THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

Scramble to cover up 'contra' arms affair Meat-packers raise funds for kids' Xmas . . . 5 What's at issue in Meese pornography report. 7

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Bombing raids on Nicaragua: escalation of U.S.-run war



U.S. helicopter over airstrip being built in Honduras. Militarization of Honduras is key piece in Washington's aggression against Nicaragua.

Emergency antiwar actions called

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The bombing of two Nicaraguan towns by Honduran combat planes has added new urgency to emergency antiwar protests that had already been planned in the wake of revelations about secret U.S. government funding of the contras.

In some places where demonstrations weren't being organized, the air attack on Nicaragua prompted activists to pull something together.

The Pledge of Resistance is organizing protests on Saturday, December 13, against U.S. financing and training of the contra terrorists. Fort Walton Beach, Florida, home of Hurlburt Field, where the CIA is training 70 Nicaraguan mercenaries, is the national focus for the ac-

Antiwar activists from Miami will be going up to Fort Walton Beach, which is in the Florida panhandle.

In Miami there will be a local protest on December 13 as well, called by the South Florida Peace Coalition. The Latin American and Caribbean Solidarity Association (LACASA) is having a demonstration in Miami on December 20. Both will be held at the headquarters of Southern Air Transport, the CIA front that employed Eugene Hasenfus, the only survivor of the CIA plane shot down over Nicaragua in Oc-

On December 8 Patrick Buchanan, President Ronald Reagan's communications director, spoke at a prowar rally in Miami. Most of those in attendance were older Cuban-Americans.

At an antiwar press conference the same day, LACASA announced the upcoming antiwar actions. Speakers included LA-CASA Director Jack Lieberman, Manning Salazar of the Progressive Student Union at Florida International University, and Bill Loomis of the Unitarian church. They condemned the bombing of Nicaragua.

New Orleans opponents of the U.S.-run war against Nicaragua plan to take a car caravan to Fort Walton Beach. Students from Baton Rouge are also planning to at-

Ray Hudson, the mayor of Bluefields, the main city on Nicaragua's southern Atlantic Coast, is touring Atlanta. He is speaking at a public meeting on December 13 along with Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Confer-

In New York the Pledge of Resistance, Nicaragua Network, and others are organizing a march and rally on Wednesday, December 17, at 4:30 p.m. Participants will gather at Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza at the United Nations. The march will end up at the army recruiting station in Times Square.

In New Paltz, New York, the December 13 demonstration begins at the army recruiting center and then marches to the post office for a rally.

In Boston there was a march on December 11 from the Boston Common to the CIA headquarters.

The Washington Area Coalition to Stop

Continued on Page 4

Massive student mobilizations force French gov't to retreat

BY ERNEST HARSCH

"Out, out, out, the students are in the streets!" has been a common refrain heard in Paris and many other French cities over the past several weeks.

Confronted by hundreds of thousands of mobilized students, the government of Jacques Chirac on December 8 dropped the controversial university reform bill that had provoked the upsurge. But police brutality and other unpopular government measures have continued to fuel student ac-

Not since 1968, when a massive student and worker revolt exploded in the country, has France experienced such extensive student protests. Since mid-November there has not been a day without a sizable demonstration or sit-in by university and highschool students or a strike action by teachers. This movement has been truly

- November 23: Some 300,000 students and their supporters march through Paris, led by the major teacher and student organizations.
- November 27: A half million demonstrators take to the streets of 50 cities. The Paris march ends in a mass sit-in outside

the National Assembly, where the education bill is to be debated.

- December 4: Between half a million and a million students, teachers, and trade unionists march through Paris, demanding the withdrawal of the education bill and the resignation of the minister for higher education, Alain Devaquet (who does resign two days later). The column of marchers stretches for more than five miles. The same day, an estimated 300,000 more fill the streets of many provincial cities.
- December 8: Some of the major trade unions hold a one-hour work stoppage and 30,000 students march in Paris to protest the police killing two days earlier of Malik Oussekine, a 22-year-old student of Algerian origin. The government drops its bill.
- December 10: Several hundred thousand march in Paris yet again to protest Oussekine's murder, including workers who walked off their jobs in solidarity with

The bill that Chirac's right-wing government had attempted to push through would have doubled or tripled tuition at France's 72 large state-run universities.

It would also have made entrance re-**Continued on Page 11**

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Five combat planes dispatched from U.S. bases in Honduras bombed northern Nicaragua December 7. The criminal attack left seven Nicaraguans dead and 14 wounded.

The most serious escalation to date of the U.S.-organized aggression against Nicaragua, the bombing raids were accompanied by U.S. troops ferrying Honduran soldiers to the Nicaraguan border.

Gen. John Gavin, head of the U.S. Southern Command base in Panama, flew to Honduras to personally supervise the op-

On December 10, Honduran President José Azcona threatened Nicaragua with further bombing attacks and said that he "would not hesitate" to call for direct U.S. military support.

In a speech the same day, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega identified the planes used in the December 7 attacks as "A-37 aircraft flying from a U.S. base in Honduran territory." He also reported that Azcona has threatened to bomb artillery emplacements in Nicaragua.

Background to attack

The bombing followed several weeks of U.S. government attempts to provoke an incident in the Nicaraguan-Honduran border area that could be blamed on the Sandinistas and used to step up the military attack against them.

In late November some 1,500 CIA-organized mercenaries based in southern Honduras made a push to penetrate Nicaraguan territory. As the Sandinistas began repelling them and inflicting heavy losses, Honduran troops and the 116th Battalion of the Florida National Guard began "exercises" close to the scene of the battle. The National Guard supplied the beleaguered contras with 81- and 85-millimeter artil-

On December 4 Ortega announced that the mercenaries had been smashed and were retreating back to Honduras

On December 5 Honduran President Azcona suddenly claimed that his country was being "invaded" by Nicaraguan troops. A carefully orchestrated campaign of radio broadcasts told the Honduran working people that Honduran troops had been attacked by the Sandinistas in the Boca El Español and Las Mieles region. Some stations called for a declaration of war against Nicaragua, or at least breaking diplomatic

Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto immediately responded to this new provocation, explaining that there was "no proof to the charges."

D'Escoto proposed immediate Honduran-Nicaraguan talks. He also proposed that the two nations invite the United Nations, the Latin American governments that are part of the Contadora Group, and the Organization of American States to send a commission to the border.

The same day, U.S. troops in Honduras began ferrying Honduran soldiers in helicopters from the U.S. base in Palmerola to the Las Trojes area near Nicaragua's border.

On December 7 the Hondurans said that their planes had bombed Sandinista "invaders" in Honduran territory.

But on the same day, three planes from Honduras swooped into Nicaragua and dropped bombs on Sandinista People's Army positions in the Congojas Valley located 5.6 miles from the border, near the town of Murra. Seven soldiers were killed and nine wounded.

Shortly afterwards, two other planes from Honduras bombed the Nicaraguan

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Pineapple, cane workers in Hawaii like 'Militant'

BY SANDRA LEE

HONOLULU, Hawaii — Driving from the airport after our *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* sales team arrived here in early November, we first stopped at an informational picket line of the In-

of militant struggle.

As we were selling to workers leaving the mill, we were invited to attend the union meeting being held on the lawn. Mike Downs, a member of ILWU Local 13 in Los Angeles, spoke about the team's

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

land Boatmen's Union. When we told them we were there to distribute the *Militant* and *PM* and report on labor struggles, two pickets bought subscriptions and single copies to the *Militant*, as well as copies of the Pathfinder Press pamphlet *The 1985–86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota*, by Fred Halstead.

This response was typical among working people and students we met as we traveled across Hawaii for more than two weeks distributing the socialist publications. During our stay we sold 113 subscriptions to the *Militant* and 3 to *PM*, and several hundred dollars worth of Pathfinder Press literature.

We visited two sugar mills and surrounding communities where most of the plantation workers live. Sugar plantation workers include those working in the mills and those in the canefields. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) organizes these 6,000-7,000 workers who have a long history

efforts and described his local's support for the Austin meat-packers' fight.

After the meeting several unionists stayed around to discuss politics and bought seven *Militant* subscriptions and the pamphlet on the meat-packers' struggle.

One man who bought a *Militant* subscription told me, "At first we might not think this [Hormel] strike has to do with us, but our contract is coming up soon and we might have to go through what they're going through. We should support them. It could be us next."

On another afternoon we waited at a parking lot that is the drop-off area for returning pineapple fieldworkers. As the company trucks carried a couple hundred workers to their cars, we looked forward to the sale.

The workers were hot and tired after working in 80 degree heat all day. But it was payday, so they were anxious to drive off to the office to pick up their checks.

We followed them to a local store where they cashed their

checks and had several good discussions, selling a few single copies of the paper. Most of these workers are Filipinos. We found few were able to read English.

There's a giant plastic pineapple just outside Honolulu between the airport and the city. This is a symbol of the domination of the Dole family in agriculture here. You can smell the sweet pineapples as you drive down the industrial road toward Honolulu.

In talking to workers at the plant gate of the Dole pineapple packinghouse, we found out when the next day's morning shift began. They told us that many workers arrive early to eat breakfast in the cafeteria and hang out.

The next morning, an hour before work began, our sales team was there. We went to one lot and talked to workers as they parked their cars and put on work boots. We got a good response and one worker urged us to go to a bigger lot around the corner of the building.

So we divided the team between the two lots.

Several of the workers also invited us to breakfast in the company's cafeteria. "Just walk up the ramp and come into the cafeteria. There's lots more of us to talk to in there," we were told.

In general when we took the time to have a discussion with workers at their workplaces, and they had time to talk, we sold many more papers. We sold five subscriptions to workers at plantgate sales as well as many single

THIS BOUT, THE CHELLE DEFELICE STRONGS OF WACES, HOURS WORKING CONDITIONS
BUTTING LOCAL RESIDENTS
OUT OF WORK

Militant/Sandra Lee

Team member (right) discusses *Militant* with pickets from Inland Boatmen's Union in Hawaii.

copies and Hormel meat-packer strike pamphlets.

We also visited several picket locations of Kaiser-Permanente health-care workers on strike. We sold a number of subscriptions and single copies.

A woman told me at one of

these picket lines, "Before when I used to hear that someone was on strike, sure, I was sympathetic. But now, after what we've been through with Kaiser, next time I hear the word 'strike,' I'll know what to do: get active and start organizing and finding solidarity."

'I do need the 'Militant.' Would miss it greatly'

BY JIM WHITE

The best part of getting subscription renewals is opening the mail, and the best part of opening the mail is finding out what readers think of the *Militant*.

One day, 18 renewals came in. A reader from Topanga, California, who first subscribed in September, renewed for a year, ordered a copy of *New International*, gave an introductory sub as a gift to a friend, and wrote this note:

"We love your newspaper. I especially like articles showing the common interests of all oppressed peoples: prisoners, Third World people, homeless people — all have a stake in working together to change the system. I like Harry Ring's column and cartoons. Humor greases the wheels of the coming revolution."

Another new reader renewed for three months and sent a \$4.00 contribution "for the Nicaragua staff." She also offered a bit of advice on the back of her coupon: "Please save paper costs and only send a

couple of renewal notices next time."

As her renewal came in after the fourth letter from our office, it's easy to see why she is concerned. We're sending out six letters urging introductory readers to resubscribe because it's too easy to misplace a letter or get it when other bills are due, and we do not want to lose any new readers to chance or bad timing.

Stuffing the letters into each paper is also quite an operation. This week, we put notices in more than 4,500 papers, making sure each one got the proper colored leaflet indicating the number of weeks remaining in the subscription. It took a dozen volunteers a little more than 45 minutes to get it done.

At first the responses to the renewal notices came in a few at a time. For a while, the rate seemed to settle at about five a day. Now, it's beginning to pick up. In the first week of December, we received 63 renewals, which was up from 52 the week before.

There is no trend yet for which color notice is the most popular, but when it gets down to the final bright yellow letter with "0" weeks left at the top, the responses get more urgent. One today said, "P.S. Sorry this took so long! You're right, I do need the *Militant*. Would miss it greatly."

We also get complaints. The most common one is that the mailing label covers part of the headline and sometimes the text. We try very hard to avoid this, but we don't always succeed. For those who are particularly concerned, we will send your subscription in an envelope for \$4.00 extra a year.

