a shop steward at the Iowa

Pork meat-packing plant in South St. Paul, was the final speaker. He explained that his union — UFCW Local 789, which also includes St. Paul retail clerks and nursing home workers — had just voted to sponsor a Christmas food caravan to Austin on December 14. A letter from Local 789 has been mailed to over 300 Twin Cities unions encouraging them to donate food.

Takebacks voted down by Iowa strikers

BY DAVE SULLIVAN

MARSHALLTOWN, Iowa — Meat-packers began to cheer loudly when it was announced that the latest contract offer from Swift Independent Packing Co. had been voted down.

Members of Local 50 of the National Brotherhood of Packinghouse and Industrial Workers (NBPW), who have been on strike here since the end of September, had been waiting for the results of the November 21 vote.

"All right, damn it, let's keep 'er going," Local 50 Vice-president Dave Park called out to applause.

The press was then asked to leave the United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 893 hall where the meeting was held so that the meat-packers could discuss the next steps in the fight.

The rejected contract was similar to the takeback contract voted down before the strike. Takebacks the company is demanding include an 80-cents-an-hour cut in pay, a reduction in pension benefits, the creation of a "permanent flexible workweek," a part-time work force of up to 15 percent of the employees in the plant, and mandatory drug tests.

Swift began hiring scabs as soon as the strike began. The 250 scabs are being paid \$5.60 an hour. The hourly wage was \$8.80 an hour before the strike.

The only major difference between this "final offer" and the "final offer" rejected earlier is that Swift now says it will only call back the union members as jobs become available. A company official said 60 workers would be recalled within a couple of weeks if the contract was accepted and that the rest of the unionists would be put on a waiting list to be recalled as vacancies occurred.

A union member waiting for the results told the *Militant*, "We went out together, we should go back together." Another worker said that he thought "the contract was an insult to the union and everybody in the union."

Four years ago, Swift was successful in imposing concessions. The demand now for more givebacks is viewed by most workers as especially insulting. "This is America, where you are supposed to benefit yourself, not get worse and worse," a meat-packer said.

Jim Aalfs, Local 50 president, told a television station, "We would have disappointed the people of Marshalltown and the unions that have supported us" if the contract had been accepted.

An array of state, county, and local cops have been used to escort strikebreakers in and out of the pork processing plant. The

cops have arrested union members on numerous charges. The media has tried to paint the strikers as violent.

An injunction was issued limiting the size of Local 50's picket lines. Solidarity on the picket line, however, has been a regular feature of the strike.

Some 450 unionists and other strike supporters rallied here November 5. That action was preceded by a week of activity, including several large picket lines involving auto workers and other unionists.

Swift moved to obtain a temporary court order aimed at UAW Local 893 members who have been actively backing the meat-packers.

The injunction prohibits Local 893

members from "preventing, or attempting to prevent by mass picketing, mass congregations, violence, threat of violence, intimidation or coercion, anyone from entering or leaving Swift in Marshalltown freely."

Aalfs and Park told the *Marshalltown Times-Republican* that community and union support is helping to keep Local 50 members fed and current on utility bills.

Strike supporters have traveled to Austin, Minnesota, and had discussions with members of the Austin United Support Group. A Solidarity Support Group has been set up in Marshalltown. It can be contacted at P.O. Box 143, Union, Iowa, 50258.

Struggle against Hormel is a focus at 'Labor Notes' meet

BY JEFF POWERS

DETROIT — "One of the things I recently learned in Great Britain is that legitimate trade unionists can go anywhere and get a good response," Jim Guyette told those attending a panel discussion at the Labor Notes Conference here.

"Our struggle is to make a better world for each of us," he added.

Guyette was suspended as president of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 last June when top officials of the UFCW International succeeded in putting the local in trusteeship. He was one of four speakers at the "Lessons of P-9" panel at the November 14-16 conference.

"I am here to put to rest the illusion" that P-9 and the struggle of meat-packers against the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. is finished, he said.

Joining Guyette in explaining the meat-packers fight in Austin, Minnesota, were United Support Group member Barbara Collette; Pete Winkels, suspended P-9 business agent; and Ed Allen from Corporate Campaign, Inc., an organization that has been active building support for the meat-packers.

Titled "New Directions for Labor," the conference sponsored by the monthly publication *Labor Notes* was attended by 800.

Organizers explained in the program brochure that the goals of the gathering were "to educate about the movements that are arising in this country and abroad" and "to discuss possible strategies and tactics for dealing with the current corporate offensive."

The opening night's panel on "New Unionism in the Third World" included speakers from South Africa, the Philippines, Mexico, Brazil, and El Salvador.

Victor Reuther, a founding member of the United Auto Workers and longtime official of that union, spoke at a banquet the next night.

Six workshops and panels and a play were devoted to the Hormel meat-packers fight on the conference's final day.

Several participants had been involved in organizing solidarity for the meat-packers. For them, the gathering offered the opportunity to get an update and to plan out future activities.

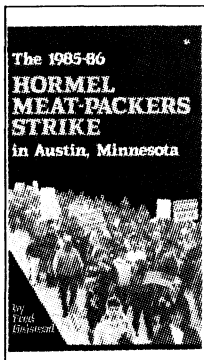
But most of the participants had little previous information or contact with the fight and the conference provided them an opportunity to better understand the significance of the struggle against Hormel.

Many at the conference were lower-level union officials, the majority of whom were from clerical, government employee, hospital, or teachers unions. About 150 were from industrial unions.

The Austin United Support Group table did a brisk business all three days. Close to \$2,000 worth of T-shirts and buttons were sold and thousands of pieces of literature distributed.

Al Wesley, one of the 850 meat-packers fighting to get their jobs back at the Hormel plant in Austin, explained, "We are going back on the road again. We are going to speak to as many workers as we can. If we are going to win our battle we need as much support as we can get."

A pamphlet on meat-packers' struggle



The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers' Strike in Austin, Minnesota presents the facts about the Geo. A. Hormel & Co.'s union-busting attack on the workers at its Austin plant, and about how the Hormel workers have fought back and won support

from unionists and farmers across the country.

Every unionist facing takeback demands and other attacks will want to read this story.

The author, Fred Halstead, is a veteran unionist and writer on labor struggles.

The pamphlet includes a foreword by Jim Guyette, suspended president of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers union and a central leader of the meat-packers' struggle.

44 pp. \$1.00

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12, or by mail from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please add \$.75 postage and handling.

Workers in Puerto Rico welcome facts on Nicaragua

BY PATRICIA SÁNCHEZ

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — As the cars slowed down to enter the Bacardi Rum factory at 6:30 a.m., they were met by a team selling *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant*.

In the few seconds we had to explain why we were there, we fo-

We found at every plant gate that Washington's announcement that it may train Nicaraguan *contras* in Puerto Rico is on the minds of many working people. They dug deep to buy a newspaper that reports opposition in the United States to the mercenary war against Nicaragua.

ernment promotes industrial development by charging the employers no taxes.

In this area we spoke to the workers clustered around a truck where coffee and sandwiches are sold. They have firsthand, bad experience with a government that acts in the interests of the bosses. Consequently, they were interested in *PM's* coverage of Nicaragua's government, which supports workers and peasants.

"We are brothers. We can't fight Nicaraguans," one worker said.

The Starkist tuna factory in Mayagüez employs a work force of several hundred, mostly women. Even in a steady drizzle many stopped to listen and purchase some slightly wet papers.

The most successful sale was to workers entering an electrical power plant in Cataño, near San Juan. So many slowed down to read our sign that traffic backed up and sales people could go down the line talking to many more people. We sold 15 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* there.



Militant/Larry Lukeart
Team selling subscriptions at school in Puerto Rico. They also sold at plants.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

cused on the papers' coverage of the U.S. war against Nicaragua. As workers rolled down their windows, we explained that the publications oppose that war. This was often enough to make a sale.

Many others nodded in agreement but said they were broke at the moment. They took the leaflet promoting the special subscription offer.

This was just one of several workplaces where we sold the socialist publications in our two and a half weeks in Puerto Rico.

This was our approach to selling: we would pull up in front of the gates and one of us held a sign in Spanish that read, "No to *contras* in Puerto Rico. Read *Perspectiva Mundial*." The other three in our team sold. We were a little surprised that we never had any problems with the company guards.

Near Mayagüez thousands of workers flow into the Guanijibo Free Zone every morning. Hundreds of factories and warehouses are located there because the gov-

Utah oil workers fight company drug testing plan

BY SCOTT BREEN

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah — A federal judge here has issued an order forbidding the Amoco Oil company from starting a drug and alcohol testing program at its Salt Lake refinery. The injunction, issued by District Judge J. Thomas Greene on November 6, bans testing until an arbitrator rules on a grievance filed against the program.

The grievance was filed by Local 2-286 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) on October 6. Members voted unanimously at a local meeting to press the grievance.

The unionists charge that Amoco "is unilaterally implementing a Drug and Alcohol Abuse and testing/screening policy. There is no need for such a policy and it unwarrantedly invades the privacy of employees and their individual rights."

The program would test all applicants for employment, all employees at the time of their mandatory physical exams, and any employee "who in the judgment of management, is under the influence of alcohol or drugs while at work or whose job performance is being adversely affected by the possible abuse of drugs or alcohol."

This, in effect, is a mandatory, random testing program.

Management is also making compliance

with the program a condition of employment. Moreover, workers must sign a statement when they are tested waiving their rights to medical confidentiality, or possibly be fired.

Announcement of the program met with immediate opposition and anger from oil workers, who saw it as an infringement on the right to privacy and a violation of the right to be considered innocent until proven guilty. Most saw it as the company running roughshod over the contract and the union.

The whole refinery was swept up in discussions about the testing program. The bulletin boards filled up with cartoons attacking drug testing, articles about it from the American Civil Liberties Union, newspaper clippings, and even the Bill of Rights.

One worker created a cartoon series called "Jar Wars" that exposed the testing program's discriminatory and unfair character and debunked management's attempt to paint it as a boon to health and safety.

In one cartoon, a character says: "Those phonies. They say it's for safety; if they're so concerned about people taking stimulants at work, why don't they stop routinely scheduling those double shifts."

And another worker responds, "Yeah, or if they're so concerned about our well-being, why don't they start a program of

monitoring our long-term exposure to all the carcinogens out here."

One cartoon ends, "What's next? Lie detector tests?"

Faced with mounting opposition, the company sent its personnel manager around to each unit to meet with the workers and answer questions. But his answers only showed that the tests would be imposed without good reason, since he admitted that they did not measure work impairment nor was there an alcohol or drug problem at work.

At the day-long hearing before Judge Greene, the union presented evidence that

fear of the tests actually would create unsafe and unhealthy work conditions.

One worker testified how he had refrained from using medicine while he was sick because he was scheduled to take his physical, including, presumably, an alcohol test. The medicine, which he thought might have alcohol in it, would show up positive. Not only might he lose his job, he thought, but being a Mormon, he might be falsely labeled an alcoholic, suffering embarrassment and emotional damage.

Scott Breen is a member of OCAW Local 2-286.

Socialist conferences focus on war, workers' struggles

BY FRED FELDMAN

The U.S. war against Nicaragua, attacks on democratic rights here in the United States, and how working people can most effectively resist employers' attacks will be central themes of regional socialist educational conferences to be held in December.

The conferences, set for a dozen cities, will build on the success of the recently

completed drive to win 10,000 new readers of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. The participants will include unionists who are engaged in strikes and other struggles against their employers and who have been organizing solidarity with meat-packers battling Hormel, youths who have been marching against the U.S. war against Nicaragua, students fighting U.S. support to the apartheid regime in South Africa, and others.

A big effort is being made to encourage new *Militant* and *PM* subscribers to participate in the conferences. This is being connected to a campaign to convince new readers to renew their subscriptions.

The conferences are sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, and leaders of the two organizations will be among those giving talks and leading classes.

In Chicago, the keynote speaker will be Mac Warren, who is currently coordinating efforts to establish new SWP branches in the Midwest. The regional conference in Los Angeles will feature *Militant* circulation director Malik Miah. John Gaige, a member of the SWP's Trade Union Bureau, will speak in Pittsburgh. National Committee member Al Budka will be the main speaker at the San Francisco conference.

In San Francisco, SWP leader Thabo Ntweng will lead classes on the roots of the war in Central America. Malik Miah will kick off classes in Los Angeles on the coming revolution in South Africa.

Conferences are scheduled to be held in Pittsburgh, San Francisco, and Los Angeles on December 6-7. In New York, Atlanta, and Chicago, they have been set for December 12-13. Dates have not been set yet for conferences in Seattle, Houston, Denver, Kansas City, and Washington, D.C.

Final Fall Drive Scoreboard: 11,001 Subscriptions

Area	Goals		Sold		% Sold
	<i>Militant</i>	<i>Perspectiva Mundial</i>	<i>Militant</i>	<i>Perspectiva Mundial</i>	
New Paltz, N.Y.	5	—	9	—	180
Charleston, W. Va.	100	0	123	3	126
San Francisco	170	80	201	109	124
Boston	235	65	298	72	123
San Jose, Calif.	200	100	233	132	122
Columbus, Ohio	18	2	23	1	120
Milwaukee	100	30	122	32	118
Capital District, N.Y.	125	10	141	15	116
New Orleans	90	10	103	12	115
Cleveland	125	15	142	17	114
Greensboro, N.C.	140	10	159	12	114
Toledo, Ohio	100	5	114	6	114
Salt Lake City	105	15	124	10	112
Washington, D.C.	160	40	173	51	112
San Diego	100	60	110	67	111
Birmingham, Ala.	150	3	163	4	109
Morgantown, W. Va.	130	—	142	—	109
Newark, N.J.	375	125	355	191	109
Portland, Ore.	135	15	154	10	109
Chicago	300	50	287	90	108
Los Angeles	300	200	339	203	108
Atlanta	140	10	150	10	107
Houston	290	60	311	64	107
Totals	8,500	1,500	8,673	2,328	110%
			(102%)	(155%)	

Debate on meat-packers' fight at labor women's convention

BY KATHY MICKELLS
AND JOHN GAIGE

ST. LOUIS — Over 900 delegates and observers from 36 unions attended the national Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) convention here.

Most of the speeches and discussion in the plenary sessions at the November 7-10 convention centered on the problems facing working women. Though it was allowed to go on for only a few minutes, the sharpest debate was over whether or not CLUW should support the struggle of Austin, Minnesota, meat-packers against Geo. A. Hormel & Co.

In her keynote address, CLUW President Joyce Miller pledged the organization's support for legislative action and union contracts geared toward establishing a "family policy" in the United States.

Miller singled out the issues of parental leave, child care, and care of the elderly as important for developing a family policy.

"The United States is the only industrialized country with no national family policy," Miller said.

"The labor movement has always been the true profamily movement in this country," she added.

Miller reaffirmed the organization's position in defense of a woman's right to choose an abortion.

The CLUW leadership announced that the organization will be launching campaigns against harassment of women on the job and against the government's attempt to lift the 43-year-old ban on industrial homework.

Every CLUW chapter was mandated to set up an "organizing the unorganized" committee.

Top AFL-CIO officials and presidents of national unions gave featured speeches. Thomas Donahue, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO, said that CLUW played an important role in advancing women candidates for both political office and union posts.

Thirty resolutions on a range of issues were adopted. The delegates approved a resolution opposing apartheid and one calling for halting all U.S. government aid to the Nicaraguan *contras*.

In a plenary session, Pat Scarcelli, international vice-president and director of women's affairs for the United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW), took the floor on a procedural point to discourage CLUW members from supporting the boycott of Hormel products. She also urged delegates not to attend a reception that evening for members of the Austin United Support Group.

The top officialdom of the UFCW put Local P-9 in trusteeship earlier this year for refusing to call off its strike battle to win decent wages and working conditions at the Austin Hormel plant.

Last February, a month after National Guard troops were brought to Austin to reopen the Hormel plant with scabs, Scarcelli mailed a letter to CLUW chapters. She urged them not to support Local P-9 and instead to back the position of the UFCW top officials. "The UFCW has been in the forefront of progressive unionism," Scarcelli wrote.