Another problem relates to our subscription rates. Many readers noticed that our six-month rate was more than twice the three-month rate. We adjusted this by lowering the six-month rate from \$15.00 to \$12.00 during this renewal campaign. Everyone who has renewed for the higher

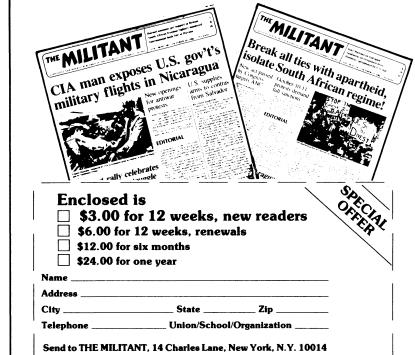
price will get six extra weeks on their sub.

Some readers' responses go beyond minor complaints to expressing broader disagreements with the paper and canceling their subscriptions. Some of their comments have appeared in the letters column.

Quite a few readers have taken advantage of the free copy of *New International* offered with a six-month or longer subscription. There were seven such requests in the December 8 mail and 18 altogether that week. Although the issue of *New International* focusing on South Africa is the most popular, all of the issues are being ordered. Ten people have bought the complete set of five issues in the last three weeks.

Over the next couple of months, we expect to mail more than 35,000 renewal notices. If you want to help us cut the number down, renew today, either by sending in your letter or by using the coupon on this page. And if you have any ideas for the paper, drop us a line.

The Militant tells the truth — Subscribe today!



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-thescene reports come from its Nicaragua Bureau.

Subscribe today.

If you already have a subscription, by renewing now for six months or a year you'll receive a free issue of New International (cover price \$5.00), a magazine of Marxist politics and theory published in New York. The current issue features the article, "The Coming Revolution in South Africa," by Jack Barnes.

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A scramble in Washington to cover up 'contra' arms affair

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Everyone in Washington, it seems, is promising to uncover the "full" truth about how the proceeds from the secret U.S. arms sales to Iran ended up being diverted to the Nicaraguan *contra* forces.

"I will . . . make all the facts known," President Reagan pledged in a December 6 radio address.

"Let it all come out in the open," proclaimed Democratic Sen. Daniel Moynihan, "with greater than deliberate speed, immediately, regardless."

But in reality officials are scrambling over each other trying to find the best way to clamp a lid on the affair.

Those in the administration who may be directly implicated in the illegal fund transfers are hiding behind denials or pointing fingers at others.

Other officials, particularly in Congress, are seeking to restore the "credibility" of the presidency. They want the furor to subside quickly, lest the growing popular disbelief and distrust of those who govern further damage the administration's ability to implement its domestic and foreign policies. "The country needs to put this behind it as soon as possible," declared Republican Sen. David Durenberger.

Of particular concern to everyone in the White House and Congress is how to rescue U.S. policy toward Nicaragua.

Washington's mercenary war against the Nicaraguan people is not just a White House project or the policy of a single party. Besides the secret aid funneled to the contras by administration officials, Congress itself has allocated \$100 million in open assistance, approved by a bipartisan majority.

'We ought to cut our losses'

But the immediate problem facing these officials is that hardly anyone believes the White House's claims. According to a November 30 poll by the *New York Times* and CBS News, 69 percent of those questioned thought that the administration was "trying to cover up all the facts about the Iranian arms deal."

Reagan's initial response only reinforced that view. He handed over main responsibility for looking into the affair to Edwin Meese, his own attorney general. He also appointed a three-man commission to investigate the functioning of the National Security Council; one of the commission's members, Brent Scowcroft, had headed the NSC during Washington's 1975–76 covert war in Angola.

To many, the cover-up nature of these inquiries was transparent. They clearly would not work.

Delegations of Republican senators, representatives, and governors met with Reagan to appeal for more vigorous steps.

"We ought to cut our losses, and do it as quickly as possible," declared Robert Dole, the out-going Senate majority leader.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard Lugar appealed to Reagan to "clean house of all the malefactors."

In particular, these congressmen, along with their Democratic Party colleagues,

called on Reagan to sack White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan and CIA Director William Casey. They also urged the appointment of a special prosecutor, along the lines of the Watergate investigation of the early 1970s.

Secret investigation

Although Reagan has been reluctant, so far, to purge any more of his administration, he did agree to the naming of a special prosecutor (now officially called an "independent counsel"). This brought a round of applause from Democratic and Republican congresspeople alike.

Once a counsel is named, the investigations are conducted in strict secrecy and may drag on for many months. Moreover, according to a report in the December 2 Washington Post, the 1978 law under which the counsel would function "is so loaded with restrictions and limitations that it could actually impede a thorough investigation."

Meanwhile, each house of Congress announced that it would set up its own special committee to look into the arms deal. In part, this is intended to head off the opening of a multitude of investigations by different, competing congressional committees, which could make it more difficult to put a cap on any new revelations.

But that may be difficult in any case. Already, reporters have ferreted out new details that contradict aspects of the official White House account.

In addition, some of those who have been made scapegoats in the affair are starting to tell their stories. Former national security adviser Robert McFarlane, for example, said in testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee December 8 that Reagan had authorized arms shipments to Iran, via Israel, in August 1985, months earlier than Reagan has admitted.

Other officials, in the meantime, are trying to salvage Washington's anti-Nicaragua policy. The same day that McFarlane



Sen. Robert Dole: wants Reagan to "cut our losses."

testified, Secretary of State George Shultz defended the provision of aid — including by "private sources" — to the Nicaraguan contras. "I applaud that," he said.

Shultz also reminded his questioners that backing for the contras "was the policy of the United States, put into place by congressional action, signed by the president after due debate."

No one on the congressional panel contradicted him.

How White House ran guns to 'contras'

BY HARRY RING

When Nicaraguan troops, shot down a U.S. plane October 5 and captured the lone survivor, Eugene Hasenfus, they triggered a chain of revelations that bared an illegal gunrunning operation organized from the White House.

Put together by national security adviser Lt. Col. Oliver North, the operation involved military and civilian officials, and supposedly retired military officers and CIA agents.

On-the-scene organizers of the operation included Cuban exiles with long records as terrorist hirelings of the CIA.

All of these reactionary forces combined to ferry thousands of tons of weapons and other supplies to the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries, the *contras*. Congressional legislation at the time specifically barred arms to the contras.

The spotlight was put on the illegal operation when the captured Hasenfus detailed what he had been doing and named his superiors. Then came the disclosure that funds from the secret sale of arms to Iran were siphoned to arm the contras.

In early 1984, anticipating the congressional cutoff of aid to the contras, the White House assigned Colonel North to put together an alternative "private" aid network.

North arranged for several former military officers and CIA spooks to do the job. The principal role was played by Richard Secord, a retired air force general and for many years a CIA operative in Vietnam and Laos.

(Secord had resigned his commission somewhat abruptly in 1983 when it appeared he would be investigated for his ties with CIA agent Edwin Wilson, now doing time for unauthorized arms sales to Libya.)

Initially, delivery of the "humanitarian" aid voted by Congress in July 1985 was used as the framework for organizing the illegal delivery of arms to the contras.

"CIA . . . We're looking for new ways to shift arms to the contras."

In charge of that deal was Richard Gadd, a retired lieutenant colonel. He was given more than \$100,000 in State Department contracts to arrange delivery of food, clothes, and other supplies necessary to keep the contras going. But he also began hiring pilots to deliver the guns supposedly banned by Congress. And he hired U.S. personnel to supervise building a secret airstrip in Costa Rica used for making weapons drops to the contras.

A more elaborate gunrunning network was then organized by Secord and his lieutenants.

When Secord left the air force in 1983, he became president of Stanford Technology Trading Group International, which sells weapons.

The company has several offices in this country and one in Geneva. The address of the Swiss branch is the same as that of a financial company used to funnel Iranian arms sales proceeds to the contras.

Stanford Technology recruited a crew of about 25 U.S. operatives to do the actual gunrunning to the contras. These included former Green Berets and pilots for Air America, an outfit long associated with the CIA. Their principal base of operation was in El Salvador. The air force of that country issued ID cards describing them as U.S. government military advisers.

The Central American payroll and various logistical problems involved in the weapons ferry were mainly handled by Robert Dutton, a retired air force colonel. Dutton is employed by Stanford Technology.

One revelation belying the fiction that the covert supply operation was a "private" enterprise was the disclosure by *Washington Post* reporters that, on orders from the U.S. embassy in San Salvador, army Col. James Steele closely monitored the entire operation and maintained regular contact with the crew members. Steele is the senior U.S. military adviser in El Salvador.

Among those retained by Secord and monitored by Colonel Steele were the three

notorious Cuban counterrevolutionaries — Luís Posada, Félix Rodríguez, and Rafael Quintero. They are veterans of the failed 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba organized by the White House under President John Kennedy.

The illegal funding for the contras was not limited to siphoning income from U.S. arms sales to Iran. It was disclosed that on the initiative of Elliott Abrams, the assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, the bite was put on the Southeast Asian country of Brunei for a donation. An oil-producing country, Brunei deposited several million dollars in a secret Swiss bank account run by Colonel North.

Officials of Saudi Arabia also helped out. Secord, North, and other former members of the National Security Council had extensive ties with Saudi businessman Adnan Khashoggi (who helped broker the Iran arms deal) and Prince Bandar bin Sultan, the Saudi ambassador in Washington.

Discussions between U.S. and Saudi officials over "private" aid to the contras began in late 1983, according to a report in the *New York Times*. "Prince Bandar, who held numerous discussions with Colonel North and General Secord during this time," the *Times* reported, "told an associate of General Secord that helping the contras was good for Saudi-American relations, something the Administration supported, and a source of future private business profits."

'Militant' Prisoner Fund

The Militant's special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who need help paying for the paper. Please send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Break-ins target groups opposed to U.S. policy in Central America

Rep. Donald Edwards from California has called on the FBI to investigate a series of recent break-ins at offices of groups opposed to U.S. policy in Central America and those providing sanctuary for Central American political refugees.

Edwards is chairman of the House subcommittee on civil and constitutional

The incident that provoked Edwards' action was the break-in at the end of November at the International Center for Development Policy in Washington, D.C. The center is headed by Robert White, a former ambassador to El Salvador. Its studies are generally critical of U.S. government policy in Central America.

Officials of the center said that politics

was the motive for the break-in. Files were ransacked, but nothing of monetary value was taken.

One missing item was a confidential document obtained by the center. This was a flight log of Southern Air Transport, the company used by the CIA to ferry arms to the Nicaraguan *contras*. A spokesperson for the center said the document proves Southern Air was shipping arms to the contras at a time when the White House was insisting this was not happening.

The Movement Support Network, one of the organizations pressing for action against the break-ins, said that in the past several years, it has received reports of 50 such incidents against groups critical of Washington's policies in Central America.

Unionists win support for rights fight

BY FRED FELDMAN

Jim Garrison and Joe Allor were recently laid off from jobs at the Chrysler plant in Fenton, Missouri. Just before the layoff hit, however, they signed up six other members of United Auto Workers Local 110 as sponsors of the Political Rights Defense Fund.

The PRDF is rallying support and raising funds for the continuing battle to uphold and extend the landmark federal court decision won August 25 in the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against the government and its police agencies.

"What we did," Allor told the *Militant*, "was talk to people we knew about what this case meant for the unions, for the working class. We talked about the importance of political rights in strike situations, and about the way the attacks on these rights increase as the rulers step up their war in Central America.

"One thing that most of the people who agreed to sign brought up was drug testing," Allor added. "They thought the proposed tests had nothing to do with combating drugs and was just another way to scare people. They thought the employers and government had no right to make anyone take a drug test to keep their job."

Allor said that "a woman we work with, who signed an endorser card, told me that she thought the issues in the case were particularly important because of the government's use of spies against the Black movement."

Talking about the issues

Wendy Bannon, a member of the United Transportation Union in New York City, described selling coworkers two copies of the court ruling by the judge in the case, Thomas Griesa.

"One was active in the Armenian community here. The other was someone who had helped organize solidarity with the Minnesota meat-packers," Bannon said. "From my experience, coworkers didn't have any trouble at all understanding the issues in the case. I just discussed the case in the light of the employers' offensive against the unions."

These are examples of the widening support that PRDF is winning among unionists, as well as farmers, antiwar activists, and others with a stake in the fight for democratic rights.

At a meeting in September of 50 PRDF sponsors from 11 unions, PRDF Executive Director John Studer had declared, "Our goal is to take this campaign to the labor movement and make it a campaign of the labor movement." The initial efforts of PRDF supporters across the country are be-

Emergency antiwar protests called

Continued from front page

the U.S. War on Nicaragua held a picket at the White House on December 11.

A December 13 demonstration at the Trident nuclear submarine base in New London, Connecticut, which had been called a while ago, will include opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America, as well as opposition to nuclear weapons.

In response to the bombing of Nicaragua, the St. Louis Pledge of Resistance, Latin America Solidarity Committee, and American Friends Service Committee called an indoor rally for noon on December 13 followed by a march to the federal building.

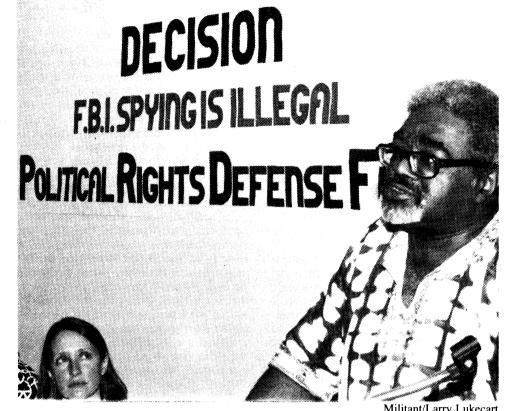
In Houston the Coalition for Peace and Justice organized a vigil for December 12.

In Chicago there will be a march on December 20 from the Illinois State Armory to the Water Tower.

Protests are planned for both San Francisco and Los Angeles on December 13.

The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), along with other groups, called a march in San Francisco. It assembles at noon at the Customs Building, where the CIA headquarters is located, and goes to Union Square for a rally at 2:00 p.m.

In Los Angeles the action is taking place at the Westwood Federal Building at 12:30 p.m.



Miami rally for Political Rights Defense Fund. Unionists are signing up brothers and sisters to defend federal court decision that dealt blow to government violations of political rights.

ginning to show that this perspective is realistic.

Don't have to be legal expert

"We found that you didn't have to be an expert on the legal details in order to discuss this case with other workers," Allor stated. "Reading the court decision provides some basic facts, and then it is a matter of talking about the political issues at stake."

Some workers also make a financial contribution to defray the massive costs of this fight.

The sentiments of a growing number of unionists were well summed up by Betty Tsang, vice-president of the Miami-area American Postal Workers Union. She wrote in the *Miami Postal Labor News*:

"The government has, for too long now, used subversive means through the actions of the FBI and CIA to harass, disrupt, and spy on all those who oppose big businesses, war, the U.S. foreign policies, and so forth. Hopefully, this ruling and similar rulings will put an end to government actions against our democratic rights."

PRDF supporters have recently signed up some prominent unionists from the New York City area as sponsors. They include: Edgar Romney, manager-secretary of Local 23-25 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Kathy Andrade, director of education, Local 23-25; Georgianna Johnson, president of hospital workers' Local 1199 of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union; and Aida Garcia, vice-president of Local 1199.

New sponsors

Joe Swanson, a veteran rail unionist and the PRDF's Midwest representative, has been touring that region talking to unionists and others about the case. He told the *Militant* that among those he signed up recently as sponsors are Russell Woodrick, an International Association of Machinists business agent from Cedar Falls, Iowa; and David Ostendorf, a leader of Prairiefire Rural Action, a farmers' organization.

Sam Walker also became a sponsor after discussing the case with Swanson. Walker is the former president of the Nebraska American Civil Liberties Union and a member of the ACLU National Board.

In addition to winning new sponsors on the job, PRDF supporters have discussed the issues in the suit with activists at national and local union gatherings, and to local political meetings and demonstrations in their areas.

At the recent national conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, United Steelworkers of America Vice-president Leon Lynch became a PRDF sponsor.

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Twenty-five other participants in the conference also signed sponsor cards.

PRDF supporters have also participated in recent conventions of the United Mine Workers of America and the International Union of Electronics Workers, and in the Labor Notes Conference.

Meat-packers back fight

The recent endorsers also include a growing number of the meat-packers who are fighting Hormel's union-busting actions. Among them are Lynn Huston and Skinny Weis, suspended members of the United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 executive board; Rod Huinker and Merle Evans, charter members of the North American Meat Packers Union; and Bob Langemeier, a Hormel worker fired for honoring a union roving picket line at the Fremont, Nebraska, plant.

Serapio Laureano Molina and Renan Soto Soto, president and vice-president of the Federation of Teachers in Puerto Rico, have also given their support to the PRDF.

Among the fighters for farmers' rights who have signed endorser cards are Bobbi Polzine, a leader of many Minnesota farm protests; Hal Hamilton and George Naylor of the board of the North American Farm Alliance; and Virginia dairy farmer Ben Layman, who is playing a leading part in

an effort to establish a dairy cooperative in Nicaragua.

The issues in the case touch directly on the most basic rights of unionists, antiwar activists, fighters for women's rights, and others.

In his August 25 decision, Federal Judge Thomas Griesa ruled that it is illegal and unconstitutional for the FBI and other government agencies to use informers against political organizations; that surreptitious disruption operations by government agencies are illegal and unconstitutional; that "black bag jobs" carried out by the FBI to steal documents, copy materials, or plant eavesdropping equipment are illegal and unconstitutional; that tapping the telephones of political activists in the name of "national security" is unconstitutional; and that the SWP is entitled to more than \$250,000 in damages for the government's actions.

The Missouri chapter of the National Abortion Rights Action League pointed out, in a message to a rally celebrating the decision, that the ruling was "a reinforcement of the constitutional right to privacy on which the landmark *Roe v. Wade* decision is founded." The 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision ruled that the constitutional right of privacy included the right of women to decide whether to terminate pregnancy.

The ruling extends the constitutional protection of the people against government meddling in their private affairs and of those associations to which they belong. This issue strikes a responsive chord among unionists who face stepped up government-employer harassment and surveillance in the name of "national security," "combating drugs," and other pretexts.

The court battle is continuing. Attorney Leonard Boudin is preparing for hearings in which the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance will seek the broadest possible injunction to bar the government from making any use of the files illegally obtained by the FBI and other police agencies.

After Griesa rules on this matter, proceedings will begin on government accountability for the attorneys fees and legal expenses that have mounted during the 13 years since the case was filed.

And there is the likelihood that the government will seek to overturn all or part of Griesa's ruling in appellate courts.

The outcome of these battles, and the impact that the court decision will have on the rights of working people, will be determined in part by the depth of support that is mobilized for this fight in the labor movement. The key to this is the expanding effort by PRDF supporters to discuss this case with their coworkers and other unionists, and to sign them up as sponsors.

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Hormel workers raise money for childrens' Christmas

BY TONY DUTROW

AUSTIN, Minn. — The offices of the Austin United Support Group are buzzing with activity as it gears up for the holiday season. The biggest project there is called Santa's Workshop. And topping its list are the hundreds of children from families of 850 workers not yet recalled by Geo. A. Hormel & Co. The workers were on strike for nearly a year.

On any day, up to a dozen men and women are upstairs, cutting, sewing, and assembling teddy bears.

Carmine Rogers, wife of a retired Hormel worker who is active in the support group, heads the project. She stopped work for a few minutes to tell me about it.

Last Christmas, Rogers recalled, 270 bears were given to the children.

This year, the teddy bears are being sold for \$25. Proceeds are going to the Santa's Workshop fund to buy gifts for the children. "We want to make sure every kid gets a \$10 gift for Christmas," she said. "So far, 350 of the neediest kids have been registered by their parents."

Materials have been donated or purchased for the project. Imitation wool pile and fur coats are washed and then cut up. Each "P-9 Proud Teddy Bear," as they're nicknamed, is a genuine original.

After watching the painstaking and slow process of cutting patterns, P-9 retiree Ray Arens fashioned dies to ease the work and turn out more bears. Arens also oversees production of hand-crafted wooden toys, including doll house furniture, trains, and

cars.

"Close to 70 bears are done already, but it's hard to keep up with the demand," Rogers said. Work begins at about nine in the morning and continues for several hours into the afternoon. She said it takes a good six hours per bear.

Barbara Collette, another support group activist, was stuffing a bear. She told me that TWA flight attendants, who are fighting to get their jobs back, bought the stuffed animals to sell at an event held by their union, the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants. Collette said that 16 bears were sold at the Labor Notes conference in Detroit, and 19 orders were taken at the recent Coalition of Labor Union Women conference in St. Louis.

The teddy bears can be obtained by sending \$25 care of the Austin United Support Group, P.O. Box 903, Austin, Minnesota 55912. Delivery before Christmas cannot be guaranteed. Checks should be made payable to Santa's Workshop.

The support group is on a special campaign to raise funds for Santa's Workshop. A mailing went out across the country, addressed to trade unionists and support groups. "The almost 1,300 children of Local P-9 have experienced 15 months of struggle that involves not only their day-to-day life, but also their futures," the letter from Jan Butts stated.

"It's been hard to explain all the complexities of our strike to the children so that they will understand," she wrote. "But the



Militant/Tony Dutrow

Santa's Workshop volunteers make teddy bears to raise money for children of 850 workers not yet recalled by Hormel.

one thing we want them to understand is that they will have a Christmas this year."

United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-6 in Albert Lea, Minnesota, is organizing a car caravan to Austin. They are bringing toys for the children of jobless Hormel workers. Their arrival December 21 will coincide with a Christmas party for the children.

Butch Wiedeman, an activist in the support group, told me a story illustrating that the company can't hide the truth from these children.

For six years running, Wiedeman has been the Santa-for-hire at the local shopping mall. Recently, a small child hopped on his knee to make a wish. "He looked up at me and said all he wanted this year was for the Hormel company to put his daddy back to work," Wiedeman said.

Meat-packers receive holiday food from union supporters

AUSTIN, Minn. — Unionists and other supporters of the meat-packers' struggle are lending a hand to make sure plenty of food will be on the holiday tables of Hormel workers denied their jobs by the company.

Accomplishing this requires stepped-up funding and food donations to fill depleted food shelves.

United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 789 (which organizes Iowa Pork workers and grocery clerks) is helping out by organizing a December 21 car caravan to bring food and other donations from the Twin Cities to Austin.

Last month, some 600 workers received groceries for Thanksgiving dinner. A large amount of food, including turkey and trimmings, was distributed.

The UFCW distributed turkeys to Hormel workers from the Austin Labor Center, where the trustees appointed by International officials to control Local P-9 now occupy offices.

To complement this effort, the Austin United Support Group distributed food from its offices on the same day.

Newspapers in the area tried to portray the two food distributions as a bitter com-

Militant

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petition. Nothing of the kind was true.

The support group commented in a leaflet: "The 840 members of Local P-9 wish to express our deepest thanks to all the rank and file members of Region 13 for their generous donations. This will be the first time our parent union has taken it upon themselves to raise money through other unions in Region 13 to feed our families. . . .

"We hope this gesture of solidarity on behalf of the UFCW is only the *beginning* of continuing support. . . ."

The Thanksgiving distribution followed a successful benefit concert on November 20 in St. Paul that raised \$17,000 for the food shelf.

— T.D.

Felony riot charges against meat-packers dismissed by judge

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Felony riot charges against 18 Austin, Minnesota, meat-packers and their supporters were dismissed December 2 by District Judge William Johnson.

The 18 included Jim Guyette, suspended president of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, and Ray Rogers, a leading supporter of the meatpackers' fight against Geo. A. Hormel & Co.

The charges stem from an April 11 picket line outside the Hormel plant in Austin, held while Local P-9 was still on strike against the company.

The picket line was broken up by cops using tear gas and clubs.

Ken Tilsen, the attorney for the defendants, said the judge dismissed all other demonstration-related charges against Guyette and Rogers. Gross misdemeanor charges were also thrown out in the cases of 13 of 16 other defendants, although the 16 still face misdemeanor charges of unlawful assembly and obstructing the legal process.

Tilsen described the decision as "rather a complete victory."

Larry Gullickson of the North American Meat Packers Union said that the April 11 incident was "a police riot and not a workers' riot." He said the judge dropped the charges because "the evidence was so overwhelming against" the prosecution's case.

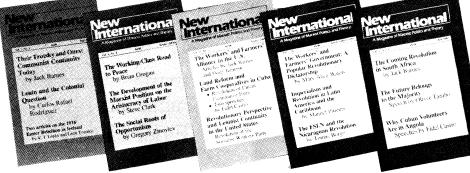
"Ultimately the truth has prevailed," declared Jim Guyette. But that such charges were even brought against him and the other defendants, he said, shows that "the whole legal process has been prejudiced" against the Hormel meat-packers.



Militant/Tony Dutrow

Hormel workers and supporters unload food donations.

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• Vol. 1, No. 3 — "The Workers'

and Farmers' Government: A Popular Revolutionary Dictatorship" by Mary-Alice Waters. "The FSLN and the Nicaraguan Revolution" by Tomás Borge.