Following Scarcelli's comments on the convention floor, Addie Wyatt, CLUW executive vice-president and a UFCW official, jumped to the podium to back up the attack on the meat-packers.

She said that support to P-9 and the Hormel boycott would conflict with the principles of trade unionism since a union contract was in effect at Hormel plants.

Neither Scarcelli nor Wyatt mentioned that the contract excluded 850 workers from getting their jobs back.

A delegate whose local had "adopted" a P-9 family rose to defend the meat-packers saying it was important for CLUW activists to hear their side of the story. Miller interrupted her saying, "No one is forbidding anyone to go to the reception, anyone is welcome to go."

"It is wrong to abuse this body for this debate," Miller said, and added that there would be "no picket line at room 815" where that evening's reception was scheduled.

The two receptions for Austin United Support Group members Barbara Collette, Patty Olsen, and Marie Loverink were hosted by an activist from the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees' union in Boston.

The reception on the evening of the floor discussion was attended by 20 people. Some UFCW staff members attended and tried several times to interrupt Collette's presentation.

They claimed that the Austin struggle had been "lost" because of poor leadership. They said Collette and the other support group members were not qualified to speak about the struggle since they weren't "unionists."

These charges were answered by those



Militant/Ernest Harsch
Coalition of Labor Union Women President Joyce Miller.

present, including auto workers, coal miners, flight attendants, a former member of the air traffic controllers' union, and government workers.

Several described the attacks their unions have been under and how the Austin meat-packers decision not to cave in to Hormel was setting an example for all working people.

The support group members talked to the delegates throughout the conference and were well received. Over \$300 was raised. "We have gotten a tremendous response," Collette explained. "Many had thought the battle against Hormel was over. We've explained it's not, the struggle continues."

Rights suit wins support in Puerto Rico

BY LAURA GARZA

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — Many political activists in this U.S. colony have firsthand experience with harassment organized by both police and spy agencies of the U.S. government and the federal court system.

The victory for democratic rights scored by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party in their lawsuit against the FBI was of great interest to a wide range of unionists, students, and independence fighters here. Federal Judge Thomas Griesa ruled in August that the FBI's 40 years of spying and disruption

against the SWP was unconstitutional.

During a two-week visit to the island, four supporters of the case signed up many new sponsors for the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). The PRDF is organizing support and raising funds for the SWP and YSA lawsuit.

PRDF sponsor Patricia Sánchez described the case and its importance to a meeting of the United Committee Against Repression (CUCRE). The presentation was followed by two hours of discussion.

The committee defends Puerto Rican activists from attacks by the FBI and other spy agencies. In August 1985, 200 FBI agents from the United States raided homes and offices of independence fighters. They arrested 11 activists then, and more later, who are still fighting trumped-up charges against them.

CUCRE members were interested in learning how to utilize the August ruling in the SWP and YSA case and the continuing defense efforts to help expose government attacks in Puerto Rico. They purchased two copies of the decision.

Longtime independence fighter Rafael Cancel Miranda, who works with CUCRE, signed up as a PRDF sponsor. Miranda was confined for many years in a U.S. federal penitentiary along with four other Puerto Rican nationalists.

In Mayagüez, the president of the Federation of Pro-independence University Students (FUPI) at the University of Puerto Rico also endorsed PRDF, as did Puerto Rican Socialist Party activist Miguel Sánchez.

Sánchez runs a local bookstore and

bought a copy of the decision as a resource for people who come into the store.

Serapio Laureano Molina and Renan Soto Soto, the president and vice-president of the Federation of Teachers, also signed up as PRDF sponsors and made financial contributions.

On the island of Vieques, where fishermen have been fighting against U.S. naval maneuvers in their fishing grounds, the vice-president of the fishermen's association, Carlos Zenon, was among those who endorsed the case.

PRDF supporters also appeared on a radio show in Ponce to discuss the case. The local lawyer who interviewed them noted that many of the FBI's Cointelpro operations ruled illegal in Judge Griesa's decision were also carried out in Puerto Rico.

The new sponsors in Puerto Rico are a boost to the drive under way to sign up thousands of new sponsors by February 15.

There was also interest in this fight for democratic rights at the recent conference of the Progressive Student Network (PSN) at the University of Iowa in Iowa City.

Thirty new sponsors signed up. Many of the students who endorsed are anti-apartheid and antiwar activists and understood the importance of the fight for democratic rights.

PRDF backers who are members of industrial unions are circulating materials to their coworkers. International Association of Machinists Local Lodge 1525 in Salt Lake City, Utah, reported on the case in the November issue of that union's newsletter.

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

"Land Reform and Cooperatives in Cuba"

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Suit ruling now available for \$1

A new pamphlet containing the full text of the landmark decision in the case brought by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance against the U.S. government and its police agencies is now available for \$1.00 a copy.

In August, federal Judge Thomas Griesa ruled that government spying and disruption is unconstitutional and illegal.

The decision, *SWP v. Attorney General*, expands the room all U.S. residents have for political activity and individual privacy.

The Political Rights Defense Fund, which raises money for and helps publicize the continuing legal battle, is on a drive to win thousands of new sponsors of the case.

A special focus of this campaign is to deepen knowledge about and support for the case among trade unionists. Having the

decision readily available in large quantity will be a big aid to this effort.

- * * *
- ☐ I want to be a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$1.00 for a copy of the federal court decision against the FBI.
- ☐ Enclosed is my tax-deductible contribution to keep up the fight.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Telephone _____ Organization _____
Signature _____

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

Nicaraguan army dealt big blows to 'contras' this year

BY RUTH NEBBIA

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan army has dealt big blows to the U.S.-backed mercenaries, known as *contras*, this year. So reported Ricardo Wheelock, head of military intelligence for the Sandinista People's Army (EPS), during a press conference held here on November 6.

The casualties inflicted on the *contras* from Jan. 1 to Oct. 31, 1986, were 3,734 dead, 1,322 wounded, and 580 captured. These figures, Wheelock explained, do not include those *contras* who have surrendered to Nicaraguan authorities under Nicaragua's amnesty law.

In contrast, the number of casualties suffered by the EPS this year were 631 dead, 1,552 wounded, and 163 missing.

Wheelock focused on the main mercenary group, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), which is based in Honduras and has carried out many operations in the Jinotega area of northern Nicaragua.

"The main actions carried out by the FDN have been exclusively ambushes," he said. "By ambushes I mean [planting] mines and some minor sabotage, especially to agricultural cooperatives."

These attacks have resulted in many civilian casualties. As of October 31 the *contras* had killed 155 civilians, wounded 216, and kidnapped 402 this year. The FDN, however, has been unable to carry out any major military attacks.

"We can say that as an army we have made the following gains this year," Wheelock said. "First, we have reduced the FDN's area of influence. Second, the FDN has not been able to recover from the blows we have inflicted. And third, and perhaps most important, is that we have taken away their social base in the Jinotega area. The outlook for the FDN is bleak."

Wheelock pointed out that it is the U.S. government that provides the *contras* with strategic military information to carry out their terrorism. U.S. spy planes report, for example, the location and movements of Nicaraguan troops. So far this year, 169 U.S. spy flights have been carried out over Nicaraguan territory by RC-135, EC-130,

U-2, and C-130 planes. Wheelock estimated that each flight costs between \$200,000 and \$450,000. There have also been an additional 469 flights conducted from Honduras and Costa Rica.

In addition to the use of planes, the U.S. government has also maintained ships off the coast of Nicaragua. Off the Pacific Coast alone, Washington has stationed from two to four ships per month. These include frigates and U.S. Coast Guard ships.

Military exercises and maneuvers have also given the U.S. government a pretext to permanently station troops in Honduras, Wheelock explained. These troops have built landing strips, military bases, roads, and warehouses for bombs and ammunition.



Militant/Holbrook Mahn
Sandinista soldier guarding weapons captured from U.S.-backed *contras*. Nicaragua has dealt *contras* political and military setbacks during past year.

Indiana auto-parts strike ended

BY JOE ALLOR

KOKOMO, Ind. — Auto workers voted overwhelmingly on November 22 to accept a new contract offer at the General Motors Delco Electronic Corp. plant here. The 7,500 workers, about half of whom are women, had been on strike for six days.

"Vote yes" buttons and signs were evident in the crowd at the contract meeting.

GM forced the strike. The company has been using subcontractors on jobs that are supposed to be carried out by United Auto Workers union (UAW) members. Some 1,700 unresolved grievances piled up. GM was threatening to move its car radio production from Kokomo to a plant in Mexico.

The auto workers were demanding that GM increase the number of slots in the "Job Bank," a company-union program that is supposed to soften the blow of plant closings.

The Kokomo plant is an integral part of GM's car production process. In addition to radios, it produces at least one electronic component of every GM car.

The Kokomo strike rapidly slowed production at several GM plants, and 37,000 auto workers were laid off around the country. Thousands more would have soon been idled if the strike had not been settled.

GM tries to avoid stockpiling parts at its car and truck assembly plants. Instead parts are rushed from plants such as the one in Kokomo "just in time" to be put on the cars as they are being assembled.

Nicaragua warns of U.S. military threats

Continued from front page

nian authorities for illegal shipment of arms, carried weapons similar to those used by the Nicaraguan army. These weapons were to be used by the CIA for an assault on Honduran territory, which would be blamed on Nicaragua, Ortega said.

Ortega also warned that the CIA was preparing the mercenaries for attacks on major economic targets and on bases used by Nicaraguan helicopters.

In a speech to Nicaraguan airmen here, Ortega stressed Nicaragua's growing defensive capability and his confidence that they could defeat even a direct U.S. invasion.

In the seven years since the 1979 revolution, Nicaragua has built an impressive professional army, backed by large numbers of workers and peasants organized in militias and reserves, Ortega said. There are now 500,000 men and women ready to take up arms as part of a massive "national, patriotic, people's war" in case of a U.S. invasion, he explained. Nicaragua has armed 300,000 of these and soon will have weapons enough for all 500,000, he added.

tion.

The total number of U.S. soldiers permanently stationed in Honduras at any one time has ranged from 3,500 to 4,500, not including officers and military high command. More than 950 U.S. soldiers are sta-

tioned in Costa Rica as well.

The possibility of a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua remains real, Wheelock explained. "We as an army and as a people have been preparing for this for seven-and-a-half years."

This system is the model for the U.S. auto industry. But a strike at a major parts plant quickly affects GM's production across the country.

In the ratified contract, GM will create 42 new tool-and-die apprentices, pay a \$1,000 "bonus" to skilled-trades workers for contract violations involving the use of subcontractors, and halt the use of "temporary agency employees" in model assembly. Eight hundred slots were added to the "Job Bank." GM said it would postpone moving radio production to Mexico until 1991.

In return, the UAW is supposed to "explore the self-directed work group concept" to improve production.

Prior to the membership vote, the local UAW leadership organized a show of "unity" by organizing "a hands around Delco" demonstration. Fifteen hundred workers and their families gathered in front of the plant and held hands halfway around the plant for 30 minutes before going to the union meeting.

Joe Allor is a member of UAW Local 110 at the Chrysler No. 2 plant in Fenton, Missouri.

GM fires S. African workers

After a three-week strike that paralyzed the operations of General Motors in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, the strike collapsed November 18. This followed an ultimatum by GM's management that all those remaining on strike would be fired.

Nearly 800 of the original 1,800 strikers have been dismissed. GM said that most of them could reapply, except for strikers accused of engaging in "violence" — an exception that can be used to selectively penalize the most militant workers.

The strike began October 29 with sit-ins at GM's two Port Elizabeth plants. This came a little more than a week after General Motors' main office in the United States announced that the automaker was planning to sell off its South African subsidiary to local businessmen.

The National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (NAAWU), which represents most of the Black workers at GM, demanded that when the company changes

hands, the workers be given severance pay and a refund on their pension contributions, since there is no guarantee that the new firm will survive. The strikers also demanded two union-approved representatives on the new board of directors.

The GM management refused to negotiate. Instead it began hiring scabs to break the strike. This was facilitated by the very high unemployment level in the area, estimated at about 60 percent.

On November 17, hundreds of strikers rallied outside the GM plant's main gates in an effort to block the entry of the scabs. GM called in the police, who attacked the protesters with whips and dogs. Sixteen strikers were arrested.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions, the country's largest union federation (to which NAAWU is affiliated), denounced the "dirty tactics" and "arrogant and high-handed actions" of the GM management.

Seattle shipyard workers locked out

BY DEAN PEOPLES

SEATTLE — In a frontal attack on organized labor in the Pacific Northwest, Lockheed Shipyard locked out its workers November 17. Three days earlier the company had issued an ultimatum demanding the unions accept 25 to 50 percent wage cuts and concessions in work rules and benefits or face replacement with nonunion workers.

Union contracts with about 10 construction unions at Lockheed expired September 30. Union officials said they intend to file unfair labor practice charges against the company since union members are still voting on the contract offer.

The 500 workers who turned out at the gate on the first morning of the lockout strongly opposed giving in to company demands.

Many of them scoffed at the assertion by Lockheed Vice-president John Hayes that there would be plenty of work if the unions accepted concessions. The workers didn't think giving up wages and working conditions was any guarantee of job security.

Lockheed claims that in order to secure more work it must lower its labor costs. Many workers responded by asking, "What about management costs?" and "What about profits?"

A big concern of the locked-out workers is the two-tier wage scale the company wants, which would further reduce wages of new hires. It would also reduce wages of some journey-level workers because, under the new contract, supervisory personnel could assign anyone to do any job, completely abrogating union job classifications.

A sheet metal worker, who told the *Militant* she had worked for Lockheed almost 10 years, said that under the contract her supervisor could assign her to a "helper" position at \$7.50 an hour. She makes \$13.50 an hour now as a journeyman.

Officials from the Seattle Metal Trades Council told the union members gathered outside the yard that the mail-ballot voting would continue for two more weeks. They urged rejection of the contract proposal.

Join a Nicaragua work brigade



Coffee harvest brigadista

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

Contact the Nicaragua Exchange, 239 Centre St., New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone (212) 219-8620.

Parties show solidarity with Nicaragua

Delegations from 81 countries attend FSLN anniversary celebration

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — One of the important achievements of the recent Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) celebration here was the broad participation of political parties from around the world.

The FSLN commemorated its 25th anniversary and the 10th anniversary of the death in combat of FSLN founder Carlos Fonseca with a mass rally here November 8.

Attending the event were more than 180 political party delegations from 81 other countries. For the first time, the FSLN chose to issue invitations almost exclusively to political parties it considers fraternal.

FSLN National Directorate member Bayardo Arce explained, "We decided that we were only going to invite political parties with whom the Sandinista Front has relations — either already established formal relations, or relations that have developed in practical terms."

The delegations came from the four corners of the globe and included Communist parties, parties belonging to the Socialist International, parties and movements of the revolutionary left, and governing parties or bodies in some Third World countries that have friendly relations with Nicaragua.

There was an impressive delegation from Africa: it included Thomas Sankara, head of the National Council of the Revolution of Burkina Faso; representatives of the governing organizations in Angola, the Congo, Algeria, Ethiopia, Libya, and Ghana; and representatives from the African National Congress, South West Africa

People's Organisation, and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic.

Among the delegations from Asia and the Middle East were representatives of the parties in power in India, Indonesia, Democratic Yemen, Syria, Iran, and Iraq.

Leaders of Communist parties in the countries where capitalist rule has been overturned — ranging from the Soviet Union to Cuba, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos, China, and Poland — were present.

Communist party delegations also attended from a broad array of other countries, including many countries in Western Europe. West European delegations also came from the British Labour Party, French Socialist Party, Spanish Socialist Workers Party, and Greek Panhellenic Socialist Party.

A broad array of parties and national liberation movements came from the Caribbean and Latin America. They ranged from the ruling Radical Civic Union of Argentina and the Institutional Revolutionary Party of Mexico, to opposition parties in many countries, and to parties of the revolutionary left and guerrilla movements. Dominican Revolutionary Party leader José Francisco Peña Gómez, vice-president of the Socialist International, also attended.

The head of each party delegation placed a wreath on the grave of Carlos Fonseca. The delegations also participated in a variety of discussions and briefings with members of the FSLN National Directorate.

Tomás Borge met with member parties of the Socialist International. Bayardo Arce held a discussion with political parties from Central America. Carlos Núñez met with parties from the Caribbean, and Víctor



Barricada Veterans of insurrection against Somoza led November 8 military march in Managua, followed by new, professional army units.

tor Tirado held a meeting with left political organizations from South America.

A number of the West European, North American, and Japanese delegations met with Henry Ruiz and Fernando Cardenal, a member of the Sandinista Assembly and minister of education. The delegations included Communist parties and groups such as the French Revolutionary Communist League and the Danish Socialist People's Party. From the United States, they included the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, and Liné of March.

Delegates who were also members of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America held a plenary meeting of that organization while in Managua. (See accompanying story.)

At the end of all the celebrations, the heads of delegations from 130 of the political parties present issued a declaration. The declaration paid tribute to Mozambican president Samora Machel, who was recently killed in a suspicious plane crash over South Africa. It called for freeing African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and ending the occupation of Namibia and pledged to "redouble our efforts to achieve the definitive eradication of that inhumane [apartheid] system."

The statement also extended solidarity to Argentina in its struggle against Britain for sovereignty over the Malvinas, South Georgia, and the South Sandwich islands.

The declaration hailed the World Court ruling last June that found the U.S. government guilty of violating international law through its mercenary war against Nicaragua. The delegations demanded that Washington comply with the World Court decision by "ceasing and desisting from carrying out its policy of force and intervention against Nicaragua, and compensating Nicaragua for the damages caused."

Lastly, the declaration called on "political parties of the world, unions and associations, governments, and prominent individuals to increase their activities for nuclear disarmament and peace."

Caribbean, Central American groups meet

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America held a special plenary assembly here November 8 and 9, when many of its members were in Managua for the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

In a resolution on Nicaragua, the plenary saluted the FSLN as "the undisputed vanguard of the patriotic Nicaraguan people," and condemned the U.S. military, economic, and political attacks on Nicaragua. "We are convinced," the resolution continued, "that the FSLN, the government of Nicaragua, and the people of this small, besieged country genuinely desire peace, justice, and cooperation with its Central American neighbors and with all countries of our continent."

The plenary declared that "the peoples of the Caribbean and Central America who love peace and cherish freedom stand side by side with their Nicaraguan brothers and sisters."

The assembly also issued a declaration of solidarity with Haiti, where massive protests forced dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier to flee nine months ago. The declaration supported the efforts of the Haitian people "to establish a democratic government" and "to begin the immense task of reconstructing their devastated country." The Haitian people should count on the "support and solidarity of the peoples of the world, especially the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean," the declaration stated.

The Anti-Imperialist Organizations group was founded in June 1984 in Havana, in the aftermath of the overthrow of the Grenada revolution and the U.S. invasion and occupation of that island.

Delegates to the Havana meeting recognized the challenge of uniting groups from the many Caribbean and Central American countries, with their many different languages and cultural traditions, countries that have been historically divided by the imperialist powers. The Anti-Imperialist Organizations group has attempted to establish an effective, region-wide mode of

communications and collaboration on political campaigns and activities.

Its second plenary meeting in Managua Feb. 8-9, 1986, involved 30 organizations from 19 countries.

Today, the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America has 32 member groups from 21 countries. It is headquartered in Georgetown, Guyana. Clement Rohee, a leader of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, is the organization's coordinating secretary. Rafael "Fafa" Tavaras, a leader of the Socialist Bloc of the Dominican Republic, is its president.

The Anti-Imperialist Organizations

group has a coordinating committee consisting of representatives of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador, the Workers Party of Jamaica, the Socialist Peoples Party of Curaçao, the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, the February 8th Movement of Trinidad and Tobago, the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada, the Progressive Labor Party of St. Lucia, the Communist Party of Guadeloupe, the Socialist Bloc of the Dominican Republic, and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Seventeen member groups from 14 countries participated in the special assembly held here November 8 and 9.

Do Nicaraguan tribunals victimize dissenters?

The trial of Eugene Hasenfus, the CIA gunrunner shot down over Nicaragua, spurred accusations from some quarters in the United States that the People's Anti-Somozaist Tribunals are unfair. The tribunals were set up as a special court system by the Sandinista government in 1983 to try those accused of military attacks on Nicaragua, sabotage, terrorism, and organizing draft evasion.

Among the critics is Nina Shea, a lawyer and Washington director of the Puebla Institute, a Roman Catholic group claiming to protect human rights. In a guest column in the October 31 *New York Times*, Shea charged that the special courts have a conviction rate of 99 percent, permit the defendants no presumption of innocence, and are normally closed to the public.

Moreover, she said, defendants have been penalized for appealing their convictions by having their sentences raised by 10 years.

Shea also asserted that "the peaceful democratic opposition" has been victimized by the special courts. Among the cases she cited is that of Luis Mora, the former head of *La Prensa's* journalists' union, who was supposedly tried and convicted for "disseminating information" against the Sandinistas on Costa Rican radio.

Shea's charges drew a rebuttal from Juan

Mendez, director of the Washington office of Americas Watch. In a letter to the *Times*, he explained that he thinks the tribunals warrant criticism, but "it should be fairer and better informed criticism than Nina Shea's. . . . Virtually every material fact in her article is wrong."

Mendez noted that the conviction rate of the tribunals "is high, but it is not 99 percent; defendants before these people's tribunals do enjoy the presumption of innocence, as is customary in criminal courts in Nicaragua and in Latin America generally."

"It is also not true," he pointed out, "that proceedings before the people's tribunals are closed to the public; for example, foreign journalists have recently been allowed to cover hearings that they chose at random."

He said that in more than three years of observing these courts, "I know of only one case in which a sentence was raised on appeal."

Mendez also stated, "There is no basis for the assertion that these courts are used primarily against the 'peaceful democratic opposition.'"

The Americas Watch official noted, "Defendants before them include *contra* combatants, members of their support networks, or, in the largest number of cases,

peasants accused of providing shelter, food, or other support to the *contra* units."

Mendez said Luis Mora was not "convicted for 'disseminating information' on Costa Rican radio (the station for which he acted, Radio Impacto, is a *contra* station broadcasting into Nicaragua), but of obtaining funds from a *contra* group to recruit participants in sabotage. He was convicted on his own statements."

After trying to set the facts about the tribunals straight, Mendez added that Americas Watch objects "to the composition of the courts, which makes them susceptible to political manipulation."

The courts are made up of one lawyer and two ordinary citizens. The latter two are chosen from candidates presented by the Sandinista Defense Committees, the neighborhood committees that organize defense of the revolution on a block-by-block basis.

The tribunal that tried Hasenfus included two workers, Domingo Matute and Luis Pérez. Matute was a health-care worker before being selected for the tribunal and Pérez was a truck driver.

In an interview given to the *Atlanta Constitution*, Matute's neighbor, a construction worker, expressed the sentiment of a good many Nicaraguans. He explained, "Nobody wants a millionaire as a judge. We want a judge who is poor, who works at our side. That is Domingo."

Workers in Angolan port city make gains despite effects of war

BY SAM MANUEL

LOBITO, Angola — Just a one-hour flight south of Luanda lies the port city of Lobito. It is one of Angola's important economic centers. But if not for the South African-backed terrorist war against this country, its economic activity would be greater.

Lobito originally developed as a port in 1928, under Portuguese colonial rule. It is here that the Benguela railway begins. For the colonial powers, the port and railway

off, even when production goes down. Transportation is provided by bus or train for those who live further away.

There is a medical post at the port, with doctors. Health care and medicine is provided free to the workers and their families. All residents of the area can also receive medical aid there. We were shown a sports center for the workers that is also open to all residents.

The average wages of port workers have increased since independence. In addition, the workers and those in other state industries here have special stores at which they can buy food, clothes, and other basic necessities at subsidized prices.

Though a good number of women work at the port, few of them are employed on the docks. Child care is provided for working mothers, and for fathers as well. During a tour of the facilities I met two women who were crane operators. One was a member of the militia and the other an activist in the MPLA Youth.

Hampered by war

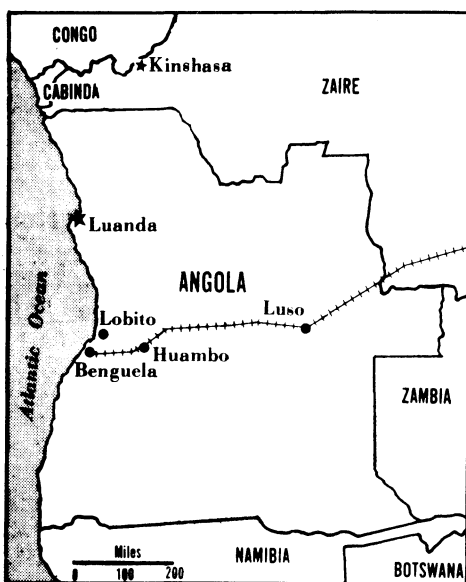
Despite these gains, the full potential of the port cannot be developed currently. The war against South African aggression and sabotage by UNITA counterrevolutionaries is a big obstacle.

The port has a capacity to handle 2.6 million tons of cargo annually, with three-quarters of the goods coming from Zaire, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. But since independence, Lobito's peak tonnage has been only 500,000 tons.

Fernando Falcão, the general manager of the port, said, "Our ability to fully develop this port is completely dependent on the full functioning of the Benguela railway."

The Benguela railway has not received any consistent maintenance since the mid-1960s. During the anticolonial struggle, it was a military target of the African freedom fighters. Today it is a target of UNITA and the South African regime.

According to Falcão, there are a half dozen or so bridges along the line. Each time they are repaired they are blown up



were vital links for the extraction of minerals, spices, and crops from the countries now known as Zaire, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

Along with a Swedish television crew, I was given an extensive tour of the port by Hermenegildo Pires Almeida, the assistant general manager, and Agusto Estima, the port superintendent.

Improvements for workers

The port is the main industry in the town, with 2,626 workers employed there.

These workers have received considerable benefits since independence. Almeida explained that the workers are never laid

'Literacy campaign is part of fight for self-determination of people'

BY SAM MANUEL

LUANDA, Angola — Another important battle being fought in Angola is against illiteracy, explained José Luís Conceição Dias, the director of Angola's literacy campaign. He is from a working-class district of Luanda and is a member of the governing MPLA.

Dias noted that education in general was poor under Portuguese colonialism and almost nonexistent for Africans. For example, in 1950 only 50 percent of all children of school age were enrolled in school, and there were only 37 high school graduates in the entire country.

Ninety-five percent of the African population was illiterate in any language. Although some of the missionaries developed writing systems for the indigenous African languages, the Portuguese colonial authorities made it a crime to teach them.

As an example of how thoroughly the Portuguese colonialists imposed their language, Dias said that it was illegal to issue a public document, birth certificate, or registration card to an African who did not have a Portuguese name.

The war against illiteracy in Angola was launched in November 1976, one year after independence. The current goal of the literacy campaign is to establish an average fourth-grade reading level throughout the country.

"The literacy campaign," Dias emphasized, "is an important part of our struggle for independence and self-determination. Without it the people would not be able to understand the program of the party. They could not fully participate in the process going on here. They would not

be able to understand a simple slogan on a banner or poster."

The youth have played a key role in the literacy campaign. In the first year there was a special effort to mobilize them. Some of the adults had difficulty adjusting to being taught by the children.

In addition to Portuguese, classes are being taught in six major African languages. Dias said that the possibility of developing the campaign in other languages is now being studied.

The classes are conducted at the workplace, both in the factories and in the fields. Where possible the workers are paid for the time spent learning to read. Four days are spent on reading and one on mathematics.

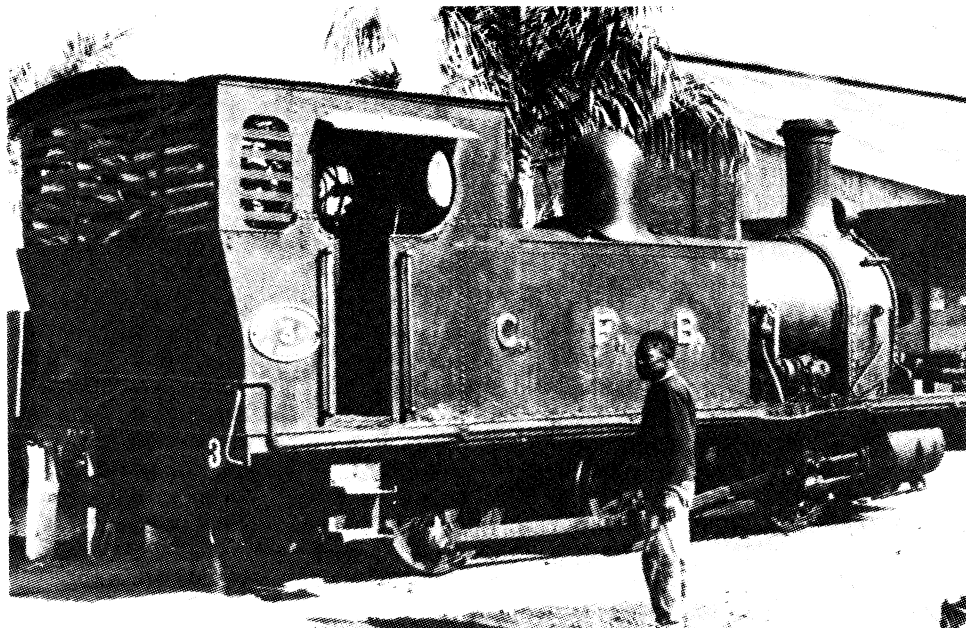
Out of a total population of some 8 million, 1,400,000 have been taught basic reading skills.

A high priority has been placed on increasing the literacy level of the army. "This aspect of our work is vital to our developing the capacity to defend ourselves," Dias said.

The gains in literacy have been made despite the tremendous economic and social difficulties facing the country. "Firstly," Dias said, "the war prevents us from allocating the resources needed. Also, many of the youth in the [literacy] brigades have been killed by UNITA."

Transportation to get volunteers to the areas is also scarce. Dias told me that often they must use bicycles even to get around Luanda.

"It is difficult," Dias concluded. "But this campaign will continue because it is the second front of our liberation."



Benguela railway, key link to port city of Lobito, has been a target of attacks by counterrevolutionaries backed by South African regime.

once again. One of the bridges, he said, has been blown up 30 times.

A South African invasion force occupied Lobito in December 1975. Almeida and Estima told us that "10,000 to 15,000 South African troops came with tanks, helicopters, and other heavy equipment. One week later UNITA came in. They were here for 100 days. Many of us had to go into hiding. They took the coffee, cotton, maize, and equipment. The workers here refused to work. Many were killed."

Lobito was liberated by the MPLA forces on Feb. 10, 1976. Only 30 bodies of workers were found here, but hundreds remain missing even today.

The threat of sabotage continues. In 1984 South African commandos blew up 15 locomotives in the rail yard here, and in 1982 they destroyed several oil storage tanks.

Angolan people resist aggression

Continued from front page

Propaganda, explained at a press conference, "The analysis of the development of the political and military situation in the last three months shows that the plan of the Reagan administration to strangle our people's revolution broadens each day."

"The U.S. propaganda campaign," he continued, "has the purpose of creating international public opinion that UNITA has a valid role in Angola and in the southern African region."

Among the weapons displayed were two armored land rovers made in England, missile launchers, recoilless cannons, light anti-aircraft guns, and various automatic assault rifles. The great bulk of the weapons are of South African origin, with notations in English and Afrikaans (South Africa's two official languages). Some even carried the label "SADF," for the South African Defence Force.

The supplies are parachuted in by South African aircraft at night and buried by UNITA troops. The Angolan army has increased its ability to discover the drops and unearth them before UNITA can return to resupply its forces.

Much of the captured material included small, but powerful explosives of various types and a variety of antipersonnel mines.