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• Vol. 2, No. 1 — "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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Valladares: dissident or bomb plotter?

Former Cuban convict omits some key facts

Against All Hope. By Armando Valladares. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1986. Translated from the Spanish. 380 pages, cloth. \$18.95.

BY HARRY RING

(Second of three parts)

While reviewers in the capitalist media have applauded Armando Valladares' book and his grim account of alleged barbaric torture in Cuban prisons, few have asked the question, who is Armando Valladares?

This is curious, since in his book there is precious little about Valladares, other than his prison experience.

The story begins when he was arrested in 1960 and ends with his release from prison in 1982. But, while Valladares is a loquacious fellow, he tells you nothing of where or under what circumstances he grew up,

BOOK REVIEW

his school experience, early friendships, what work he did before the revolution, etc.

So scarce is the biographical data that the reader doesn't learn until page 269 that Valladares' father has also been jailed and sentenced to 20 years. According to Valladares, he was charged with a "conspiracy" committed in 1960.

Valladares devotes three paragraphs to this. He doesn't even say if his father is in or out, dead or alive.

This oddly minimal information, coupled with the scarcity about his own background, is not so puzzling when you learn a bit more about Valladares than he or his partisans are inclined to tell.

Certainly there has been no scarcity of media coverage of the man. News accounts and editorials have generally agreed that he had been a young Catholic poet and student who had opposed the Batista dictatorship, and was jailed soon after the revolution simply for criticizing the new government.

In jail, it was initially added, he was treated so brutally he lost the use of both legs and was confined to a wheelchair.

Wheelchair gone

Consequently, when he arrived in Paris from Havana, well-wishers were admittedly surprised when he got off the plane on his own two feet, rather than in a wheelchair.

To those who were curious about this, Valladares explained that the Cuban regime had decided a year and a half earlier to set him free and at that point embarked on an intensive campaign of nutritional and medical therapy to restore the use of his legs.

But in his book, Valladares says his hospital treatment began not a year and a half before his 1982 release, but in 1978.

The wheelchair story is only one part of the fraud. As reported previously in the *Militant* and elsewhere, Valladares had not been an opponent of the Batista regime. He was a member of Batista's police force. And prior to being hired by the police, he had been a volunteer in the army reserve.

He was not imprisoned for his ideas. Along with 16 others, Valladares was arrested Dec. 27, 1960. The group was charged with planting explosives in public places. In the home of one of those arrested, police found an entire arsenal of weapons and explosives.

The group was tried and convicted in a 1961 trial prominently reported at the time in the Cuban press. They were sentenced to 30 years, but this was later reduced to 25.

In his book, Valladares doesn't discuss the question of his being a Batista cop until page 337. There he reproduces a previously published police ID card, and argues, in a caption, underneath that it is a "stupid forgery."

His principal "proof" is that the card gives his height and weight in the metric system while, in fact, at that time Cuba used the U.S. standard of pounds, feet, and inches.

But this is a crooked dodge. While the U.S. standards of measure were commonly used in Cuba prior to the revolution, the Cuban civil service began using the metric system before the turn of the century.

But despite this brief attempt to discredit the charge, Valladares carefully avoids actually denying he worked for the Batista police.

Admits working for Batista police

There is good reason for this. Apart from the records in Cuban archives, in at least one instance after his release, he specifically admitted it.

This was in an interview with the *Miami Herald* published Dec. 26, 1982.

The following is from that interview:

"Q. A magazine in Spain claimed that you worked for Batista's secret police. What were your activities prior to and during the Cuban revolution?

"A. That is completely false! If that had been the case I would have been in jail the day after the overthrow, or shot. Like many Cubans in government positions under the Batista government, I went through a vigorous investigative process as to my past activities. I passed this test. Prior to the revolution I served as a test evaluator in mathematics and reading skills for people applying for jobs on the police force."

In addition to confirming that he was a member of Batista's police force, this admission confirms that not all members of that force were automatically jailed, only those convicted of specific crimes against the people. In fact, the new government gave him a job with a postal savings unit.

Despite the absence of biographical data, what emerges clearly from his book is that Valladares was and is totally committed to the ultraright anticommunist politics of the old Batista dictatorship. Indeed, throughout the book he notes with pride his close prison association and friendship with various Batista agents and other counterrevolutionaries who admittedly engaged in crimes against the new government.

As in all revolutions, the one in Cuba brought the emergence of a counterrevolutionary movement, aiming to overthrow the new social order. The Cuban counterrevolutionaries have never succeeded in establishing a viable base among the people and survive today almost exclusively in exile. If it were not for their powerful U.S. sponsorship, they would truly be a relic of the past.

Armando Valladares is nothing more than a conscious member of that counter-revolutionary force. His book is designed to advance the cause of the Cuban counter-revolution

Valladares does little to dress up his ultraright politics. The book bears the stench of his contempt and hatred for ordinary working people.

Throughout, he is hardly able to contain his snarling hatred for the "common" prisoners. (His principal complaint against them is that most seemed to be enthusiastic supporters of the revolution.)

Okay, it may be argued, he lies about his past, he is a stone right-winger, he tells some pretty tall stories. But does that justify abuse so gross that it results in his paralysis?

No, such things would not justify that kind of treatment. But that's not what happened. The actual story is well documented and much of it can even be gleaned from a careful reading of his narrative.

'Plantados'

In prison, by his own account, Valladares was a leading figure among a group of recalcitrant prisoners convicted of murder, arson, and other crimes against the revolution, and who were known as *plantados*.

The plantados demanded that because they committed their crimes for political reasons they should be given the status of political prisoners.

They demanded special privileges, refused to wear the same uniforms as the

Cuban counterrevolutionary Armando Valladares and supporters peddle fiction that he was jailed in Cuba for expressing dissident views. This Dec. 30, 1960, issue of *Revolución*, then Havana's major daily, reported the arrest of Valladares and 16 other terrorists. An arsenal of explosives and weapons was seized, including explosives contained in cigarette packages. Court record of trial listed Valladares as ex-member of Batista police force.

other prisoners, and actively resisted abiding by prison regulations.

In addition they directed organized pressure and intimidation against other prisoners who had committed politically motivated crimes. They sought to keep the others from participating in a political education and rehabilitation program that successfully integrated many such prisoners into Cuba's revolutionary process.

The plantados engaged in a variety of acts of defiance of prison regulations, with hunger strikes an apparently favored weapon. Valladares engaged in some 15 hunger strikes, one for 36 days. It was the malnutrition resulting from these actions, not imposed deprivation, that resulted in the temporary loss of the use of his legs.

While insisting on his own innocence, Valladares boasts freely about the reactionary crimes committed by his counterrevolutionary cellmates.

One of the first plantados, Valladares reports, was Alfredo Izaguirre, a journalist under Batista.

"Alfredo," he writes, "had participated in several actions against the Castro regime . . . he planned an attempt on Raúl Castro's life.

"Later he planned an attack on the American naval base at Guantánamo . . . which he had hoped would be interpreted as an act of revenge on Castro's part. He wanted to provoke the armed intervention of the United States. . . ."

And there was Eloy Gutiérrez Menoyo, assertedly an opponent of Batista, but "when he saw Castro was becoming a tyrant, he fled the country. A while later he came back with a small group of armed men who tried to reach the mountains to continue the struggle. But he was trapped, captured, and sentenced to 30 years in prison."

Another good buddy was Vladimir Ramírez.

"Ramírez was a psychologist who had organized an action cell which was plan-

ning an attempt on Castro's life, using Ramírez' apartment as a base of operations."

Prisoners of conscience?

Hates elected committees

One revealing insight on Valladares' political outlook is his angry condemnation of democratically elected prisoners' committees that joined with the staff in organizing the day-to-day functioning of prison life.

By secret ballot, Valladares writes, the prisoners elected committees called *mandancias*. He says this is a half-joking argot word that might be translated as "board of directors."

The head of the mandancia, the "major," was responsible for appointing those who would be in charge of the daily operation and maintenance of the building cleaning, serving the mess, and other tasks.

A strangely contradictory situation. Democratically elected committees to help administer daily life in a situation where, assertedly, the inmates sat trembling in their dungeon-like cells waiting for daily, savage beatings by guards who, for kicks, also regularly flung buckets of excrement and/or ice water on them.

Why does Valladares object so bitterly to democratically elected prisoner committees?

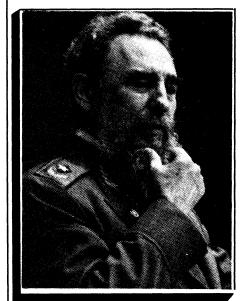
He explains:

"At the beginning of 1959, the ex-soldiers of Batista's army sent to that prison had to tolerate mandancias made up of common prisoners.... Those mandancias cooperated with the garrison, of course; suffice it to say that the common prisoners had portraits of Fidel Castro in their cells and enjoyed the protection of prison headquarters."

But, he triumphantly adds, "Within a few months . . . the military [prisoners] managed to oust common prisoners from leadership."

(Next week: Inmates extract starch from macaroni to press prison garb, and other tall tales.)

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What's at issue in debate on Meese pornography report

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Attorney General Edwin Meese was assigned to initiate the Reagan administration's part in the cover-up of the scandal over secret funding of the terrorist *contras*. He was a fitting choice for the job.

Attacks on the Bill of Rights and support for strengthening the totalitarian functioning of the government are Meese's stockin-trade.

Meese has been the White House's point man in trying to persuade the U.S. population that we should oppose affirmative action for women, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and other victims of racism.

His Justice Department has led the charge against legalized abortion, busing to achieve school desegregation, separation of church and state, the rights of organized labor, and a variety of other democratic rights.

Meese recently announced his support for extensive employer surveillance of workers under the guise of stamping out drug abuse. And he opposes the notion that government officials should be bound by Supreme Court decisions, saying such decisions do "not establish a 'supreme law of the land.'"

The recommendations of the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography is of a piece with Meese's other reactionary activity. The report was released on July 9 and is the topic of a wide-ranging debate among supporters of women's equality and civil liberties.

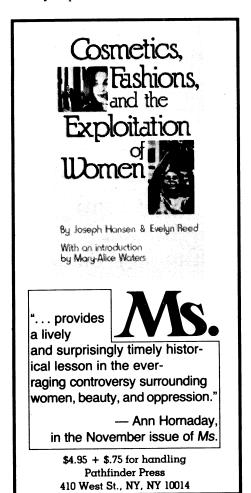
Censorship

At the press conference where the report was released, Meese stated, "I'm not concerned about any censorship being fostered by this document. I can guarantee to you that there will be no censorship . . . in violation of the First Amendment."

Despite Meese's assurances, however, the report calls for the vigorous enforcement of antiobscenity laws, the expansion of the application of these laws, and vigilante actions against whatever these self-appointed guardians of public morals deem objectionable.

As would be expected, officials of the Catholic church and groups that advocate harsh restrictions on democratic rights, such as the Liberty Foundation, National Federation for Decency, and Morality in Media Inc., praised the commission's conclusions.

But the administration has also won invaluable backing in this effort to promote censorship from some individuals who are usually its public critics. This includes sev-



eral figures associated with the fight for women's rights.

Smeal: report is 'breakthrough'

Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women (NOW), hailed the commission's conclusion "that pornography harms women and children."

While warning that "NOW does not support the commission's emphasis on obscenity law enforcement," the NOW statement called the panel's recommendation that state governments adopt laws granting civil remedies for harm allegedly resulting from pornography a "breakthrough."

Other antipornography activists issued statements similar to NOW's.



Attorney General Edwin Meese

"For the first time in history, women have succeeded in convincing a national governmental body of the truth women have long known: pornography harms women and children," said Andrea Dworkin and Catharine MacKinnon, who were the prime movers of an unsuccessful attempt to get the Minneapolis city government to pass a pro-censorship ordinance in the name of fighting pornography.

"The Commission's report is flawed, however, by recommending extension and escalated enforcement of obscenity laws," they added, calling them "dangerously discretionary, anti-woman, anti-gay, beside the point and ineffectual." But Dworkin and MacKinnon concluded that the commission "has recommended to Congress the civil rights legislation women have sought."

Women Against Pornography representative Dorchen Leidholdt embraced almost all of the commission's findings in glowing terms.

Symptom, not cause

The commission justifies its proposal to drastically restrict freedom of speech by contending that pornography causes violence against women.

Much of the "evidence" for this claim was based on testimony from "witnesses," among whom vice cops, right-wing Biblethumpers, and zealous prosecutors were heavily represented.