This underscores the character of the war conducted by UNITA. Special emphasis is placed on the destruction of bridges, railway lines, and economic projects, both agricultural and industrial. In the rural areas, antipersonnel mines have been placed on the roads and in the fields, resulting in the indiscriminate killing of peasant men, women, and children.

Armed forces strengthened

Over the 11 years of war, Angola has developed an experienced, professional, and modern armed forces, including a navy and air force. Through an amnesty program, thousands of former members of the Angolan National Liberation Front (FNLA), another counterrevolutionary group, have been integrated into the Angolan army.

This year, 1986, has been declared the Year of Defense by the Angolan government.

The central celebrations of the anniversary of independence were held on November 11 in the city of Malange, more than 200 miles east of the capital.

Just across the bay is a shipyard, the largest and most productive one in Angola. It has the capacity for a full range of repairs on all kinds of ships. It earns foreign currency because foreign fishing fleets in the area often make their repairs here rather than return to home ports.

The director of the yard, António Sales Lemos Miguel, proudly showed us a ferry boat that was being built for use between Lobito and Luanda. He said that they now have the capacity to build the structural parts needed for the cranes in the port.

Lobito certainly has its difficulties: unemployment, unrepared roads, and dozens of unfinished products due to lack of materials and the impact of the war. But this is a far cry from the impending economic collapse so often described in the U.S. big-business press.

According to *Jornal de Angola*, the government daily, tens of thousands of Angolans from Malange and the surrounding province converged on the city. Among them were contingents of the MPLA Youth, Organization of Angolan Women, and National Federation of Angolan Workers.

President José Eduardo dos Santos, reported *Jornal de Angola*, told the crowd, "Our struggle is one of all the people, men and women, who want to construct a free and just society. It is a struggle against all forms of discrimination and humiliation, for freedom, equality, and justice for all, under the banner of socialism."

A message from the National Federation of Angolan Workers called for increased production and the need to fight for a climate of peace. It also condemned the terrorism of UNITA.

Tribute to Mandela set for San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO — Neo Mnumzana, chief delegate to the United Nations from the African National Congress, will be the featured speaker at a tribute meeting here for ANC leader Nelson Mandela. The meeting, which will celebrate the U.S. publication of Mandela's writings, will take place December 13.

It is sponsored by a wide range of political, religious, student, and labor figures in the Bay Area. The meeting was initiated by Pathfinder Bookstores in San Francisco, San Jose, and Oakland.

This year Pathfinder Press released *Nelson Mandela: The Struggle Is My Life* and the Spanish-language *Habla Nelson Mandela*.

The meeting will be held at the headquarters of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 34, 4 Berry St. (at Embarcadero) at 7:00 p.m.

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Irish republican party debates abortion

BY TONI GORTON

DUBLIN, Ireland — The national conference of Sinn Féin, which supports the outlawed Irish Republican Army, sharply debated the right of women to choose abortion.

This was the most hotly discussed question at the early November meeting, next to the issue of ending Sinn Féin's policy of refusing to enter any parliamentary body, either in the occupied northern part of Ireland or in the formally independent southern part. On the latter question, the 700 delegates voted by an overwhelming majority to change the party constitution and end the 65-year abstention position.

The discussion on abortion centered on a statement favoring the right to choose narrowly adopted at last year's convention. The statement had been added to Sinn Féin's general policy on abortion.

The leadership considered the addition confusing because it contradicted the rest of the policy statement. The change was opposed by many in the party, and diverse positions were taken publicly. Some delegates claimed the policy change had led to physical attacks on Sinn Féin candidates in usually sympathetic areas.

Sinn Féin position

The leadership's proposal to remove the phrase favoring the right to choose was overwhelmingly adopted at this year's conference. The stand now is the one held before the 1985 conference. It states: "We are opposed to the attitudes and forces that compel women to have abortions, we are opposed to abortion as a means of birth control, but we accept the need for abortion where the woman's life is at risk or in grave danger, for example, ectopic pregnancy and all forms of cancer."

Three basic positions were put forward in the discussion: no abortion under any circumstances, abortion where medically necessary, and women's right to choose combined with decriminalization of abortion.

The Catholic church hierarchy is very powerful in Ireland, and this shaped the framework of the discussion. In the South (the Republic of Ireland) the recent defeat in a referendum of a bill legalizing divorce and the long delay in allowing access to contraceptives show the effectiveness of the hierarchy's campaigns against women's rights.

Women from the northern town of Derry, who had set up a working group on abortion following the 1985 Sinn Féin conference, drafted a counter resolution.

It stated: "Our aim is to establish a secu-

lar state. As a secular organization we believe that the state, its constitution, its laws and criminal code should not embody the code of any particular religion, theology, or morality.

"We therefore accept the individual's right," the resolution declared, "to make a conscientious decision for or against abortion without coercion from any other individual or group. In the meantime, we recognize that present legislation must respect the rights and beliefs of minorities and must not criminalize those who avail of abortion in accordance with their conscience."

"Our short term objective," the statement continued, "is to encourage further discussion and examination of all aspects of this issue aimed at advancing the overall understanding to that end. Non-directive pregnancy counseling embodying all choices should be freely available."

This proposal was defeated by a vote of 117 for and 212 against.

'We must lead'

Daisy Mules, a leader of the trade union department who spoke for the motion, said the leadership's position was disappointing. "We must lead the people of Ireland on this question. Freedom of choice should apply to all areas of life."

She was supported by many women among the Sinn Féin activists. Some of them had been involved in counseling prisoners' wives in the North.



Rally in Dublin. Right to contraception throughout Ireland was legalized in 1985. Fight for women's right to abortion continues.

A small minority characterized abortion as murder and opposed allowing it under any circumstances.

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams said that in 1985 the leadership "had opposed the 'woman's choice,' not because we're antifeminist, but because it's identified with the 'abortion on demand' slogan."

He appealed for delegates not to "go too far, too fast," to keep the discussion going and not to reject the basic policy."

The conference reaffirmed the organization's policy on providing child care to encourage women to become active as candidates and in other ways. It voted down a proposal to end the system of affirmative action to include women in the leadership.

Another resolution adopted declared: "Sinn Féin publicly demands the decriminalization of homosexual acts between men, and also calls for full equal rights for lesbian women and gay men with their heterosexual counterparts."

Irish American meeting hears Sinn Féin leader

BY MARK FRIEDMAN

WINDSOR, Ontario — The annual convention of the Irish American Unity Conference (IAUC) was held here November 7-9 to give U.S. delegates an opportunity to hear Sinn Féin and other Irish militants banned from the United States by reactionary governmental travel bans.

IAUC is composed of 600 organizations in the United States, with a membership of 1.6 million. They carry out educational, cultural, and political campaigns in support of Ireland's fight for self-determination from Britain's imperialist rule. The featured speaker at the convention was Sean McManus, a national leader of Sinn Féin.

McManus denounced the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement, which "allows Britain to escape criticism for colonialism because the Dublin government has given recognition to the six northern counties as being part of the British Commonwealth." He de-

nounced the Garret FitzGerald government for its alliance with the repressive British government and the courts and legislation "still being used to frame up and victimize Irish nationalists."

The Sinn Féin speaker explained how the high level of unemployment and the staggering International Monetary Fund debt of \$1.8 billion would not break the Irish nationalists' resolve to fight for total British withdrawal from Ireland. He blasted the recent U.S.-British extradition treaty that victimizes Irish militants seeking political refuge in the United States. He also condemned the U.S. air strikes against Libya last spring.

The discussion at the conference centered on the recent Sinn Féin decision for its candidates to take office when elected to the Irish Parliament.

In 1922 Sinn Féin voted to boycott the parliament of the south of Ireland. Since

then, although Sinn Féin has elected many representatives, they have not taken their seats.

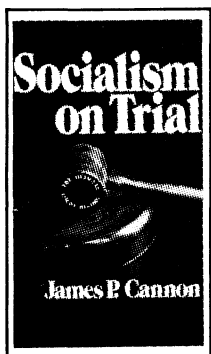
A minority of Sinn Féin members opposed the recent change away from the boycott policy.

In a question and answer period following his presentation, McManus spoke of the increasing support Sinn Féin is getting from Black groups in Britain, British miners, and the left wing of the Labour Party.

He also denounced the U.S. government's role in funding the *contras* attacking Nicaragua.

Later, in an interview with the *Militant*, McManus talked about Sinn Féin's participation in the September British Labour Party congress and a national tour of Britain by 10 elected Sinn Féin representatives. He also said his group helped organize a tour of Ireland by Nicaraguan revolutionaries.

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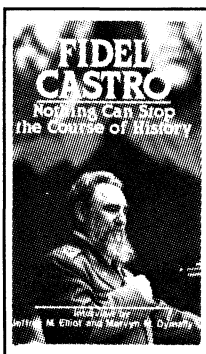
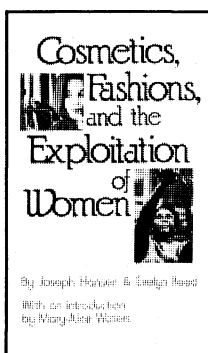
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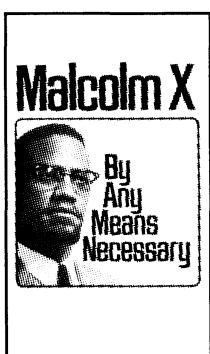
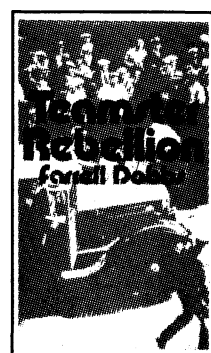
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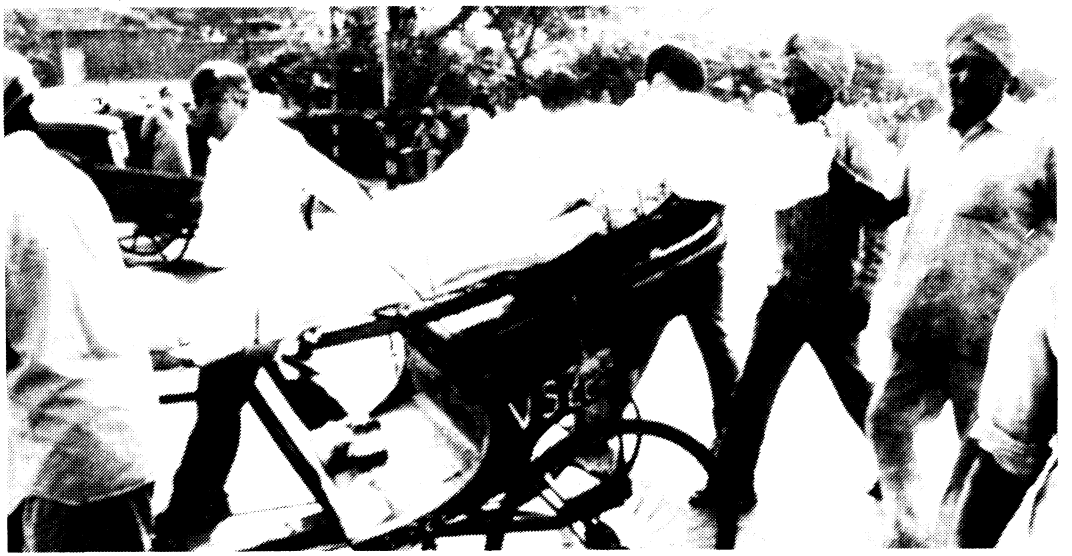
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Behind conflict between Sikhs and Indian government



Corpse of Sikh victim killed in Hindu chauvinist pogrom. Discrimination against Sikhs lies at root of their rebellion against Indian central government.

BY MALIK MIAH

There are approximately 16 million people of the Sikh faith among India's nearly 800 million people. Most of them live in the state of Punjab, in the northern part of the country.

For the last several years, the "Sikh question" has dominated Indian politics. For the government of Prime Minister

other countries became aware of this conflict two years ago when the Indian army raided the Sikh holy Golden Temple in Amritsar. Several hundred Sikhs were slaughtered, including Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, a central leader of militant Sikh revivalism.

Later that year, then-Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her own bodyguards, who happened to be Sikhs. Within hours, an anti-Sikh pogrom was organized, leading to the deaths of upwards of 25,000 Sikhs. Most were hacked to death by Hindu chauvinist hooligans as the police and army looked on and in some cases joined in the attacks.

Since 1984 both state terror against Sikhs and violence by Sikh militants against those who disagree with their demand for Khalistan — an independent Sikh state — have sharply escalated.

Sikhism

Founded in the late 15th century, the Sikh religion is a spin-off from the traditional Indian religion — Hinduism. In fact, Sikhism is still presented in the Indian constitution as a branch of Hinduism — something religious Sikhs strongly object to.

Sikhism first developed as a reform movement within Hinduism against the caste system. The social position of Hindus is defined by caste. Discrimination based on caste is illegal in India today but still continues.

Conflicts between people of the Sikh and Hindu religions (religious communalism) is a modern phenomenon. It is not hereditary, as many reactionaries claim.

All forms of communalism in India — religious, caste, linguistic, ethnic, and regional — have social roots. They reflect

real social, economic, and political — class — divisions in Indian society.

I had an opportunity to discuss the roots of the Punjab problem — the conflicts between Sikhs and the Indian government — in August with a leading revolutionary in Bombay. M. Navid is a central leader of the Revolutionary Communist Organization (ICS), Indian section of the Fourth International.

"The Punjab crisis," Navid explained, "is the result of a combination of five factors: Hindu communalism; Sikh communalism; the communalism of the Akali Dal Party; the communalism of the Congress Party at the Center [in New Delhi, India's capital]; and the social-economic changes that have taken place in the Punjab in the post-independence era [since 1947] as a result of the Green Revolution."

The Akali Dal, formed in the 1920s, is the main party claiming to represent the interests of the Punjabi people of the Sikh faith.

The so-called Green Revolution began in the 1960s with large-scale mechanization of agriculture. Through massive irrigation, the Punjab became India's "breadbasket." About 75 percent of the Punjabi people — Sikhs and Hindus — depend on agriculture for their living.

"The majority of people (52 percent) in the Punjab are Sikhs," Navid continued. He noted that they speak Punjabi, while most Punjabi Hindus prefer speaking Hindi, the official national language. Few Sikhs live outside Punjab.

There are 15 major language groups recognized by the Indian Constitution, with English also widely spoken, especially by the educated.

Jat peasantry

Navid explained that the so-called Green Revolution "created a tremendous surplus for the rural Sikh population [known as Jats], which is about 20 percent of the population and is economically dominant." The Jat landowners control 60 percent of the land.

The problem, he said, was the "relative lack of industrialization in Punjab" to invest the surplus resources. There are very few large factories. Most industries are small or medium size, with Punjabi Hindus being the main factory owners. The biggest landowners are Sikhs.

But although the Jat Sikhs are dominant economically, they aren't politically. "This has been a factor in destabilizing the situation," Navid added.

He also noted that despite the claims of Sikh religious teachers, casteism does exist among Sikhs. These caste divisions are reflections of the low political consciousness among the masses of peasants and workers — Hindus and Sikhs.

Thus the *Mazahabis* (so-called "untouchable" or low-caste Sikhs) face discrimination from upper-caste Sikhs, as do low-caste Hindus. "The *Mazahabis*," Navid explained, "are 20 percent of Sikhs."

The ruling Congress Party has been the dominant party in Punjab state politics since independence. It forged a coalition of low-caste Sikhs, Hindus, and a section of urban Sikhs against the rural Jat Sikhs. This fact exposes the lie that Punjab politics has always been based on conflicts between Hindus and Sikhs.

It was only with the rise of communal politics in the 1970s and 1980s that the Sikh Akali Dal Party was able to make advances. It finally became the majority in the state government after the elections.

This political shift began in the mid-

1970s with the crisis of Congress rule and the rise of a Sikh fundamentalist movement that tapped the genuine anger of unemployed Sikh youths, particularly in rural areas.

The turning point in sympathy for an independent Khalistan among Sikhs occurred after the 1984 Golden Temple raid — commonly known here as "Operation Blue Star" — and the subsequent massacre of thousands of Sikhs after Indira Gandhi's assassination. So far, none of the participants in the chauvinist mobs responsible for the massacres have been arrested and prosecuted. In fact, discrimination against Sikhs in all areas of society is on the rise. Any person with a turban and beard is suspect. Most male Sikhs can be identified by their uncut hair and beards and by their turbans.

While this has led to growing support for Khalistan, Navid said, the Sikhs themselves are divided. The "moderate" Akali Dal leadership, now in state government, is losing support. The Punjab Accord, an agreement between Akali Dal leader Sant Harchand Singh Longowal and Rajiv Gandhi made in July 1985, failed to solve the crisis. None of the Sikhs' grievances, including giving control of the shared capital of Chandigarh to Punjab (it is now shared with the state of Haryana), redrawing state boundaries, and sharing of river waters, have been settled.

Sikh militants, a month after the agreement, assassinated Longowal for being a traitor.

In April of this year Punjab Chief Minister Surjit Singh Barnala, head of the Akali Dal Party, organized his own raid of the Golden Temple to oust the militant Sikhs who had taken it over. The credibility of the Akali Dal declined even more.

The basic objective of the central government, Navid explained, "is to establish stable bourgeois rule." But they can't do that, he added, as long as the Congress pushes its own communal, pro-Hindu politics. It is left with a "law and order" perspective, which can't work. A political solution must be found.

Anti-communal front

What is the perspective of his organization? I asked Navid.

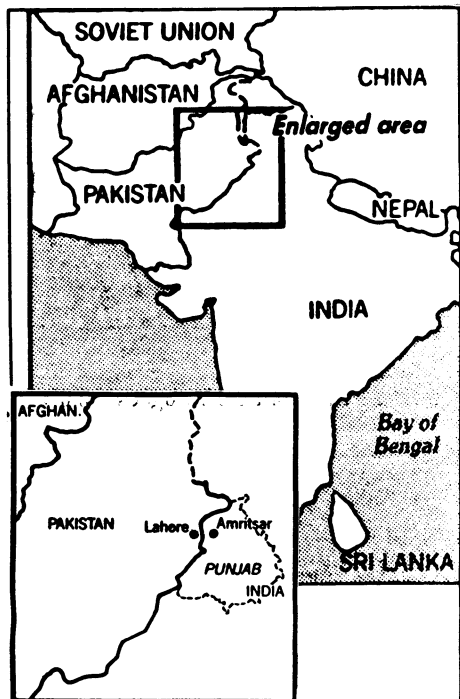
We believe, he began, that it is "most important to attack both Hindu and Sikh communalism; and the communalism of the Congress Party and that of the Akali Dal Party."

"If you don't have this perspective and you are preoccupied with the question of unity of the state, then this can become a license or justification for the Center to carry out all kinds of excesses and counterterrorism in the name of preserving the unity of the country."

We reject, Navid continued, the Khalistan slogan as reactionary. "It is a demand for a theocratic state. It is not in the interests of workers and peasants in the Punjab or India," he added.

"If you recognize that the Akali Dal is communal and cannot resolve the situation, and if you recognize that the Congress Party cannot do it, then it means you have to establish a third force that is able to bridge the divide between Hindus and Sikhs. That is to say, you will have to try to build a genuine anti-communal front, which would at least include the left as one of its fundamental components," Navid emphasized.

An immediate focus of such a front, Navid concluded, is defending the democratic rights of discriminated-against Sikhs, especially in government services.



Rajiv Gandhi, it centers on how to smash "Sikh terrorism." For Sikhs, it is a matter of protecting the right to practice their religion and ending the Punjab government's growing discrimination against Sikhs.

Working people in the United States and

Do you know someone who reads Spanish?

Puerto Ricans fight for forest

"They won't train the military in El Yunque," chanted nearly 8,000 people during a march protesting U.S. government attempts to destroy Puerto Rico's most valuable rain forest.

Last September, the U.S. Forest Service decided to allow the exploitation of the woods for commercial purposes. This triggered vigorous protests. The 28,000-acre park is ecologically unique and is the source of the island's biggest rivers.

The controversy escalated when the Pentagon announced it was looking for a tropical forest site to train troops as part of its preparations for war in Central America.

The December issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* has on-the-spot coverage of this latest development in the struggle against U.S. militarization of the island.

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Guatemalan army controls 'model villages'

A visit to relocation settlement

BY MARK ZOLA
AND JO LEE ZOLA

EL QUICHE, Guatemala — San Juan Acul is a "model village" set up by the military in late 1983 near Nebaj in the Department of El Quiche. It was in one of the areas of heaviest conflict during the civil war that raged here between 1978 and 1984.

The army carried out a scorched earth policy to destroy the popular base of an armed guerrilla movement. Whole villages were leveled and thousands of indigenous people massacred. The army admits that 440 villages were destroyed in 1982-83. An estimated 100,000 Guatemalans died at the hands of the army and army-controlled death squads.

"Model villages," such as San Juan Acul, were then constructed in the battle zones to concentrate and control the population. They are grouped in "development poles," militarized sections of the countryside where the population is physically isolated from any possible contact with the "subversives."

We were here in the rugged mountainous area in west central Guatemala as part of a week-long tour organized by the Center for Global Education of Augsburg College in Minneapolis.

After being questioned at the entrance to the checkpoint, we were invited into the village. Jorge, a special forces officer, made a presentation on the history of Acul, which the army appears to regard as a showcase for its model village policy.

He then showed us around — pointing to the wooden houses with tin roofs, the electrification, drinkable water sources, community store, and clinic.

He boasted of development projects such as a workshop where a soldier teaches the use of advanced weaving equipment.

The special forces officer claimed the local people had asked for aid from the army. "Our job is strictly to maintain peace and tranquility," he said.

But the real purpose of these militarized villages is to drive a physical and ideological wedge between the indigenous communities and any insurgent movement. The coming and going of the residents is controlled by the military. Their economic survival depends on the army's "food for work" program. And they are coerced into participating in civil defense patrols.

We saw the civil patrols throughout the highlands. The patrols are local armed units under military control that provide a wide network of guards, vigilance personnel, informers, and death squad operatives.

Struggle against Salvadoran regime subject of new film

Dateline: San Salvador, a half-hour video, documents the widening struggle by El Salvador's workers and peasants against the U.S.-financed and controlled regime of President Napoleón Duarte.

Featured is footage of the May 1 demonstration this year of 80,000 workers and peasants and their supporters, which demanded an end to U.S.-imposed austerity measures and a resumption of dialogue with the liberation front in the civil war.

The film provides an overview of the more than six-year struggle by the revolutionary forces led by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and Revolutionary Democratic Front and of the U.S. government's increasing role in conducting the war.

Interviews with workers, students, peasants, refugees, and the families of the "disappeared" show why the Salvadoran people are fighting against the repressive Duarte regime.

The video is available for a \$35 rental fee from Camino Film Projects, P.O. Box 291575, Los Angeles, Calif. 90029.

Some of these units carry out many of the army's assassination and disappearance operations.

There are reportedly about one million civil defense patrol members.

Malnutrition on the rise

The highly publicized army "development projects," however, have not altered the grim reality of living conditions for the peasants in the highlands, most of whom are Mayans.

Many people in different parts of the area told us that malnutrition, poor health, unemployment, and the problem of landlessness and land shortage are worse than ever. Hundreds of thousands of widows and orphans, survivors of the "violence" (as the bloodbath of the early 1980s is called), barely survive.

They are part of a vast mass of internal refugees who are barred from participating in the few government social welfare programs. Between 100,000 and 200,000 refugees live in camps in Mexico along the Guatemalan border.

The state of democratic rights is hardly better.

President Marco Vinicio Cerezo recently returned from a trip to Western Europe aimed at ending Guatemala's international isolation and securing badly needed loans. Wherever he went, he touted Guatemala's new "democracy." Cerezo was inaugurated in January 1986, ending 31 years of military rule.

Guatemalan 'democracy'

The wholesale massacres that took place in 1982 and 1983 are over for now. But disappearances and killings still occur. Independent groups that try to improve conditions in the countryside must work "discreetly" or semiclandestinely.

Most army units are reputedly back in the barracks for now. Much of the dirty work is carried out by the army-controlled civil patrols.

There is a big discussion in Guatemala over whether the change from a military to a civilian government is really a "democratic opening."

All the political activists we spoke to were suspicious. They pointed to past periods when brief "democratic openings" were followed by waves of harsh repression. They noted that the army still holds the levers of power and a handful of wealthy families, based on sugar, cotton, coffee, and other export crops, still dominates the economy and resists even the mildest changes.

Testing the waters

Nevertheless, many Guatemalans are testing the waters. Both semiclandestine and open organizing has increased in recent months. Several strikes have occurred. Demonstrations in front of the presidential palace are becoming more common.

In the countryside, some peasants are beginning to organize to demand land. Recently, a Catholic priest led a march of 15,000 to the capital to press for land reform.

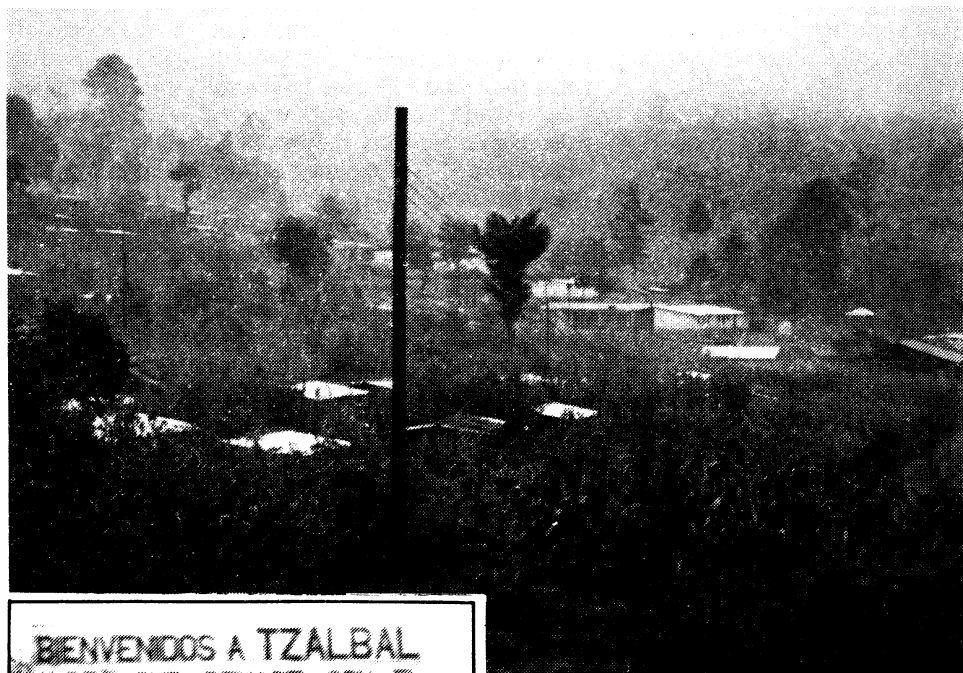
Church-related social protest groups, severely repressed in the early 1980s, are being rebuilt.

Cooperatives have formed to aid widows and orphans. And activity aimed at preserving and strengthening indigenous culture is on the rise.

The Mutual Support Group for Families of the Disappeared (GAM), Guatemala's only public legal human rights organization, was formed in June 1984 by relatives of the disappeared.

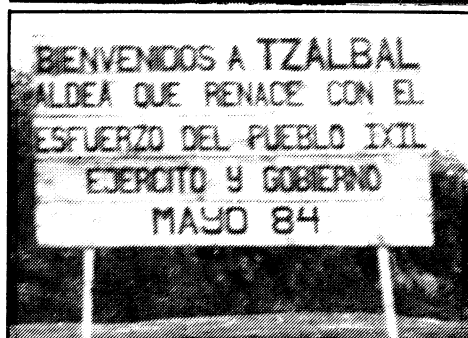
On September 15, GAM members marched in the nation's independence day parade, right behind the army contingent. They carried banners and placards accusing the military of responsibility for the disappearance of their relatives. Shortly thereafter, they held a sit-in at the national palace.

The coordinating council of the four main guerrilla organizations has announced that it is willing to enter into talks with the Cerezo government. Despite the heavy setbacks they were dealt, the guerrillas still operate in areas of the highlands and still inflict damage on the army.



Militant/Mark Zola

Militarized villages are designed to isolate indigenous Indian communities from insurgency. Shown here is Acul, a showcase example. Inset, a sign outside another nearby settlement reads: "Welcome to Tzalbal, a town that is reborn through efforts of the Ixil people, [Guatemalan] army, and government."



—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Israeli jets bomb southern Lebanon

Twice in two days, November 16 and 17, Israeli jets and helicopter gunships attacked a Palestinian refugee camp near the southern Lebanese city of Sidon.

The camp, Ain Khilwe, has been the target of repeated Israeli attacks. A month earlier an Israeli jet was shot down while attacking the camp, and the jet's copilot was captured by Palestinian guerrillas.

In a communiqué on the November 16 attack, Al Fatah, the largest guerrilla group within the Palestine Liberation Organization, reported, "There have been many casualties among civilians and extensive damage inflicted on property."

Apartheid foes murdered in Lesotho

Two former Lesotho government officials and prominent critics of the apartheid regime in neighboring South Africa were found shot to death November 16.

The two were Desmond Sixishe and Vincent Makhele, the ex-ministers of information and foreign affairs in the government of Leabua Jonathan, who was

gime on domestic opponents of apartheid mirrors its attacks on South African refugees in Lesotho. Shortly after the coup, the new government deported 60 South African political refugees, many of them ANC supporters.

Indian gov't leans on Tamil fighters

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India on November 17 endorsed the Sri Lankan government's latest proposals for negotiations to settle the armed conflict in the Tamil-speaking areas of Sri Lanka.

Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayewardene's proposals are limited to offering greater political autonomy to the oppressed Tamil areas. But most of the Tamil guerrilla groups are fighting for the creation of an independent Tamil state. Leaders of the main Tamil group have rejected Jayewardene's proposal.

Gandhi's endorsement of them, however, reflects an increase in Indian government pressures on the Tamil groups, which have thus far enjoyed some sanctuary in neighboring India. Ten days earlier several key Tamil guerrilla leaders were placed under house arrest there, and Indian forces seized several Tamil arms caches.

Melilla residents hit Spanish colonial rule

For the first time, a mass public assembly in Melilla, a Spanish-governed enclave on the northern coast of Morocco, has directly questioned continued Spanish rule.

The assembly was held November 8, composed primarily of Melilla residents who follow the Islamic religion. They adopted a resolution affirming the "Arab character" of Melilla.

This was interpreted as implied support for the position of the Moroccan government, which has long claimed sovereignty over Melilla, as well as over Ceuta, another municipality ruled from Spain. (The two territories have a combined population of about 150,000.)

The Spanish mayor of Melilla demanded that Aomar Mohammedi Dudu, a key leader of the Muslim community, be tried for "incitement to rebellion" for his part in the assembly.

Supporters of the resolution have called for a series of demonstrations to protest the discriminatory policies of the Spanish authorities.



overthrown in a South African-backed military coup in January.

Both had been outspoken opponents of apartheid and supporters of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa. Sixishe, at the time of his death, was chairman of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization in Lesotho. In August the governing military junta of Maj. Gen. Justin Lekhanya placed restrictions on their movements.

Sixishe and Makhele, along with their wives, were kidnapped by unknown assailants. The bodies of all four were found on a mountain roadside. A university lecturer, from whose house they had been kidnapped, is missing as well.

This crackdown by the Lekhanya re-

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For the family proletarian — An ad by A la Vieille Russie, a New York shop, lists it as a "fun" item. A gold brooch in the form of



Harry Ring

a pair of pliers, set with diamonds. \$2,400.

Sounds pretty educated to us — "A lot of plant managers are af-

raid. The major concern is that the people are not educated enough to have unions. One of the first worries is more money and second, that they won't be able to control their workers. The workers give the impression that they want to take over." — A clothing factory boss in Haiti.