Where scientific studies were cited, researchers protested that their work was twisted to fit the commissioners' foregone conclusions.

Commission head Henry Hudson — a vigorous antivice prosecutor from Virginia — told the press, "If we relied exclusively on scientific data for every one of our findings, I'm afraid all of our work would be inconclusive." Two dissenting commissioners explained that "no self-respecting investigator would accept" the conclusions of the commission.

The panelists could not find any scientific evidence because there is none; pornography is not the *cause* of violence against women. Rather, it is one symptom of the second-class status of women in capitalist society. Rape and wife-beating—like pornography—are a result of the

unequal relationship between the sexes in this class-divided country.

The bankers and businessmen who run society profit handsomely from women's inferior economic, social, and political position. And they use their control of the government to maintain and reinforce that injustice.

Pornographic books, magazines, and films reflect the existence of women's oppression in this society; they don't create it. The mass market for pornography, which allows pornographers to reap billions from their antiwoman wares, results from the extreme distortion of all sexuality in this society.

In a society where women were truly equal with men in all facets of life and where human needs, not private profit, were the motor force, the pornographers would be out of business.

There is a link, of course, between pornography and violence against women. They're both caused by women's inferior social status. Pornography is about male sexual domination and brutalization of women — whether it is of the violent or nonviolent variety. It is harmful, and it should be struggled against and stamped out. But censorship laws can't accomplish that. And they're not designed to.

The reactionary forces who support the commission's proposed restrictions on democratic rights do so not because they oppose pornography as demeaning to women, but because they want their reactionary political and social views to be the only ones heard. For Meese and his ilk, magazines and films that promote the equality of women with men are even more distasteful than pornography.

To the degradation of women in pornography, the commissioners counterposed a view of women and sexuality that upholds the unequal status quo — the very thing that allows pornography to flourish. Some commission members believe, explains the report, "that uncommitted sexual activity is wrong for the individuals involved and harmful to society to the extent of its prevalence."

According to a report on the commission in the August 2-9 issue of *The Nation* magazine, "In the end the commission was unwilling to find any category of sexual images harmless. They even cast a dubious eye on nudity. It could be 'dangerous' and 'provocative,' that is, provoke people to have sex. Statues like *David* and *Aphrodite* are great works of art, but imagine thousands of such statues lining a highway, one commissioner mused."

Not a pro-women's rights document

That the commission majority's final report condemned pornography because it allegedly causes violence against women and children doesn't prove that the commission is pro-women's rights.

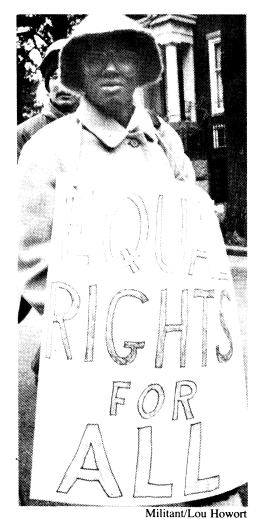
The decision to use this pitch to win support for undermining constitutional freedoms reflects the growing awareness, as a result of the education conducted by women's rights fighters, that rape and other antiwoman abuse are acts of violence that victimize women. They are not actions women encourage and even secretly enjoy.

If the final document had simply railed against the "sinful" and "immoral" results of all sexually explicit literature and called for its immediate banning, it would have been dismissed as the ravings of some right-wing fringe group. How much more effective to couch demands for sweeping restrictions on free speech in the language of opposition to violence against women and support for First Amendment freedoms — two popular ideas.

The commission also pushes the idea that pornography causes violence against women to take the spotlight off the real cause — the capitalist system itself. Better to point the finger at individual men, individual storeowners, or individual pornographers, then at the whole class of profiteers.

Undercuts equality fight

The pornography commission's endorsement by NOW leader Smeal and



Censorship in the name of fighting pornography, as Meese proposes, restricts freedoms of those struggling to defend rights and living conditions of women, Blacks, working people.

others associated with the fight for women's equality undercuts efforts to defend and extend democratic rights, including the rights of women.

It falsely counterposes the fight for full human rights for women with the fight against every restriction on free speech by the government and all its agencies.

The degradation and violence that women are subjected to in the United States will not be alleviated by siding with and relying on the most deadly enemies of women's equality and the rights of all working people.

Women who become convinced that right-wing spokespeople for the ruling class really do have some solutions to the violence and degradation women face will be more open to supporting the anti-working-class program these forces push, a program dead set against the liberation of women.

Support for censorship in the name of women's rights pits women against unionists fighting for their rights, antiwar activists, Black rights fighters, and all those who will be the victims of abrogations of free speech.

The proposals in the commission's report will, by and large, not be implemented now. The ruling class is not ready to carry out such a head-on assault on democratic rights today. To do so would provoke massive struggles.

But the report of the commission and the publicity around it is part of the offensive in the war of ideas that the ruling class is waging, part of preparing the ground for future attacks.

Pacific Bell forced to pay millions for antigay discrimination

In a victory for the democratic rights of all working people, Pacific Bell will have to pay up to \$5 million to 250 gay men and women that it discriminated against in hiring and promotions.

The National Gay Rights Advocates, who brought the suit against the telephone company in San Francisco in 1975, said the out-of-court agreement was the largest single financial settlement of a lawsuit charging discrimination against homosexuals.

The gay rights organization, in the course of its research for the case, discovered that Pacific Bell had a specific policy labeled "code 48 — homosexual." The code was put on the forms of job applicants thought to be gay, who were then not hired. Since 1980, the company has had a written policy prohibiting discrimination based on sexual preference.

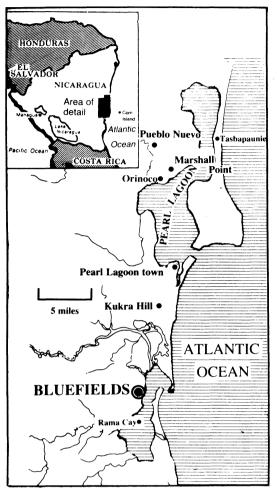
What autonomy program will mean on Atlar

Village elections are pilot projects in Nicaraguan plan to transform region

BY CINDY JAQUITH

PEARL LAGOON, Nicaragua — Our motorboat pulled into this small town late in the afternoon of November 15. One of the first things we noticed was that all the roads were overgrown with grass. No motor vehicles had passed over them for

There were a few cars and trucks here



prior to the Sandinista revolution. But their wealthy owners took them and left Nicaragua after workers and farmers seized power in 1979. Today, people get around on foot or on horseback, but mainly by boat.

The waterways of this region dominate everything. They are the main means both of travel and economic survival. Fishing is the backbone of the economy here, along with some farming.

No roads exist connecting the Pearl Lagoon area with Bluefields, the main city here in Southern Zelaya Province, about 30 miles south. Roads simply didn't matter to the U.S. businessmen who used to run the area. All they needed were airplanes and barges to ship the raw materials they plundered from the coast back to the United

The town of Pearl Lagoon is on the

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

southern tip of a big lagoon of the same name. Like some other towns on the lagoon, Pearl Lagoon is populated mainly by Blacks who speak Creole English. They are descendants of slaves brought here by the British more than a century ago.

Merchant seamen

Traditionally, many workers here have shipped out to the United States as merchant seamen. Some still do. We were joined after dinner by one old-timer who brought along his guitar and sang American blues, as well as songs in Spanish. Sipping from a glass of rum and coke, he told a story about once being refused a drink in a Chicago bar because he was Black

We had stopped overnight in Pearl Lagoon on our way to villages further north where important elections were scheduled the next day. Three villages in the lagoon had been selected by the Nicaraguan government to become "pilot autonomy projects." In each village, residents were going to elect a coordinator to be responsible for administering economic development programs, social services, education, and supplies of basic goods for the commu-

The pilot projects are the latest step in the autonomy program that is transforming the whole of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast.

Unlike the Spanish-speaking Pacific, the Atlantic part of Nicaragua has sizable concentrations of Blacks and Indians, as well as residents whose native tongue is Spanish. Before the 1979 revolution, this region was dominated by U.S. fishing, lumber, gold, and banana companies. They squeezed out every drop of profit they could from the coast's forests, rivers, and mines - and from the workers themselves. They didn't lift a finger to build roads, houses, schools, or hospitals. Indians and Blacks suffered the most from this exploitation.

With the connivance of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza, the U.S. corporations kept all the coastal peoples, known as costeños, isolated from working people on the Pacific side of Nicaragua. There were no telephones and few areas with electric-

While the revolution has brought some phones and power lines, electricity is still a problem here. We were fortunate during our layover in Pearl Lagoon to have a full moon that lit most of the paths. The town is supplied with a generator, but it was out of commission the night we arrived. Many townspeople gathered at the Sandinista army outpost, which has a small generator — enough to power a movie projector. The soldiers had tacked a white sheet on a wall and were giving a free showing of The Taking of Pelham 1-2-3.

Evolution of Sandinista policy

One of the early priorities of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), which led the 1979 revolution that overthrew Somoza, was to overcome the economic backwardness and racism that had plagued the Atlantic Coast, and thus ioin costeños with their Pacific sisters and brothers in a single unified nation. It was — and remains — a giant challenge, given that there are six different racial groups on the coast, speaking four separate languages.

Further complicating the challenge was the fact that the FSLN, and the revolution itself, had been based in the Pacific. Few costeños were actively involved in the revolutionary struggle.

The Spanish-speaking Sandinistas sent to the Atlantic in 1979 made serious errors as they attempted to introduce the revolution, due to their lack of understanding of the languages, customs, and cultures of the costeños. The U.S. government took advantage of this to sow opposition to the new revolutionary government, whose leaders and program were largely unknown on the coast.

Washington succeeded in convincing some costeños, especially Miskito Indians, to take up arms against the government,

believing they were fighting to protect their way of life from "Sandinista genocide."

Military conflicts subsiding

The military conflicts have dramatically subsided in the last two years, however, since the Nicaraguan government began a program to establish regional autonomous governments on the coast. The formal statutes for autonomy are still being discussed, but the Sandinistas have decided to begin putting autonomy into practice in some communities, at the demand of the communities themselves.

Prior to these elections, all decisions in municipalities on the coast were made by appointed FSLN political secretaries or delegates of the central government. The goal now is to have those viewed as the "natural leaders" in selected communities take over political responsibility. Whether or not those elected are closely associated with the FSLN — and some are not — is considered secondary. The key is to deepen the participation of the communities themselves in governing and developing the revolution in the way they best see fit.

After spending the night in Pearl Lagoon, we set out the next morning by boat for the village of Orinoco.

Only a few soldiers accompanied us, testimony to the eased military situation in the lagoon over the last year. But just in case of possible contra ambushes from the shore, some of the autonomy commission and government representatives on the trip brought their rifles.

A revolutionary history

Orinoco is a smaller and poorer village than Pearl Lagoon, but it has a revolutionary reputation throughout the area.

The Orinocoans are Garífonos, a people who emigrated from Honduras in the last century. Their roots go back to African slaves in the Caribbean who intermarried with Carib Indians, known for their fierce resistance to European colonialists. There are about 1,500 Garífonos in Nicaragua today. Their original native tongue has practically been destroyed by decades of U.S. and Somozaist domination. Mest speak English now.

Rutildo Estrada, a local teacher and candidate in the autonomy election, took us on a walk through town. Most of the houses were small wooden structures with thatched roofs, propped up on stilts. Some new houses were being built, an indication that Orinocoans do not intend to let the contras drive them out.

Despite the evident poverty, there were important signs of the social progress Orinocoans have achieved through the Sandinista revolution. There are three schoolhouses in this village of about 1,000people, providing education through the sixth grade. Most people can read.

There is a health clinic, which existed before the revolution, but now has a fulltime nurse. A garment collective has been started to provide women with employment and make some basic clothing available to the community, which is otherwise dependent on boat trips to Bluefields. There is also a sports field and a center built by the local chapter of the Sandinista Youth. There are no automobiles, but a concrete dock has been built, a giant advance over the rickety wooden wharves in most of the surrounding villages.

The large number of local residents in

How Atlantic Coast town of Ku

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

KUKRA HILL, Nicaragua — "We have never had such a massive participation of workers in an assembly," Julio Martínez told the 300 men, women, and children gathered here at the Camilo Ortega sugar mill. "There is a new spirit in the mill," he continued. "The plant is in better condition, the workers are more experienced, and the union is more consolidated."

Martínez, the ministry of agriculture delegate for this part of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, was addressing a November 15 rally to kick off the 1986-87 sugar harvest

Major economic projects such as this mill are important in overcoming the centuries of neglect and discrimination suffered by the Indian, Black, and Spanishspeaking peoples of the Atlantic Coast. Economic development is a key part of the program under way here to establish regional government autonomy.

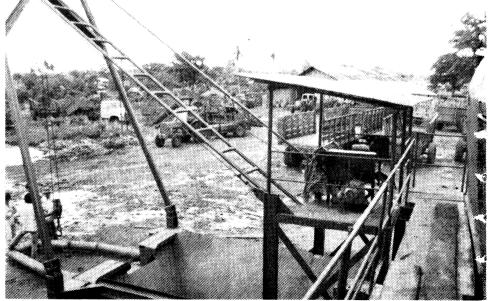
The crowd applauded when Martínez announced that Juan Mercado, the director of the state-owned mill, was considered the best in the region.

"I want to point out, in the framework of autonomy," Martínez went on, "that Juan Mercado is a Miskito [Indian] brother from the Atlantic Coast. Before, a Miskito could never have held such a position. Today, with the revolution and autonomy, we appreciate the worth of everyone.'

Besides the city of Bluefields, Kukra Hill is the major center in this region. I grew up around the sugar mill, and today is also the site of the new African palm agroindustrial project. It has a population of 7,500, mostly Spanish-speaking, with a few Blacks who speak Creole English and Miskito Indians.

Kukra Hill can be reached only by boat, an hour trip north from Bluefields up the Escondido and Kukra rivers. It has a tiny pier and small wooden boat shelter at the riverfront, about a mile from the mill. Several new Toyota pickup trucks shuttle passengers back and forth over a rutted dirt

Kukra Hill received electricity for the



Militant/Harvey McArthur Mechanical cane feeder designed by workers supplies Kukra Hill sugar mill, which is

now able to meet entire Atlantic Coast's demand for sugar.

vtic Coast

the militia was immediately striking. They have constructed their own headquarters and dug trenches around the whole town.

Orinoco is the one village in Pearl Lagoon that the contras have never dared attack. No Orinocoan youth has ever joined the contras either, we were told. But a good number have given their lives defending the revolution.

Draft-age youth in Orinoco are in the vanguard of a new program being developed on the coast as a whole — fulfilling their two-year military service right in their home town. They receive their basic training in Orinoco and then carry out their army duties in and around the community.

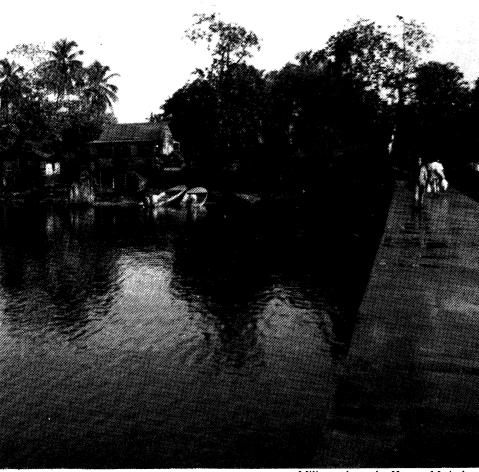
This is a change from previous army policy, whereby coast youth joining the draft were sent away to military bases for training and to do their active duty. It was extremely unpopular among costeños, and to this day, the draft is still voluntary on most of the coast.

Melinda Flores, who has one son in the droft now, told us she much prefers the new system, whereby her son lives at home with her. She was worried about him going down to Bluefields for his service, where she wasn't sure he would get proper training.

Election discussions

At 8:00 a.m., the polling place opened. There were eight candidates running, all but one of them born in Orinoco. Four were teachers, one was a technician, two were leaders of Sandinista mass organizations, and one was a minister.

Frank López, the school director and a momber of the regional autonomy commission, was one of the candidates. He



Militant photos by Harvey McArthur

Garífono people of fishing village of Orinoco voted for local coordinator. One candidate summed up significance of autonomy election: "For the first time in history, we are going to be part of the government." Right, an Orinocoan casts ballot.

explained that the election campaigning has focused on how to develop the village's fishing and agriculture, as well as how to improve education and health care.

Orinocoans fish in cooperatives and have also established some farming cooperatives. Agriculture has suffered over the last three years, however, because of contra attacks on the fields, which are remote from the town. This year, the government will have to send in shipments of rice because not enough will be harvested locally.

For López, the significance of the autonomy election was quite simple: "For the first time in history, we are going to be part of the government."

Patricia Hansack, a teacher and the only

Patricia Hansack, a teacher and the only candidate who was female, said she was running because male candidates "won't look out for the rights of women."

"The ladies would like to learn sewing," she said, and young women in town want to get a higher education and job training. Some men in the community oppose this, she added.

Any Orinoco resident 16 or over was eligible to vote. About 80 percent of those registered turned out for the election. The winner, with 96 votes, was Víctor González, who has a standing in the community as a Pentecostal minister. Coming in second was Frank López, with 24 votes. He and the technician coming in third will work together as a committee with González.

Other elections

Simultaneously with the Orinoco elections, voting was also taking place in nearby Marshall Point, a fishing town of 250 Creoles, and in Pueblo Nuevo, a Spanish-speaking farm community of about 1,000.

Militant correspondent Harvey McArthur hopped in a boat to go observe their elections. In Marshall Point, two fishermen and three teachers, one of whom was a woman, were the candidates. Through the elections, residents hope to make progress on getting a health clinic, a dock, and electricity.

Marshall Point has no militia, but the army maintains a small outpost, staffed by Creole and Spanish-speaking youth from Bluefields.

In Pueblo Nuevo, there are 16 full-time militiamen, and others are also armed. The village wants more guns. It also hopes to get a school building — classes are now taught in a small storeroom.

There were five Pueblo Nuevo candidates — two militiamen, a teacher, a leader of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers, and an 80-year-old farmer known for his education and his participation in the Evangelical church.

About 60 percent of the registered voters turned out there. Quite a few could not read or write. Election officials helped them make an X next to their preferred candidate. The winner was the 80-year-old farmer.

'They'll be jealous of us'

Earlier, in October, five communities

north of Pearl Lagoon, at the mouth of the Río Grande river, also held pilot autonomy elections. The autonomy commission was pleased with the roughly 70 percent turnout. Two of those elected were Miskito farmers, one was a Miskito fisherman, one a Creole fisherman and minister, and one was a teacher who is a Sumo Indian.

With the conclusion of the elections in Pearl Lagoon, no other pilot projects are slated for Southern Zelaya Province until after the autonomy statutes are approved. As the pilot projects develop, word is bound to spread, of course. "The other communities will be jealous of us," predicted 53-year-old Leopoldo Flores, an Orinocoan farmer.

"Today, we're learning about things we'd never seen or heard about before. Before the revolution, everything was just for the rich. They were always trying to keep down progress. But we're all Nicaraguans and we should all be treated equally."

kra Hill produces more sugar

first time three years ago. It now has a small hospital, opened just three months ago, and has one of the few high schools in the region.

'Lagenuity keeps mill running'

The Camilo Ortega mill is the smallest of Nicaragua's seven sugar mills. This year's goal, however, is almost enough to meet the demand throughout the Atlantic Cast. This will save Nicaragua the high cost of bringing sugar from the Pacific Coast by truck and boat.

The mill used to belong to the dictator Anastasio Somoza and was nationalized after the 1979 revolution.

Sugar cane here has always been cut by hand and, given its isolation, the mill has suffered from a serious shortage of cane cutters. Women workers are now playing an increasingly important role in the harvests.

Last year, however, the supply of cut cane did not keep up with the mill's processing capacity. This year, the government provided a mechanical cane harvester. With this machine and 250 hand cutters, he workers hope to keep the mill running 4 hours a day. Cuban technicians have lso lent their skills to improving the mill.

Master mechanic Salvador Pizado Viayorga took us on a tour of the plant. He has 17 years in the mill and is a leader of the "innovators movement" here. This is a national movement of workers who build new equipment and produce spare parts to increase productivity and keep plants running.

Pizado was especially proud of the large mechanical cane feeder they had just invented. Previously, all the carts bringing cane from the fields were unloaded and fed into the mill by hand. Now, the new machine will dump entire cartloads of cane onto a conveyor that feeds the mill.

"Before the revolution, we didn't even know what a union was," Pizado said. "If you talked about raising wages, the bosses labeled you a communist and fired you."

In 1980, the Sandinista Workers Federation organized the workers at the mill. It has 471 members today. "Now we have

good relations with the administration," Pizado said. "They respond to our suggestions or problems right away. In fact, they treat us like we own the mill," he said with a smile.

This year, for the first time, 140 inmates from the National Penitentiary System will help cut the cane. They are all from the Pacific Coast of Nicaragua (where 90 percent of the country's population lives). They volunteered to help with the harvest and will receive a regular salary for their work

Lieutenant Julio Orozco, the Ministry of the Interior official in charge of the inmate volunteers, told the assembly that the prisoners would also help build a baseball park and start local music and dance groups, which don't yet exist here.

Prisoner Carlos Perkins, who spoke on behalf of the inmates, said their participation in the harvest was one more way of "uniting the Pacific with the Atlantic."

U.S. war threatens workers

The 1986–87 harvest here was dedicated to the memory of Wayne Allen, a young worker from the mill who was killed recently while serving in the Nicaraguan army.

Rubén López, secretary of the Sandinista National Liberation Front at Kukra Hill, told the *Militant* that there are 300 men and women organized in the local militia. Some 130 local youths are serving in the army — all of them volunteers. More young men were ready to volunteer, he said, but could not be spared from their jobs.

About 60 local young men joined the U.S.-backed mercenaries (contras) several years ago, López said. But by now, 30 have given up their arms and returned to the community, taking advantage of Nicaragua's amnesty law.

Nonetheless, contra bands still come from outside and pose a danger of ambushes and kidnappings, López warned. In the last mercenary attack on Kukra Hill itself, in April 1985, the contras killed a technician and a young child before they were driven away.

Nicaragua gov't exposes contra drug dealers

BLUEFIELDS, Nicaragua — The Reagan administration has frequently claimed that Nicaraguan officials, particularly in the Ministry of the Interior (MINT), are guilty of illegal drug trafficking.

Recently, the MINT in this Atlantic Coast city exposed who the real drug dealers are: they uncovered an extensive cocaine and marijuana ring run by the *contras*, the mercenaries paid by the U.S. government to wage war on Nicaragua.

The MINT arrested several dozen people involved in bringing the illegal drugs into Nicaragua via the Atlantic Coast and then transporting them to Managua and other cities through children, who are not required to go through official customs checks

According to the MINT, leaders of two CIA-organized mercenary groups — MIS-URA and the Nicaraguan Democratic Force — brought the drugs into the country through the Pearl Lagoon area north of Bluefields. The two contra chiefs identified with the ring were Raddley Waggson and Peter Wilson.

Thus far, six of the traffickers involved have been sentenced to two years in prison. The minors who were used to transport the

drugs were freed because of their age.

An Anti-Drug Commission has been set up here, composed of church and community leaders and representatives from the Sandinista Youth. It is calling on all citizens to join in combating the drug dealers.

March in Puerto Rico defends El Yunque national forest

The following article is taken from the December 1986 issue of Perspectiva Mundial. It is slightly abridged. The translation from Spanish is by the Mili-

BY PATRICIA SÁNCHEZ

LUQUILLO, Puerto Rico - "We're climbing, we're climbing, to defend what's ours" and "No military training in El Yunque!" chanted 8,000 demonstrators during their more than two-mile march near here.

They were climbing the peak of El Yunque, in the forest of the same name, to demand that the forest be turned over to the government of Puerto Rico. El Yunque is currently the property of the U.S. government. They also demanded an end to all military activity in El Yunque and all other Puerto Rican forests.

Under the theme "Marchers for Peace," the demonstration was originally called to protest the commercial exploitation of El \mathbf{Y} unque.

In September the U.S. Forest Service, the agency that is supposed to be responsible for protecting El Yunque National Forest, announced plans to allow lumber companies to cut down trees in this natural sanctuary. Puerto Ricans throughout the island vigorously protested this proposal.

The plan would have disastrous consequences. El Yunque is an ecologically unique tropical rain forest. It includes rare and endemic species that would be en-

The most important rivers in Puerto Rico also originate in the area of El Yunque, and the forest is one of the main sources of water for the island.

The U.S. Defense Department has also taken a big interest in this forest.

In the 1960s, the U.S. Army carried out tests there with various chemical defoliants. One of them, Agent Orange, would later be used to clear jungles in Vietnam, causing serious environmental damage and human suffering.