P.S. — Those uneducated, grabby workers in Haiti earn about \$3 a day.

Mars the tissues — Livia Sylva, "World Famous Skin Care Expert," who offers a \$75 bee pollen facial, is opposed to mental illness as bad for facial appearance.

Lost in the shuffle — OSHA

laid a \$910,000 fine on Chrysler for "willful" failure to keep accurate records of job injuries, citing 182 cases that weren't recorded, plus a number of serious injuries that were logged but then mysteriously disappeared from the books. Chrysler responded it was just a dispute over how to handle paperwork.

Eh? — Despite a \$210-million expenditure for noise abatement, independent experts find the noise level of New York subway "hazardously loud." Transit officials responded there were too many other problems — e.g., derailments, fires, doors that fly open without warning — to make noise pollution a top priority.

That lovey-dovey couple? — We have it from the Santa Maria, California, *Times*, via *Spy* magazine. During the 1980 campaign, a Secret Service agent confided, Ron was carrying some of Nancy's possessions from the car into their Santa Ynez mountaintop retreat and dropped one of her coats. Satisfied she wasn't looking, he deliberately stepped on it.

Now here's a deal — Metropolitan Towers, a Big Apple condo, does seem pricey with some apartments going for \$2 million, and a penthouse pad for \$5 million. But the garage has a chauffeur's waiting room, and there's a building valet to take care

of your laundry, dry cleaning, and getting your shoes polished.

The march of civilization — Nobody's trying to make you paranoid, but a mail order house offers a portable desk paper shredder and an electronic device that assertedly detects counterfeit money. Another offers a home alert system that sets off a buzzer when anyone approaches your driveway.

Thought for the week — "If you deny visas to certain people, it does not mean that America is not democratic at all. It just means it is less democratic than I thought." — Edicio dela Torre, a Filipino priest denied entry to the U.S.

—CALENDAR—

ARIZONA

Phoenix

"The Truth Must Not Just Be the Truth — It Must Be Told." A Fall Publications Fund rally. Speakers: Representative of the African National Congress of South Africa; Fred Halstead, author of *Out Now!* and pamphlet on the Hormel meat-packers' strike; Francisco Cavazos, Arizona farm worker recently returned from the Philippines; Dawn Noggle, Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights; Pablo Otero, Young Socialist Alliance; David Zilly, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 13, Reception, 6 p.m.; rally, 7 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Road. Donation \$3. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

A Tribute to Nelson Mandela: A Celebration of the U.S. Publication of His Writings. Featured speaker Neo Mnumzana, chief UN delegate of the African National Congress of South Africa. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 13, 7 p.m. ILWU Local 34, 4 Berry St. (at Embarcadero). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

South Africa Sanctions Bill: The Hidden Attack on the African National Congress. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 6, 7:30 p.m. 107 Brighton Ave., Allston. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 787-0275.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Labor's Turning Point. A film about the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters' strike. Sat., Dec. 6, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Puerto Rico: A U.S. Colony in the Caribbean. Speakers: Héctor Carrión, Socialist Workers Party, just returned from Puerto Rico; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 6, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Nicaragua 1983-1985. A show of color photo-

Socialist Regional Educational Conferences

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Forum. **The U.S. War Against Nicaragua: How It Can Be Stopped, Its Impact on U.S. Workers.** Sat., Dec. 6, 7:30 p.m.

Two classes: 1. **The Coming Revolution in South Africa and the Role of the African National Congress.** Sat., Dec. 6, 12:30 p.m. 2. **The Cuban Role in Africa.** Sat., Dec. 6, 3 p.m. Classes and forum translated to Spanish. Speaker: Malik Miah, Socialist Workers Party National Committee.

Events held at 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$5 for series or \$2 per event. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Workers, Farmers, and Students Need to Discuss How We Can Stop the U.S. War on Nicaragua and Defend Workers and Farmers at Home.

graphs and text by Colleen McKay. Reception Wed., Dec. 3, 6 to 8 p.m. Show through Dec. 27. Henry Street Settlement, 446 Grand St. For more information call (212) 598-0400.

International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. Speakers: Zehdi Terzi, permanent representative of Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations; Isack Mudenge, ambassador of Zimbabwe to the UN, representing the Nonaligned Movement; others. Cultural performances include Al-Watan Palestinian Dabke and Singing Troupe, Sechaba Singers of the African National Congress. Fri., Dec. 5. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. Martin Luther King, Jr. High School. 122 Amsterdam Ave. (between 65th and 66th). Admission: \$10; \$5, students, senior citizens; unemployed, free. Ausp: November 29th Committee for Palestine. For more information call (212) 557-5410.

Philippine Union Movement Mobilizes to Defend Gains. Speakers: Ramon Castaneda, Committee in Support of the Philippines; Fred Feldman, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Dec. 5. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: forum, \$2; dinner, \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Benefit for Caribbean Cultural Center in Nicaragua. Performers: Bev Mickens, political satirist and comedienne; Claudia Hommel,

Class series begins Sat., Dec. 13, 12 noon, ends Sun., Dec. 14, 2 p.m.

Keynote address: **War and Crisis in the Americas.** Speaker: Mac Warren, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., Dec. 13, 7 p.m.

All events at McCormick Center Hotel. Translation to Spanish provided. Donation: \$6 for conference. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Two-class series: **The State of U.S. Trade Unions Today.** Sat., Dec. 13, 11 a.m. and 2:30 p.m. **The Coming Revolution in South Africa.** Sat. 11 a.m. and 2:30 p.m.

Forum: **The U.S. Political Situation Today.** Discussion to follow. Speaker: Larry Seigle, national leader of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 14, 7:30 p.m. Party to follow.

Two classes: **The Roots of the Imperialist War in Central America and The U.S.**

singer. Photographer David Schmidlapp will present slideshow. Sat., Dec. 6. Art show opening at 6:30 p.m.; performances at 8 p.m. Local 1199 Auditorium, 310 W 43rd St. Donation: \$10. Ausp: Ventana.

Holiday Benefit Dance for Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (TWA workers). Sat., Dec. 13, 9 p.m. to 2 a.m. Local 1199, 310 W 43rd St. Donation: \$10. Ausp: IFFA. For more information call (718) 520-0996.

OHIO

Cleveland

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

VIRGINIA

Newport News

New Stage in the Struggle for Democracy in the Philippines. Speaker: Bob Morgan, Socialist Workers Party; others to be announced. Sun., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Behind U.S. Secret Arms Deal to Iran.

Farm Crisis. Sun., Dec. 14. Both at 1:30 p.m.

Conference events translated to Spanish. Registration Sat., 10 to 11 a.m. Young Socialist Alliance reception Sat., 5:30 to 7:30 p.m. All events at 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$6 for conference; or \$1.50 per class; \$3 for forum. Ausp: YSA and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Forum: **Prospects for Socialism in the United States.** Sat., Dec. 13, 7:30 p.m.

Two class series: 1. **The Freedom Struggle in South Africa.** Sat., 3 p.m. and Sun., Dec. 14, 12:30 p.m. 2. **War and Revolution in Central America.** Sat., 3 p.m. and Sun., 12:30 p.m. Forum and classes translated to Spanish.

Events held at Antioch School of Law, 2633 16th St. NW. Donation: \$5 for conference or \$2 per event. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Speaker: John Rubinstein, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 5, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

Reception for Leto Billar, Philippine Labor Leader. Sat., Dec. 6, 7:30 p.m. Immaculate Conception Church, 820 18th Ave. Donation: \$7, includes buffet. Ausp: Philippine Workers Support Committee and Philippine Association for Community Education. For more information call (206) 935-2251.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Iran and the Reagan Arms Deal: A Socialist Analysis. Speaker: Ike Nahem, Socialist Workers Party, member United Transportation Union. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Dec. 5, 7:30 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

The Truth Behind U.S. Arms Sales to Iran. Speakers to be announced. Sun., Dec. 7, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

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

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

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WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699, 797-7021.

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 116 McFarland St. Zip: 25301. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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

'Apartheid makes children into revolutionaries'

Witness to Apartheid. Produced and directed by Sharon Sopher. One hour on film or video. Distributed by the Southern Africa Media Center, 630 Natoma St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Telephone (415) 621-6196.

BY MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

"We've got a new breed of children. They believe that they are going to die, many of them — most of them. And the frightening thing is they actually don't care. . . .

FILM REVIEW

In their view the only language the white government understands is violence."

This statement by anti-apartheid leader Desmond Tutu highlights the theme of this new film. It vividly portrays what the apartheid government is doing to Black children and youth — arresting them, torturing and killing them, humiliating them. And making them into revolutionaries.

We see funeral marches of youth, not walking but jogging fast as they chant revolutionary slogans and give the clenched-fist salute. Scenes of the mass arrest of 800 schoolchildren, some as young as seven, are shown.

Police charge into a schoolyard hurling tear gas and beating youngsters with batons and steel-tipped whips. Children fight with stones against giant armored vehicles.

Even Tutu, whose commentary is interspersed through the film, questions whether nonviolent resistance can be effective in South Africa.

The young people don't seem to have any doubts on the subject. One teenager recites the Lord's Prayer. He starts off orthodoxly enough, until he gets to his part about "Give us those weapons, our daily military training." In an interview with two young leaders of the banned Congress of South African Students, one of the students concludes, "I really believe in armed struggle. I am prepared to sacrifice even my life."

Almost as shocking as the scenes of police violence are some on-the-street interviews with well-dressed white South Africans. Not a single one of the whites Sopher stops and questions has been to a Black township. "I just never got round to going," says one white woman. A young man insists that "people are quite happy in the townships," although he has never been there himself.

But the film also shows a few whites who have taken stands against apartheid. A shopkeeper who has fought for years against apartheid in sports. A businessman who picks up children when they are released from detention and takes them to the doctor to have their wounds treated.

And doctors who have exposed the torture and murder of detainees.

Sopher interviews an undertaker who buried 34 children between May and September of 1985, all of them killed by police and soldiers. There is no picture to go with his taped statement because the undertaker was arrested between the preinterview and the scheduled filming. Sopher herself was arrested and interrogated while making the film.

The Southern Africa Media Center, the San Francisco-based distributor of *Witness to Apartheid*, is also the source for such videos as *Winnie and Nelson Mandela*, *Generations of Resistance*, and *You Have Struck a Rock*.

The organization's director, Cornelius Moore, told the *Militant* that the Media Center "was started in 1976 right after the Soweto uprisings, when there was a need for much more information on the events in southern Africa and when the anti-apartheid movement was growing. Obviously that need still continues, and we continue."

Moore said the films go to "university and student groups; community groups, especially in the Black community; church groups; and, of course, anti-apartheid groups." Although the center exists on revenue from the rentals, Moore explained it will discuss the rental fee with groups that have financial problems. This is done in the interest of getting the films widely shown.

Crisis of Aquino gov't continues to rock Philippines

Continued from front page

the military by opposing the defense ministry's use of troops to break strikes.

After the firing of Enrile, a top military commander told the *New York Times*, "The crisis is not yet over. The Government still has to act on our demands."

The Philippine Catholic hierarchy is siding with Aquino. The Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines announced plans November 21 to issue a pastoral letter calling for ratification of the proposed new constitution, which will guarantee Aquino a full six-year term of office. The ratification is to be voted on in a February 2 plebiscite and followed by May 11 elections to the legislature and local offices.

Expectations of working people

The gap between the expectations aroused in the workers and peasants by the toppling of the Marcos tyranny and the increasing obstacles they face in fulfilling these expectations is spurring on the government crisis.

Workers in the Philippines are paid lower wages, on the average, than in any other major country of Asia and the Pacific. And the employers are fighting to keep it that way.

Far from being able to count on support from the government they helped put in

power, workers have had to wage hundreds of strikes for their right to organize and for improvements in wages and working conditions. On occasion, they have had to confront troops sent by the Ministry of Defense as strikebreakers. The government has not taken the promised steps to repeal Marcos' antilabor legislation, while the military brass demands more repression against the May 1 Movement. Nor has the government yet punished the killers of KMU Chairman Olalia and his driver.

Meanwhile, the sharp decline in world-market prices for sugar and other agricultural exports is continuing to devastate life in the countryside.

While the sugar barons of Negros island, for instance, retain their land, wealth, and private armies, malnutrition haunts the lives of the peasants who are forced to work the landlords' cane fields.

About 74 percent of the children under the age of 15 in Occidental Province on Negros suffer from malnutrition. The few hospitals are crowded with children dying or suffering permanent damage from diseases linked to hunger.

Landlords' reform

According to the *Washington Post*, the man Aquino appointed as acting governor of Negros is pressing for an agrarian reform for the island. It would allow the

sugar planters to "sell 30 percent of their land to the government to create agribusiness estates in which large foreign companies would be invited to invest. Another 10 percent would be sold at low prices to the plantation laborers at about a quarter of an acre per family. The planters would keep the remaining 60 percent."

Even this niggardly land reform, which would do nothing to save the lives of the children dying in Negros now, has been angrily opposed by a powerful faction of the planters and their private armies. Their resistance was encouraged by Enrile during a recent visit to Negros.

The Aquino government's unwillingness to move decisively against the power of the landlords has spurred large numbers of peasants on Negros and elsewhere to continue to back the guerrilla movement.

The September 13 *Washington Post* reported, "For guerrillas like Ka Yokyok, a 37-year-old farmer from Davao del Norte, there is also no choice but to keep fighting. Only a revolutionary regime, he believes, will give him the land he feels entitled to. 'We have to go on with our struggle,' he said. 'I don't see anything this government can do.'"



Wages of Philippine workers are among lowest in Asia. But Aquino government hasn't backed their struggles.

— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

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

December 3, 1976

FBI Director Clarence Kelley has admitted that there is no evidence that the Socialist Workers Party or Young Socialist Alliance break any laws, not even the witch-hunting "communist-control" laws.

The nation's top cop has also admitted that — contrary to pledges this summer — he has never sought details about FBI burglaries that happened after 1966.

Kelley made these admissions November 3 under questioning by attorney Leonard Boudin for the SWP and YSA lawsuit against government harassment.

Boudin specifically questioned Kelley about the various laws that have been used to justify the FBI's "investigation" and harassment of the socialists.

Kelley insisted, "... we are not using a subterfuge to continue any investigation of the Socialist Workers Party membership."

Kelley said that no SWP or YSA members are now being investigated under rebellion or conspiracy laws, the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Communist Control Act of 1954, or the Voorhis Act, which limits collaboration with international groups.

"These are stunning admissions that the FBI's 38-year 'investigation' and harassment of the SWP and YSA were completely illegal and unjustified," said Syd Stapleton, an SWP leader who was present during Kelley's questioning.

"Never before," he explained, "has the

government admitted that there is no evidence of criminal activity in what the socialists do."

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

December 4, 1961

Price 10¢

White-supremacist officials of Fayette and Haywood counties, Tennessee, are jailing those who come to aid the embattled Negroes of the area. Imprisoned since October 29 is Rev. Maurice McCrackin, well-known Cincinnati pacifist.

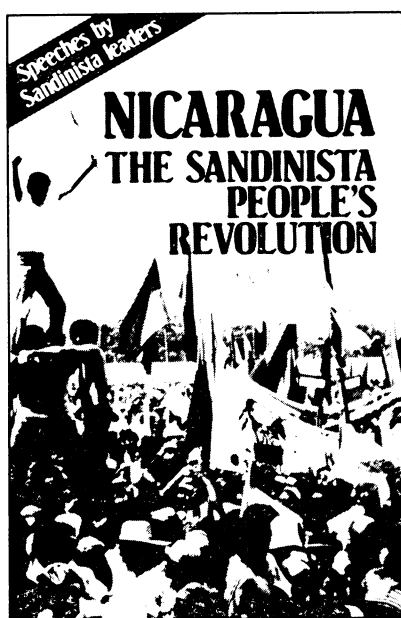
McCrackin is treasurer of Operation Freedom organized last year to aid tenant farmers and sharecroppers evicted in retaliation against efforts of Negroes to register to vote in the two counties. Operation Freedom set up Tent City for homeless families, rented land, and made crop loans to persecuted Negro farmers.