As a colony of the United States, control over the natural resources of Puerto Rico and over the health of its inhabitants is in the hands of U.S. government agencies. These support the economic interests of U.S. businesses against the well being of the Puerto Rican people.

As soon as the scheme was announced, residents of adjacent towns, environmentalists, students, members of religious orders, antimilitarists, and proindependence fighters united to protest the plans to exploit the forest.

In response to this opposition, Gov. Rafael Hernández Colón announced an agreement with the Forest Service to modify the plan, eliminating the cutting of timber for commercial purposes.

Although the details of the arrangement have not been made public yet, it was seen as a victory for those opposed to the plan.

U.S. Army wants forests for training

The controversy escalated, however, when the U.S. Army asked the government of Puerto Rico for permission to use the Guavate and Toro Negro forests to train 1,000 soldiers in combat techniques for use in tropical forests.

Hernández denied the use of the two forests, which are under Puerto Rican jurisdiction, for military training.

But the government said that it doesn't have the power to prevent the use of El Yunque for such training, since this forest is the property of the U.S. government.

Juan Antonio Vera, spokesperson for Marchers for Peace, stated, "The amendments they're going to make are smoke



Eight thousand demonstrators protested U.S. government plans to use forest for commercial and military purposes. Banner reads, "El Yunque is ours — defend it."

screens. We don't believe them because they've tricked us many times. They say they're not going to fell the trees, but use the forest for military work instead. We want the forest to be turned over to Puerto Rican hands.'

The November 15 issue of the Puerto Rican El Nuevo Día quotes Rubén Berríos Martínez, a Puerto Rican Independence Party senator, saying, "The time has come for the government of Puerto Rico to prove that it is prepared to safeguard the national heritage of Puerto Rico and moreover, prevent the U.S. Army from using our land to advance its military escalation in Latin

The general sentiment among partici-

pants in the march was that despite the apparent victory, many battles are yet to be won both on the environmental front and against militarization of the island.

In Mayagüez, for example, protests have been organized against recurrent toxic gas leaks. Workers from the Guanajibo industrial complex, a free-trade zone where corporations pay no taxes, and the adjacent communities have suffered 1,300 injuries in the past three years. This is the direct result of contamination in the area.

The Environmental Protection Agency, concluding an investigation of this in April 1985, said the situation had been resolved. However, 12 toxic gas leaks occurred in July and August this year.

Grenada gov't bars Cuba-trained doctors

The following article is taken from the English-language edition of the Nov. 23, 1986, Granma Weekly Review.

BY RAFAEL PÉREZ PEREIRA

Almost all the news coming out of the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada these days has the same tone, which points to the degrading living conditions there since the invasion of U.S. joint forces over three years ago.

The particular dispatch I have in mind illustrates government indifference to the people's pressing needs for medical care since it says that 10 Grenadians who graduated from medical school in Cuba and arrived in their country recently were denied work in government institutions; nor have the doors of the few private facilities been opened to them.

Of course, this doesn't mean that Grenada doesn't need doctors. The problem is that they graduated in Cuba.

The measure taken by the regime of Herbert Blaize (who became prime minister thanks to the United States and its occupation forces) is totally discriminatory, says Terry Marryshow, spokesman for the 10 doctors who are barred from giving much needed medical care to their people, especially after Maurice Bishop's revolutionary government's health programs were drastically cut back.

In order to mask the arbitrary and discriminatory nature of the measure, the authorities argued that the doctors would have to do qualifying exams to test their knowledge. This is, in fact, a pretext since doctors who graduate in other countries — India and Pakistan, for example start practicing right away.

The Grenadian authorities aren't really concerned about the rigor of medical train-

ing in Cuba, which has been vouched for by prestigious specialists and by international organizations. What they're trying to do is to keep alive the old, discredited myths about Cuba which were used to try to justify the invasion.

The need for public health care is so great, so pressing in Grenada that it would have been impossible to ignore it by stating that the island didn't want doctors who studied in Cuba because they were "ideologically contaminated" in medical school. That's why the authorities thought up the qualifying exams requirements and put it into effect a few months ago.

The first victims — in open violation of the individual's rights Grenada purports to uphold — are the Grenadians barred from exercising the profession they diligently trained for. However, the victims who will suffer most, of course, are the people of Grenada who, by virtue of outrageous discriminatory practices, will have to continue taking the consequences of having less doctors than they need.

The obvious conclusion is that the Grenadians' health is not a concern of those who came to power and continue there only to serve the oppressor.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish?

Interview with ANC youth

Che Ogara is the pseudonym used by a young member of the African National Congress, the organization leading the fight against apartheid. In his native language, it's an approximation of the name of guerrilla commander Che Guevara. The young ANC fighter adopted this name while taking part in the historic Soweto uprising.

"This was one of the many expressions," explained the young activist, "of how South African youth have been inspired by the Cuban revolution, in particular after Cuban internationalist combatants, together with the Angolan Armed Forces for Popular Liberation, defeated [apartheid's] racist occupation forces in Angola."

The December issue of *Perspec*tiva Mundial features an interview with Che Ogara about the student movement and the current upsurge in South Africa.

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'suspicious-looking' Blacks BY LISA POTASH

Louisiana sheriff threatens to stop

NEW ORLEANS — Jefferson Parish Sheriff Harry Lee's announcement that his deputies were going to stop and question "suspicious looking" Blacks traveling through white neighborhoods provoked an angry response here from civil liberties and civil rights groups.

Lee was forced to apologize, but still insisted that "suspects" will be stopped when deputies have probable cause. When asked by reporters to define "probable cause," Lee said, "You'll have to ask a lawyer about that." (Lee is a lawyer.) He also stated that he has conducted similar "selective" crackdowns in the past.

This admission was no surprise to Blacks and to many whites in the New Orleans area. There is a history here of police attacks on Blacks.

Some of the victims struggling to win justice after such an assault are members of the Clements family, brutally beaten by Sheriff Charles Foti's deputies in Orleans

Parish in 1984 over a \$12.50 traffic charge. The mother, 64 years old, was punched in the chest, hit on the head, and kicked on both legs. Her two daughters were also badly beaten. The deputies then took them to jail.

When the mother's two sons went to the jail to see about their mother and sisters. they too were beaten. The Clements Family Justice Committee has developed broad support for a lawsuit brought by the family.

The year before, 18-year-old Gerard Glover was shot off the back of a motorcycle by Stephen Rosiere, a New Orleans cop. Recently, Rosiere was let off in a retrial, even though his partner testified that Rosiere planted a gun near Glover's body to cover up the truth.

In 1979 a white cop was killed in the Algiers-Fisher housing project. The New Orleans cops then conducted a massive sweep of the project and shot four Blacks in cold blood, one of them a woman in her bath-

Suriname is target of armed attack

Charges U.S., Dutch, French gov'ts back rebels

BY HARRY RING

Faced with a mounting attack by reactionary rebel forces, the government of Suriname was compelled to declare a state of military emergency for part of that South American country December 2. Suriname charges that the rebels enjoy the backing of the U.S., Dutch, and French governments.

December 7 the U.S. State Department said it was "seriously concerned" about reports that Surinamese government troops were killing civilians but conceded it had no independent verification of the charge.

A former Dutch colony with a population of about 400,000, Suriname is situated on the northeastern coast of South America. It is bordered by Guyana on the west, Brazil to the south, and French-ruled Guyane to the east.

A reported several hundred right-wing guerrillas are using Guyane as a sanctuary and a base of military operations. The fighting erupted some four months ago.

The rebels are led by Ronny Brunswijk, a former soldier in Suriname's army. Brunswijk is said to have been a member of the personal security force of Lt. Col. Desi



Desi Bouterse

Bouterse, the principal figure in the government.

Suriname won its independence from Dutch colonial rule in 1975. In 1980, Bouterse and other noncommissioned military officers dislodged an openly proimperialist government.

Some of the Bouterse government's policies have earned it the disfavor of the major imperialist powers.

It nationalized several industries, including the Dutch-owned power company, and took some modest steps to improve the lot of working people.

Particularly irritating to imperialism, the Bouterse regime moved toward closer ties

with Cuba, Nicaragua, and the revolutionary government of the late Maurice Bishop that was in power in Grenada from 1979 to 1983. At the time, Bouterse and Bishop exchanged official visits.

In 1983, at least in part under pressure from neighboring Brazil, Suriname lessened its ties with Cuba.

Earlier, in 1982, hypocritically charging human rights violations, the U.S. and Dutch governments cut off military and economic aid programs to Suriname. These sanctions are still in force. In 1983 CIA plans to overthrow Bouterse were publicly admitted by Reagan officials.

According to broadcasts from Paramaribo, capital of Suriname, the rebel force, dubbed the Surinamese Liberation Army, has succeeded in dealing some military blows.

One report, November 17, said the town of Albina, situated on the border with French-ruled Guyane, came under fire from Brunswijk's forces across the border, with the Suriname government troops withholding their fire to avoid a confrontation with the French. People had to be evacuated from Albina.

An earlier broadcast reported that a large part of the work force had been evacuated at the Patamacca Agriculture Co., which employs 800. The same broadcast said a palm-oil plant had been burned down.

And on November 23 Reuters, the British news agency, reported from Paramaribo that operations had been suspended at the bauxite mining enterprise of a U.S. aluminum company, Suralco, some 60 miles from the capital. The shutdown came after a rebel attack.

Suriname's bauxite deposits are among the world's richest. Mining and processing bauxite, alumina, and aluminum are the backbone of the country's economy. One-quarter of the bauxite used in U.S. aluminum products comes from Suriname.

Promoted by counterrevolutionary Surinamese exiles, the Dutch media has been waging a scare campaign around the theme that Libyan "terrorists" are the principal mentors of the Suriname government.

This propaganda theme is now being echoed in the United States. An article in the November 28 *Wall Street Journal* asserted that if the Reagan administration did not help crush the Suriname government it would "give Libya a beachhead in this hemisphere."

The United States is now Suriname's biggest trading partner. It provides 30 percent of Suriname's imports and takes 41 percent of its exports.

TRINIDAD GUYANA SURINAME COLOMBIA VENEZUELA VENEZUELA Atlantic Ocean VENEZUELA SURINAME GUYANA Paramaribo Noongo Abina COLOMBIA COLOMBIA Disputed territory PERU B R A Z I L O SOO Miles COLOMBIA COLOM

-WORLD NEWS BRIEFS

Hundreds of Palestinians killed in Lebanon

In more than two months of heavy fighting between Lebanon's Amal militia and Palestinian guerrilla forces, at least 550 people have been killed. Some



PLO guerrillas near Sidon, Lebanon, resist attacks by Amal militia and Israelis directed against Palestinian camps there.

2,000 others have been wounded, and entire populations have been displaced.

The latest round of attacks by Amal on the Palestinian refugee camps began in late September in Rashidiye, outside Tyre.

Amal is based on those Lebanese who follow the Shiite Muslim faith, and its central leader, Nabih Berri, is the justice minister in the Lebanese government. Berri has strongly condemned the efforts of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to rebuild its presence in Lebanon, which had been drastically reduced following the 1982 Israeli invasion.

Amal's drive against the Palestinians has been backed by the Syrian government, which maintains 25,000 troops in Lebanon.

The Israeli regime has also reacted strongly to the resurgence of support for the PLO among Lebanon's Palestinian population. Israeli gunboats on December 4 shelled the Palestinian refugee camps of Ain Khilwe and Mieh Mieh. It was the third such Israeli attack in two weeks.

In response to these attacks, the different Palestinian groups in Lebanon, including those that have opposed PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, have joined together to defend the refugee camps.

Cuban scientists denied visas by U.S. gov't

Five Cuban scientists — all specialists of international standing in their fields — were refused visas by the U.S. government to attend a congress of the Latin American Society of Orthopedics and Traumatology that was held in San Juan, Puerto Rico, October 26–November 1.

This year alone, dozens of Cuban scientists and specialists were also denied visas to attend international events held in the United States.

The November 16 Granma weekly review described this as an "arbitrary measure which violates the most elementary norms of international law." It contrasted this closed-door policy to Cuba's own willingness to grant visas to participants in international events held in Cuba, whatever their political views.

UN backs New Caledonia right to independence

The United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution December 2 placing New Caledonia on its list of "non-self-governing territories." It affirmed New Caledonia's right to independence.

New Caledonia, a group of islands in the South Pacific, is currently a French colony. The French government, however, does not recognize its colonial character, claiming that it is an extension of metropolitan France.

The UN resolution was passed by a vote of 89 to 24, against strong French objections. It requires the French government to report to the UN annually on what steps it has taken toward granting independence to New Caledonia.