McCrackin was in Brownsville, Tennessee, to settle the year's crop loans and investigate the needs arising from the impending eviction of 60 more families in Haywood County. Neither friends nor newsmen were allowed to attend his trial for "loitering."

Upon being asked how he pleaded, he replied: "I am pleading for justice in Africa, India, Cincinnati and Brownsville, and everywhere." McCrackin refused to pay the fine and was jailed. He immediately went on a hunger strike which he intends to continue until his release scheduled for December 9.

What they're saying about

Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution Speeches by Sandinista leaders



My personal congratulations to Pathfinder Press and the people who have worked on collecting all these excellent speeches of the Nicaraguan leadership today on the reality of that country. The translators have not only done a wonderful, professional job in translating, but have put themselves into the heart of the speeches, and have expressed most vividly the feelings of not only the leadership, but the Nicaraguan people as a whole, and their hopes and dreams for the future.

I trust that the public who reads it will find inspiration, challenge, and hope in this document that is so significant today.

Norman Bent
Reverend of the Iglesia Moravia
Managua, Nicaragua

This new collection contains more than 40 speeches by leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution. 400 pages, \$7.95 (include \$.75 for postage and handling).

Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.

Reagan's secret aid to 'contras'

President Reagan's admission that as much as \$30 million from arms sales to Iran was funneled to Nicaraguan *contras* this year has opened a big can of worms about the scope and character of his administration's intervention in Central America.

Many questions about that secret arrangement remain unanswered and as the truth begins coming out, it will provoke even more opposition among the people in this country to that dirty war.

Reagan admitted November 25 that Lt. Col. Oliver North, a top official of the National Security Council with an office in the basement of the White House, had secretly diverted the funds to the contras.

Reagan claimed to have known nothing about this. He said it was revealed to him by Attorney General Edwin Meese, whom Reagan had asked to investigate the Iran dealings. The president announced that North had been removed from his post and that the resignation of national security adviser John Poindexter had been accepted.

Meese claimed that the "only persons in the United States that knew precisely about this — the only person — was Lieutenant Colonel North. . . . The president knew nothing about it until I reported it to him."

Meese conceded, however, that national security adviser John Poindexter and his predecessor Robert McFarlane knew "that something of this nature was occurring."

He insisted they said nothing to Reagan about it. "I don't think anyone can be responsible if someone on the lower echelons of government does something . . . not correct," he said.

Meese asserted that the secret funding of the contras began in early 1986. "It was done because this was during a period when Congress had not provided money to the contras." Congress had, in fact, prohibited U.S. government funding of the terrorists.

The source of the millions for the contras was U.S. arms shipments to the Iranian government, with the Israeli regime acting as intermediary. In negotiations with the Iranians, Israeli officials set the price to be paid for the weapons. The resulting profits were deposited in Swiss bank accounts maintained by contra officials, who then withdrew the money. North oversaw the operation.

The Israeli government has initially denied knowing that the arms sales were financing the war against Nicaragua. And contra officials, meeting in Costa Rica, made a similarly not very believable denial.

Congressional leaders have promised investigations. The exposure of the operation reveals again that secrecy and deception are at the heart of U.S. foreign policy. They have characterized the war against Nicaragua from the start.

The funding operation was carried out in defiance of congressional prohibitions and at a time when the Reagan administration was pressing Congress for \$100 million for the contras.

As administration officials were telling Congress that the contras were running out of arms and ammunition because of the ban on U.S. government funding, North was

helping to deposit millions into secret contra bank accounts in Switzerland, and the CIA was shipping arms to the contras.

As more facts come out, the connection between this secret arms deal and the CIA-organized contra supply network that Eugene Hasenfus was part of will be exposed.

Other aspects of the war are being pursued with equal secrecy. A contingent of 70 contras is currently being trained on U.S. soil, but U.S. officials refuse to reveal where they are located and which U.S. agency is training them.

But the public exposure of one instance after another of secrecy and deception is dealing a blow to U.S. rulers. "We look like liars around the world," one top government official worriedly told the *New York Times*. He was commenting on earlier administration denials that it was involved in secretly funding the contras.

"We must, all of us, help the President restore his credibility in foreign affairs," pleaded Democratic Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia. Nunn expressed fear that the revelations would spur increased opposition to aiding the contras. "Contra aid was always a very close question, and this will make it harder."

The administration is under pressure to reveal more of its undercover operations. The attempt to portray North as acting essentially on his own in arming the contras is being greeted with skepticism.

The people of the United States and the world are entitled to know exactly how much money has been given to the contras. And in whose names the contra Swiss bank accounts were opened.

We have a right to know what other operations have been carried out by North and other U.S. officials to fund or supply the contras.

What are the links between the arms sales to Iran and the CIA supply operation for the contras that resulted in the capture of Eugene Hasenfus by Nicaraguan forces? What was the role of the CIA in the funding of the contras? What are the names of the Israeli officials who were in on this operation?

And what about Vice-president George Bush, who has been cited by Hasenfus as possibly connected with arms shipments to the contras? Was he involved in this funding operation as well?

What about other criminal actions by North and the National Security Council? North has been charged with having helped organize such bloody operations against the Nicaraguan people as the July attack on a civilian passenger ferry.

The revelations are an important opportunity for the foes of the U.S. war against Nicaragua. The primary reason for the secrecy of this war is its unpopularity at home and abroad.

Protests are needed now to demand that Congress immediately rescind the \$100 million in aid it voted for the contras last summer and to demand an end to the U.S. aggression. The revelations increase the urgency of antiwar forces uniting to organize broad protests against the war.

It 'works in mysterious ways, its wonders to perform'

BY DOUG JENNESS

According to a recent report by two sociologists, many direct-sales companies in the United States are increasingly drawing on religion to promote their products.

Such companies as Amway, Herbalife, Mary Kay Cosmetics, and Fuller Brush, they reported, are using religious metaphors and explicit spiritual references to "sell

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

hope as much as soap, motivating their grass-roots sales forces to labor not merely for remuneration of commissions but also out of a conviction that theirs is a sanctifying, empowering activity."

This conclusion by Anson Shupe of the University of Texas and David Bromley of Virginia Commonwealth University was presented to a joint meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion and the Religious Research Association.

Amway, the nation's second-largest direct-sales company, according to the two researchers, is the "quintessential quasi-religious" corporation.

"Its many rallies and seminars are heavily laced with flag-waving, unabashed patriotism, prayers, and references to the Almighty. But . . . the real object of celebration is the corporate entity itself. America and God are simply associated symbols," Shupe and Bromley said.

"Amway is the 'moral community' in the classic mode," they stated, "and its sales ideology elevates the entire corporate structure to a sacred status, lending it all the dread, awe, and reverence typically reserved for totem objects in less technologically developed tribes."

Bromley and Shupe said that Mary Kay Ash's line of skin-care products provides its salespeople an opportunity to follow the Golden Rule — "do unto others as you would have them do unto you" — and thus add spirituality to their sales by serving others.

In all of this, of course, the employers hope to convince their salespeople to accept spiritual reward in lieu of more pay.

But something else is also involved. Religion and the exchange of products in today's society are indeed suitable partners for marriage.

The products of human labor, when exchanged on the market, have a certain mystical appearance attached to them. And the attribution of special powers to commodities has a religious quality about it. In fact, these characteristics of commodity exchange are undoubtedly more powerful and pervasive than official religion today. Some Christian preachers who complain that commercialism has taken the "Christ" out of Christmas will testify to this.

Let's take the example of a car. Much about it is not mysterious at all. It is made by human labor out of materials that can be seen and touched, and it serves a useful function as a mode of transportation. But in our society cars also are attributed with other qualities. They become measures of social status, or they are sleek and feminine or rugged and masculine.

This attaching of all sorts of powers and values to commodities occurs because the source of the real value of commodities is hidden.

A scientific investigation shows that when two products have an equivalent value, it is because they have the same amount of labor time embodied in them. But in the world of buying and selling this is not apparent.

When a worker goes to the store, for example, he or she doesn't start comparing their share of labor time in society's total labor to what other producers have contributed. Moreover, the products in the store don't have a label describing the amount of labor time in them.

In the exchange of commodities the labor of individual producers, as an element of the total labor of society, does not appear as a direct social relation between the producers, but rather as a relation between things.

Karl Marx, in attempting to find an analogy to explain this, compared it to "the misty realm of religion." There, he said, the gods and other supernatural beings that are "the products of the human brain appear as autonomous figures endowed with a life of their own, which enter into relations both with each other and the human race. So it is in the world of commodities with the products of men's hands."

One of the consequences is that we begin to judge each other in relation to things. Our worth, social status, sexual prowess, beauty, friendship, etc. are judged by things that we use or own.

Amway and the other employers referred to earlier are simply extending this fetishism to religious gratification, endowing their products with spiritual powers.

Expanding our audience of readers

In September, we set out to gain 10,000 new readers for the *Militant* and the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*. As the scoreboard on page 4 shows, we surpassed that goal, winning 11,001 readers.

That impressive result opens the way for a significant increase in the number of our long-term subscribers.

It also underlines the importance of seeing to it that our regular weekly sales of the *Militant* are expanded beyond what they were before the circulation campaign. The results obtained show that there are a significant number of potential new readers out there, and we have the responsibility to see to it that we reach a maximum number of them.

That applies in all arenas — regular weekly plant-gate sales, sales to coworkers, community and campus literature tables, and sales at political meetings and demonstrations and rallies.

During the fall subscription drive, *Militant* supporters in many areas organized some regular sales at plant gates, mine portals, and other work sites. The results showed that through persistence and systematic organization, a small group of regular readers can be established in many workplaces.

These sales should be continued and expanded in the next months. We will continue publishing our weekly plant-gate column to highlight experiences in this effort.

Moreover, within the framework of organizing regular weekly sales, a well-organized drive to obtain a maximum number of renewals of the introductory subscriptions to the *Militant* is needed. Many of these subscriptions are already beginning to expire.

Our business office is already doing an effective direct-mail campaign to obtain subscription renewals. Every reader receives a series of six notices, which are included in their copy of the paper, beginning with their sixth-to-last issue. Each notice is a different color — blue, buff, green, orange, pink, and yellow — and the

last three count down the number of issues left.

A top priority should be to obtain renewals from new shopmate readers. During the subscription campaign, *Militant* supporters in key industries significantly expanded the number of coworkers subscribing to our press. Certainly, we want to ensure that a maximum number of them continue to subscribe.

This is also true for subscriptions sold to co-activists in the fight to halt U.S. intervention in Central America and in the anti-apartheid movement.

Many readers who subscribed at community and campus sales also can be reached directly.

One way this can be done was shown in Chicago, where phone calls were organized to solicit subscriptions. Where the answer was yes, someone was dispatched to visit the person and pick up the subscription directly.

That's not only insurance that the subscription will actually be received. It's also a fine opportunity to talk to people, offer them a sampling of other socialist literature, and invite them to the Pathfinder Bookstore, the *Militant* Forum, or a local educational conference. In sum, it's more than a circulation effort; it can be an interesting and inspiring political experience.

Militant readers are being invited to a dozen socialist regional educational conferences in December. As supporters contact new readers about these gatherings, it will afford an opportunity to suggest they get an extension to their subscriptions. Moreover, the conferences themselves will offer an occasion for readers to sign up for another six months or a year of the *Militant*.

From an initial batch of about 1,500 readers whose subscriptions were about to lapse, we have already received about 150 renewal returns. And we can be certain that if this work is backed up by serious subscription renewal work around the country, the numbers will go a lot higher.

Blaming foreign imports doesn't target real enemy

BY ANDREW PULLEY

Auto union President Owen Bieber angrily reacted to General Motors' announcement that it would close 11 plants, throwing 29,000 out of work, including more than 17,000 in Michigan.

Estimates are that an additional 87,000 Michigan jobs may be lost as the plant closings affect other factories that produce parts and materials for GM.

Denouncing Japan, Bieber declared, "We need to say

UNION TALK

first to Japan, you will renew the voluntary restraints absolutely." He was referring to the 1.68 million cars Washington allowed Japan to import into the United States in 1981. Imports from that country now stand at 2.3 million cars a year.

The United Auto Workers union (UAW) top official challenged "everyone, including General Motors, to get on board and say it's time for policies to keep good jobs in America."

Appealing to Congress, Bieber said, "Stop fooling around, stop talking endlessly, just pass legislation that

mandates systematic reductions in surpluses that other nations routinely run with us."

If I didn't know otherwise, I would have thought Bieber was a spokesman for GM's stockholders and not president of my union.

Bieber couldn't even form his lips to denounce GM's action, much less lay out a badly needed strategy to fight the largest automakers' profit drive.

Instead, he asked GM "to take into consideration that the company's concerns apply to both hourly and salaried employees" as it tries to "smooth the way [for a layoff]."

GM, the world's largest corporation, has a bigger yearly operating budget than most countries in the world. GM has no "concern" for working people anywhere. Moreover, GM received millions of dollars in extra tax breaks from state and local governments in recent years at the same time that it was reaping in millions from concessions forced on auto workers.

Instead of whipping up the type of chauvinism that led to the beating death of Vincent Chin by a Chrysler Corp. foreman in 1982, we should concentrate on fighting the auto companies and the government.

We should struggle against mandatory overtime in the auto plants. We should fight to get the workweek reduced to 30 hours with no reduction in take-home pay. In addition to allowing auto workers to hold onto their jobs, the

shorter workweek would give jobs to millions of unemployed.

The UAW, like the rest of the unions, needs to be transformed. We need leaders who do not confuse the interests of working people with those of the company, nor blame workers in other countries for the problems caused by U.S. billionaires.

The real aim of Bieber's anti-Japanese venom is to divert our fight from the real culprits who are taking our jobs and wrecking our lives.

The thought of fighting the companies and the government is as foreign to the officials of most unions as the earth is to the moon.

If Bieber got his wish and massive import quotas were put in place, the price of an automobile would in all likelihood rise substantially, affecting millions who need cars. Purchasing would slow down as the result of high prices, and millions of auto workers, steelworkers, electrical workers, and others would be tossed into joblessness and poverty.

Instead of this dead-end approach, we need to fight for a social program that advances the interests of all working people.

Andrew Pulley is a member of UAW Local 5960 at the General Motors Lake Orion plant.

LETTERS

12-hour day

Workers at the Koch oil refinery in Minnesota recently won an important victory when we prevented the company from imposing a 12-hour workday on operators.

Koch's original plan was to impose 12-hour shifts in the coker and platformer units. (See October 24 *Militant*.) Faced with growing rebellion in the ranks, they proposed a "trial period" instead, and let the plant become rife with rumors as to what this would entail.

As workers tried to figure the whole thing out, a serious discussion began to take place throughout the refinery. A series of special union meetings for operators was held to talk over the issue.

Opponents of the 12-hour day took the offensive. They explained that the company's claims amounted to fraud and that Koch's aim was to get more out of us, not improve conditions. The 12-hour shift would mean that our working conditions and health would worsen, that we would be more tired and disoriented and more likely to make potentially dangerous mistakes on the job.

Others pointed out that the 12-hour shift would deepen divisions in the union between operators and maintenance workers and hit the youngest workers, the "relief operators," hardest. They would be forced onto bizarre combinations of eights and twelves, days and nights each week. Few people bought the company's line that the trial period would be easily ended once it was set up.

The company then tried a questionnaire. Less than a third of the workers who filled it out supported the 12-hour shift. Others refused to answer on the grounds that the whole thing was a fake. A scheduled vote on the trial period was shelved. Union officers who had promoted the 12-hour day were defeated in recent elections.

Our local, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 6-662, has emerged in a better position to defend ourselves and fight for safer working conditions out of this whole experience.

Jim Altenberg
St. Paul, Minnesota

A smear

By now I'm sure Socialist Workers Party members have read Scott Malcomson's piece in the October 21 *Village Voice*, which is supposedly about the SWP court victory in the government's decades-long campaign of spying and disruption. But in case you haven't, I think it's important to dissect this truly wretched piece of

reporting.

It is supposedly based on interviews with Young Socialist Alliance National Secretary Jackie Floyd and John Studer, head of the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Of 2,400 words, his account of what Studer and Floyd had to say about the ruling against the government amounts to only 140 words. Another 80 are spent on the facts of the case. Malcomson's assessment of the political significance of the SWP's victory takes up one sentence: "This decision is an important milestone in constitutional law and worth being proud of."

Now, you may think this is nit-picking. But Malcomson spends less than 10 percent of an article about the decision on the case itself. That leaves a lot for him to fill up.

What does he fill it up with? Personal attacks on John Studer, for one thing. ("Studer certainly doesn't make one feel at ease.") A description of the building that houses the SWP headquarters. ("It's unmarked and from a short distance looks abandoned. . . . On my two visits to headquarters the shades were always drawn.") A description of how Polisario Front freedom fighters wouldn't discuss the intimate details of their home lives with him. Another 80 words are spent telling us that "leftists" at the *Village Voice* consider SWP members "a hateful bunch" and "snakes in the grass."

In fact, the whole article is a smear. Its theme is contained in the sentence: "Why should a revolutionary party be glad a judge found it represented no threat to the state?" What kind of question is that on which to base an article about "an important milestone in constitutional law?" It is exactly the kind of question you ask if you want to smear the SWP and all revolutionary movements.

J.W.
Indianapolis, Indiana

'Corporate raiders'

I think it would be very useful for the *Militant* to run an article that would precisely and popularly examine the question of "corporate raiders."

Is this a relatively new phenomenon? Is there a difference between a Carl Icahn or a T. Boone Pickens and the capitalists who already own the corporations that these raiders are after? How do corporate raiders fit into the overall picture of capitalist economics?

The reason clarity and precision are necessary is that in every major case of an imminent corpo-

rate takeover, the affected union leaderships have endorsed concessions in one form or another as they cast the union's lot in with one capitalist or the other.

For example, the United Rubber Workers (URW) in Akron, Ohio, have lined up behind Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co. in that company's battle against a British raider, Sir James Goldsmith. In addition to launching a country-wide campaign to collect signatures in support of Goodyear, the URW leadership is planning a demonstration in Washington, D.C., followed by congressional lobbying to seek governmental action to protect Goodyear. The union is also buying Goodyear stock to show its support.

At a meeting of presidents of 36 URW locals, Goodyear Chairman Robert Mercer thanked the union for its support. Just four days earlier, Mercer wrote in a letter to the company's 130,000 employees, "There is no question but that we must generate personnel reductions" to fight the takeover.

By favoring either the corporate raiders or "our capitalists," instead of waging a political fight against all capitalists and their economic system, the unions leave themselves open to being "restructured" to death.

Bill Kalman
Cleveland, Ohio

Fresh air

Many thanks for your free prisoners' subscription to the *Militant*. It's a breath of fresh air in this informational wasteland.

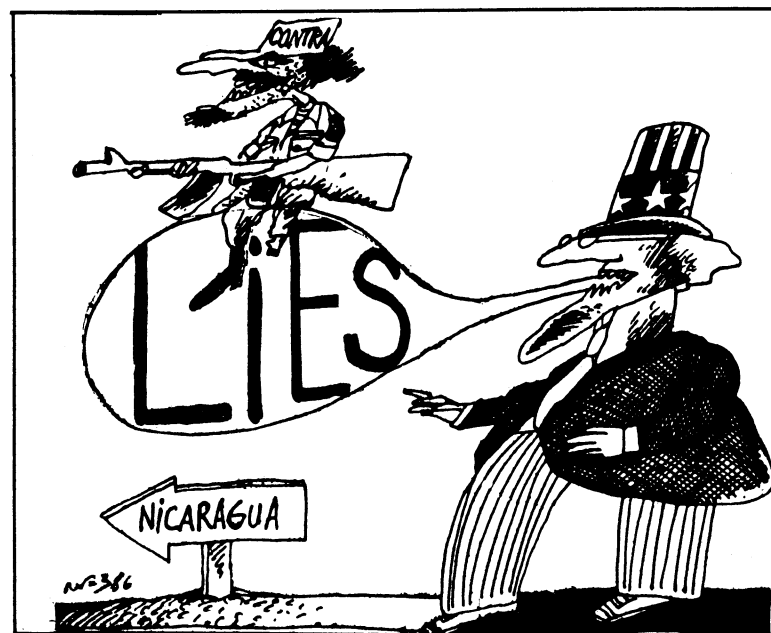
I especially appreciated your South Africa apartheid coverage. The *Militant* is one of the few places we can count on reading the bitter truth — that U.S. corporations can get around government sanctions against doing business there by simply moving their operations out of South Africa so they can continue to sell their products to prop up apartheid.

Consumer boycotts of products of those companies — Shell, IBM, Del Monte, etc. — is the most powerful pressure we have to isolate apartheid worldwide. Boycotts helped end segregation in the U.S. South. Why can't they help end segregation in South Africa?

A prisoner
Frontera, California

Nicaraguan teacher

Nicaraguan teacher Estela Rocha toured the Detroit area November 12-15, bringing her message to unionists, students, and community groups: "organize and fight against the U.S. govern-



ment's false policies in Central America."

Highlights of the tour included a labor breakfast hosted by Detroit AFL-CIO President Tom Turner, meetings at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor and at Renaissance High School here, and a rally at Detroit's Hartford Memorial Baptist Church.

Rocha described her experiences leading 700 high school age *brigadistas* in the 1980 literacy crusade. She noted with pride that virtually the entire local leadership in her home city of Estelí — from city councillors to farm co-op directors — are recent graduates of the adult education classes that followed the literacy campaign.

She compared the current situation in the United States to Nicaragua under Somoza, when health care and education were still operated "as a business," when illiteracy still flourished, and when the government still evicted farmers from their land instead of distributing land for free.

At the labor breakfast, attended by several dozen antiwar labor activists, Tom Turner stated that "as far as I'm concerned, we should get the hell out of Central America."

Ed Goldman
Detroit, Michigan

Right to abortion

More than 200 people held a vigil, march, and rally in Kansas City to defend women's right to safe, legal abortion and to protest the terrorist activities of antiabortion forces here.

In the last six months, clinics in the Midwest have been targets of terror attacks. In St. Louis, the Reproductive Health Services Clinic was hit by arsonists, and in Wichita, Kansas, the Women's

Health Services Clinic was bombed. Planned Parenthood in Kansas City has been the target of vandals who put glue in the locks, threw blood and foul-smelling substances on the premises, and invaded the clinic twice during business hours. The clinic has also received bomb threats.

A coalition of 22 women's rights, civil rights, union, and religious organizations endorsed the event. The march was publicized throughout Kansas and Missouri, and a delegation of 15 people came from Wichita.

A group of 30 antiabortion demonstrators tried to disrupt the activities, physically intimidating individual marchers and attempting to disrupt speakers during the rally, which was held in Community Christian Church. One prochoice demonstrator was charged with assault after a pregnant antiabortion demonstrator staged a fall, charging she had been tripped.

Karen Carlson, executive director of Planned Parenthood in Kansas City, urged participants to oppose the recently passed Missouri law that would bar state funds for any hospital or clinic that performs or even counsels on abortion. The American Civil Liberties Union and Planned Parenthood have filed a suit challenging the law. A temporary injunction is in effect, and a hearing on the suit is scheduled for December in Kansas City.

Marcia Gallo
Kansas 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.

Nicaragua's Ramírez on U.S. tour

Vice-president condemns 'contra' war against his country



Sergio Ramírez

Militant/Ruth Nebbia

BY JON HILLSON

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — A cheering, chanting crowd of 1,200 jammed into Kresge Auditorium at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology November 23 to hear Nicaraguan Vice-president Sergio Ramírez.

He was introduced by Nobel Prize winner and MIT professor Salvador Luria as a representative of "the free and victorious people of Nicaragua, symbol of victorious democracy, a voice for peace."

Ramírez spoke to nearly 2,500 people in a 72-hour period in the Boston area.

[Earlier he spoke in Lawrence, Kansas; Madison, Wisconsin; Atlanta, and elsewhere. A New York meeting was also slated. At the University of Kansas, more than 500 students jammed an auditorium. In Madison 1,500 people, mostly students, filled two church meetings to overflow.

[In Atlanta he participated in the Reinforcing Democracy in the Americas conference and was a guest at a breakfast meeting of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.]

Ramírez' MIT meeting was highlighted by an hour-long question and discussion period, including a provocative intervention by a contingent of College Republicans. The right-wingers chanted, "PLO, KGB, out of Nicaragua!" The big majority responded with shouts of "USA, CIA, hands off Nicaragua!" and "No pasaran! (They shall not pass!)," the Sandinista battle cry against the U.S.-backed mercenaries, the *contras*.

Ramírez painted a stark picture of the

suffering endured by the Nicaraguan people. The tens of thousands of Nicaraguans killed, wounded, and kidnapped would, he said, "be equal to some 2.8 million victims in the United States."

The pain, economic dislocation, and dangers imposed by the U.S.-inspired aggression, the Nicaraguan leader said, "will worsen."

This "very critical situation" is based on the "open, direct involvement of federal agencies of the U.S. government," signaled by congressional approval of aid to the *contras*.

Ramírez said his government expects "speedboat attacks on our ports, sabotage of oil pipelines, assassination attempts on the leaders of the revolution."

But, he emphasized, "amidst this bloodshed, we are building our democracy."

Ramírez' answers to the questions posed by the band of pro-*contra* students reduced them to making personal insults.

"If you don't believe what I say," Ramírez told the right-wing youths, "I invite all of you here tonight to come to my country and see for yourself."

The crowd burst into cheers.

There were two other ovations during the evening.

Rally chairperson Charley Welsh welcomed "a special guest," Jim Guyette, suspended president of the trusted United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 of the Austin, Minnesota, Hormel meat-packers. Guyette had spoken earlier in the

day to 300 trade unionists at a rally for the Hormel workers. Unionists from the Hormel rally also came to the Ramírez meeting.

As Guyette rose to acknowledge the introduction, the applause grew. Many stood, and chants of "P-9" rang out.

Guyette; Ottumwa, Iowa, meat-packers' leader Bill Cook; New Bedford, Massachusetts, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers leader Alda Melo; and Boston P-9 solidarity committee leader Bryan Lange chatted with Ramírez and Nicaraguan embassy counselor Francisco Campbell and others at a reception following the vice-president's speech.

Another high point of the evening was the presentation to Ramírez of a petition signed by 51 workers at Malden Mills, a Lawrence, Massachusetts, textile plant organized by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Among those signing was Local 311 President Bill Angelone and two union executive board members.

As a Latino textile worker read the petition in Spanish the crowd began rising to applaud. The petition denounced U.S. aid to the *contras* and called for "policies of peace that respect the right of Nicaragua to decide its own future." The unionist presented Ramírez with an ILGWU T-shirt.

The previous evening, Ramírez spoke to a standing-room-only audience of 700 at a Nicaragua solidarity festival in Boston.

On November 24, Ramírez addressed hundreds more at Harvard University. His tour was organized here by the Central America Solidarity Association.

D.C. actions mark end of Great Peace March

BY JERRY FREIWIRTH

WASHINGTON, D.C. — More than 7,000 people — mostly high school and college students — converged on the nation's capital November 15 to mark the conclusion of the Great Peace March. They came from all over the country to join 700 activists who spent the last nine months marching from coast to coast for "Worldwide Nuclear Disarmament."

Before reaching Washington, the Great Peace March participants had formed the lead contingent in the October 25 march for Peace, Jobs and Justice of 2,000 in New York City. This demonstration was one of more than a dozen held across the country that weekend and on the November 1 weekend to protest U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, demand nuclear disarmament, oppose the apartheid regime in South Africa, and demand that funds from the arms budget be used to meet social needs at home.

During the last day of their marathon

march, the cross-country marchers staged three rallies, including one at the White House and one at the Lincoln Memorial.

Speakers at the three rallies primarily spoke about the need for nuclear disarmament and peace. Many were prominent Democratic Party politicians.

The thousands of young marchers turned out for varied reasons. All favored nuclear disarmament. But in discussions with this reporter, it was clear that Washington's intervention in Central America was on the minds of many.

One young college student from central Pennsylvania summed up the thoughts of many protesters when he said, "I came because I'm against war, and it looks like that's what Reagan's getting us into. And I wanted to march against it."

(Another indication of the mood of the participants at the last day of the Great Peace March was their enthusiastic response to antiwar and socialist literature available during the day's rallies.

(Tables set up by the Young Socialist Alliance were almost constantly surrounded by a crowd of young people. More than \$300 worth of literature and nearly 50 subscriptions and 200 single issues of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold.)

This increased willingness and desire to march against U.S. war policies abroad was reflected in both the turnout for the Great Peace March rallies in Washington and at the meetings organized to hear Nicaraguan Vice-president Sergio Ramírez in Boston.

This sentiment is fueling the spreading interest in projections for national actions in Washington and on the West Coast on April 24-25. The march, scheduled to mobilize opposition to U.S. policy in Central America and South Africa, has been endorsed at a series of recent national and regional conferences, including meetings of the Mobilization for Survival, the Com-

mittee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), and the Nicaragua Network.

In a November 4 letter to state coordinators, Steven Slade, national coordinator of the Pledge of Resistance, alerts them to the need to begin preparations for maximum participation in the national action.

Slade explains that the march is needed to protest the increasingly direct involvement of the United States in efforts to "eliminate the Sandinistas from the government of Nicaragua."

"A mass mobilization which includes a powerful presence from the church and labor communities," Slade writes, "will send a message to the Administration: that

the U.S. public will not tolerate such an escalation."

To help get local chapters thinking big about the march, Slade reports, "New England Pledge organizers are talking, for example, of chartering a Peace Train. Let me know by phone or letter — of any ideas you have."

At its meeting on November 19 in Washington, the National Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice, the umbrella group that coordinated the antiwar protests this fall, voted to add its voice in wholehearted support of the April 24-25 actions. It decided to look toward joining in with the broader formations that will be put together to mobilize for the actions in Washington and on the West Coast.

Nora Astorga speaks at N.Y. rally

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

NEW YORK — "When I see all of you I know we are not alone," Nicaragua's ambassador to the United Nations told a gathering of more than 200 people at New York University on November 20.

Ambassador Nora Astorga was the featured speaker at a reception organized by Casa Nicaragua to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the death of FSLN founder Carlos Fonseca.

"No words can describe what Carlos Fonseca meant to all of us," Astorga told the meeting. "He gave us perspective."

Twenty-five years ago, when Fonseca and a small group of others founded the FSLN, "a dream was born," said Astorga. A dream that all Nicaraguans could have shelter, health, education, and a meaningful life.

When she joined the FSLN in 1969, Astorga related, that dream seemed very far away. And yet, less than 10 years later, the

FSLN led a victorious popular revolution that overthrew Anastasio Somoza's dictatorship.

"Today we are facing a war of aggression," Astorga continued. This war is not only the military battle against the Washington-financed and directed counterrevolutionaries (*contras*), Astorga affirmed, but also a political and economic war waged by the U.S. government against Nicaragua.

"We are poor," said Astorga, "very poor. And we are very little compared to the United States. But so what," she proclaimed. "We have rights."

"We will fight to the final outcome to preserve what we've won," she insisted. "We don't want Nicaraguans to die, and we don't want U.S. citizens to die." If Nicaragua works hard enough and if those in the U.S. opposed to Washington's intervention work hard enough, she said, "it has to be possible" to end the war against Nicaragua.

Demonstrators hit nuclear testing

Several hundred anti-nuclear-weapons demonstrators turned out November 17 for two separate protests, at a nuclear test site in Nevada and outside the Energy Department headquarters in Washington, D.C.

In Washington, protesters tried to block the entrance to the Energy Department building, while balloons emblazoned with "Stop testing now" floated above them; 139 were arrested.

At the Nevada site — where most of the U.S. nuclear tests are conducted — about 200 sought to stop buses carrying employees inside, according to American Peace Test, the group that sponsored the action. Police arrested 65 demonstrators, among them actor Martin Sheen.