Troops to crack down in India's Punjab

The government of India's Punjab state agreed December 3 to call on federal troops to help crack down on the political activities of Sikh militants

Eight of the state's 12 districts were declared "disturbed," granting the troops and regular police emergency powers. These include the power to detain, question, search, and shoot suspects. By the time of the announcement, some 200 Sikh activists and leaders had already been detained in Punjab. These included a former chief minister of the state, a newly elected Sikh religious leader, and leaders of the main Sikh students' organization.

India's 16 million people of the Sikh faith have long suffered from religious discrimination. In recent years conflicts have been sharpening between Sikhs and those adhering to India's dominant Hindu religion.

The justification used for the latest crackdown was the November 30 massacre of 22 bus passengers, most of them Hindus, by a group calling itself the Khalistan Liberation Force. Some Sikh militants demand the formation of a separate Sikh state called Khalistan.

Numerous Sikh leaders, including those who reject the Khalistan demand, have condemned the latest crackdown.

Protests force French gov't to retreat

Continued from front page

quirements more restrictive. This flew against the long-standing tradition in France in which virtually everyone who successfully completes high school is assured entrance to one of these universities. The bill would likewise have taken a step toward privatizing university funding.

At a time of rising unemployment among French youth (nearly 12 percent of those aged 16–25 cannot find jobs), the proposed restrictions provoked considerable anger.

A parallel measure, pushed by Minister of National Education René Monory,

Young Socialists back French students

The following telegram was sent December 9 to the National Student Coordinating Committee in France from the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance:

We congratulate you in your victory for the right to an education for all, against the Chirac government's attempt to cut back higher education.

We join you in condemning police violence and the brutal killing of Malik Oussekine. We extend our support and solidarity to your struggle. Education is our right! Justice for Malik Oussekine! would have lowered the quality of highschool education and trimmed the number of teachers. That added to the discontent.

The protests began in Caen, where the first student coordinating committee was set up November 15. Very rapidly, similar elected committees sprang up in Paris and other cities, and a national student committee was formed.

The student strikes were supported from the start by all the major teachers unions. And they soon won the backing of the two largest union federations, the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) and the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT), which are politically led by the Communist and Socialist parties respectively.

The government, by dropping the university-reform bill, hopes that the protests will die down.

But other issues have also been raised during the mobilizations: the brutality of the riot police, who attacked peaceful demonstrations; the introduction of new repressive measures under the guise of combating "terrorism" and "drugs"; a five-year program of increased military spending; and, in particular, the regime's growing restrictions against immigrants.

With several bills pending in the National Assembly on these policies, many student activists have vowed to fight against them as well.

—CALENDAR—

ARIZONA

Phoenix

"The Truth Must Not Only Be the Truth, It Must Be Told." Speakers: representative of African National Congress of South Africa; Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party, leader of movement against Vietnam War; Francisca Cavasos, Arizona Farm Workers Union, recently returned from the Philippines; Pablo Otero, Young Socialist Alliance; Dawn Noggle, Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights. Sat., Dec. 13. Reception, 6 p.m.; rally, 7 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Pathfinder Books. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

The Fighting Potential of the U.S. Working Class. Class by Fred Halstead. Sun., Dec. 14, noon. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Pathfinder Books. Donation: \$2. 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.

San Jose

Crisis in the Philippines. Workers and Farmers Press Their Demands. Speaker: Joel Rocamora, director Philippine Resource Center. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 20, 7:30 p.m. 46½ Race St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Immigration Laws: Attack on Workers' Rights. Speakers: Felipe Arnoldo Díaz, Salvadoran refugee who recently won four-year fight for political asylum; Héctor Marroquín, member of Socialist Workers Party facing deportation for his political ideas. Sat., Dec. 20, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Stop Union-Busting, Save Jobs. Speakers: Merle Krueger, member Original Local P-9, Austin, Minnesota; Joe Wilson, president United Auto Workers Local 15; Joe Velser, United Steelworkers of America District 29 organizer. Sat., Dec. 13, 3 p.m. 2441 W Grand Blvd. Ausp: International Association of Machinists Local 82. For more information call (313) 898-9163.

GM Plant Closings: How to Fight Them. Speaker: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers Local 5960. Film showing: *Poletown Lives*. Sat., Dec. 13, 8 p.m. 2135 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Protest U.S. War in Nicaragua. Indoor rally at Christ in the City Church, 9th and Biddle. March to Federal Building. Sat., Dec. 13, noon. Ausp: St. Louis Pledge of Resistance. For more information call (314) 727-4466.

Behind the Secret Arms Deal: U.S. Escalates War Against Nicaragua. A panel discussion. Sat., Dec. 20, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more infor-

Socialist Regional Educational Conferences

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Forum. Why We Need a Revolution in the United States. Speaker: Thabo Ntweng, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sun., Dec. 14, 10 a.m.

Two classes on Roots of U.S. War Drive in Central America. Sat., Dec. 13, 2 p.m.

Events held at 132 Cone St. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

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.

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.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Forum. Why We Need a Revolution in the United States. Sat., Dec. 13, 8 p.m.

Two classes: U.S. Farm Crisis and Why Workers and Farmers Have a Stake in Ending It. Sat., Dec. 13, 1 p.m.; Sun., Dec. 14, 1 p.m.

Events held at 4725 Troost. Donation: \$5

for conference; \$2 for classes. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

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. 13, 7:30 p.m. Party to follow

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

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Decline of the American Empire and the Role of the Working Class.

Two-part class: 1. Lockouts, Union-busting, and Concession Contracts: How Can Our Unions Fight Back. Speaker: Joel Britton, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., Dec. 20, 1 p.m. and 3:30 p.m.

Forum. Contragate: A Glimpse of How the Capitalists Rule America. Speaker: John Gaige, SWP National Committee. Sat., Dec. 20, 7:30 p.m.

Events held at 767 S State. Translation to Spanish provided. Donation: \$5. Ausp: SWP and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Two-part class: **The State of the U.S. Trade Unions Today.** Speaker: Chris Horner, chairperson, Seattle Socialist Workers Party, member International Union of Electronic Workers Local 1002. Sat., Dec. 20, 3 p.m. and Sun., Dec. 21, 11 a.m.

Forum: **The U.S. Political Situation Today.** Speaker: Mark Severs, Socialist
Workers Party National Committee. Sat.,
Dec. 20, 7:30 p.m.

All events at 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$5 for conference or \$2 per event. Ausp: SWP and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Forum: **Prospects for Socialism in the United States.** Speaker: John Studer, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 13, 7:30 p.m.

Two-class series: 1. The Freedom Struggle in South Africa. Speaker to be announced. Sat., 3 p.m. and Sun., Dec. 14, 12:30 p.m. 2. War and Revolution in Central America. Speaker: Jerry Freiwirth, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. 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.

mation call (314) 361-0250.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

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.

Open House and Reception for Dr. Jeffrey Elliot. Dr. Elliot interviewed Fidel Castro for the recently published book *Fidel Castro: Nothing Can Stop the Course of History.* Fri., Dec. 19, 4:30–7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Ausp: Pathfinder Books. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Celebrate the 28th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. Grand year-end dance. Wed., Dec. 31, 9 p.m. Casa de las Américas, 104 W 14th St. Donation: \$12.

OHIO

Cleveland

The Fight Against the Perry Nuclear Power Plant. Speakers: Jim Wright, structural engineer; Kim Hill, Sierra Club; Betty Long, Western Reserve Alliance; Diana Dickson, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Bill Brotzman, Lake County Farm Bureau. Sat., Dec. 13, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

OREGON

Portland

From Big Mountain to Columbia River: Na-

tive American Rights Under Attack. Speakers: representative from Columbia River Defense Project, Northwest Big Mountain Support Group, and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 13, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

TEXAS

Houston

Behind the U.S.-Iran 'Contra' Arms Deal. Panel discussion. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 13, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Almeda Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Crisis in the Philippines: Workers and Farmers Press Their Demands. Speaker: Scott Breen, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 13, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON

Seattle New Imp

New Immigration Laws: An Attack on Immigrant Workers, the Effect of Initiative 30. Panel: Jose Bocanegra, representative from Committee in Defense of Immigrant Rights; Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Dec. 13, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

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THE GREAT SOCIETY

INGTON (AP) — President Reagan, trying to resolve the most serious crisis of his administration, has conferred twice recently



Harry Ring

with former President Richard M. Nixon, whose own problems led to his resignation in 1974."

Don't leave home without it - To deal with unanticipated test demands, an Austin, Texas, entrepreneur offers drug-free urine at \$49.95 a bag. Presumably to assure the purity of his product, he explains he gets it through a deal with members of a local Bible study group.

American dream machine -"I don't mean to gloat. I'm as embarrassed as anyone else about what's going on in the government. But I'm glad I'm in this business right now." — Stanley Greenwald, paper shredder sales-

Also cures carbuncles — The folk at Pepsi-Cola were chagrined when their slogan, "Come alive, you're in the Pepsi generation,"

was translated for the Thailand market as "Pepsi brings your ancestors back from the dead." But our guess is that the Thai people simply assumed this was just one more American advertising claim.

That'll trim you down — A New York boutique is offering local chocolates at \$18 a half-pound.

When the need is sorest -Hollywood PR person Ruth Marsh was flabbergasted. She's never met the prez, but dropped him a note assuring that she and other filmland Republicans, like rightwinger Efrem Zimbalist, supported him in his hour of travail. A few days later, she received a personal thank-you call from Ron, who chatted for 10 minutes. Zim-

balist got a call too.

St. Sade? — The Catholic Diocese of Monterey, California, has retained a PR person to deal with opponents of its drive to win sainthood for Father Junipero Serra, founder of California missions. Critics note that the saintly father was heavily into beating and enslaving Native Americans.

No heat in apartment? — A New York boutique is offering a cashmere pullover with rolled collar, \$675. And/or a cashmere robe, \$1,150.

For the anxiety-prone young**ster** — An ad in *Popular Science* offers a kit for a scale model nuclear power plant. Based on Three Pope John Paul II.

Mile Island, it includes containment building, cooling tower, and generator station.

Devilish stuff — On behalf of himself, minors, and Jesus Christ, Ralph Forbes filed suit to bar Arkansas schools from observing Halloween, Satan's day. Named defendants included various officials and Satan. In response, it was proposed that Satan be dropped as a defendant since it could not be proved he does business or owns property in Arkan-

He's like with it — "I am very interested in modern contemporary music. Also in so-called what is the name? — rock." —

Nicaragua bombing: escalation of U.S.-run war

Continued from front page

peasant community of Wiwilí, 15 miles from the border. They fired eight or nine rockets and dropped 12 to 16 bombs. They destroyed one peasant's home, killing livestock and wounding five people.

A four-year-old and an 11-year-old suffered shrapnel wounds. Three Sandinista soldiers were wounded as they fired at the attacking planes. One of the explosions left a 12-foot crater in the ground. The U.S. markings "2.75 inch rocket Motor MK 4 ..." were still visible on a fragment of one

Peasants organize defense

The Wiwilí residents had no prior warning of the attack and were about to start a celebration of Purísima, the chief religious event held here before Christmas. When the planes were spotted, community leaders immediately began implementing civil defense procedures that residents had practiced before

Some people took up arms and began firing at the planes. Others rushed to shelters. Some of those wounded were hit by shrapnel before they could reach safe cover.

Lt. Col. Javier Carrión, assistant chief of the Joint Staff of the Sandinista People's Army, told reporters that the bombs and rockets could only have been launched by powerful combat aircraft — planes more sophisticated than those belonging to the mercenaries.

He also said that army intelligence has determined that the planes departed from U.S. bases in Honduras and were in radio contact with U.S. military personnel during their raids.

While the Sandinistas have not presented any other information on these planes, such as who piloted them, the events clearly point to a U.S.-Honduran conspiracy to carry out the raids in the hopes of provoking a Nicaraguan retaliation that could justify an even bigger attack on Nicaragua.

Carrión explained that in Wiwilí there is no army base and no antiaircraft weapons, just a territorial militia base with two helicopters. They are used to transport civilians being evacuated from areas of contra attacks. The raiders were targeting the small airstrip but failed to destroy the two

"The operation's goal was to hit Sandinista forces, who have been dealing harsh blows to the mercenaries in the last few days," he said.

A total of 81 contras were killed and 80 wounded by the Nicaraguans, he said, while 16 Sandinistas were killed and 35

With the failure of the mercenaries to get larger units across the border, the contra forces inside northern Nicaragua are relatively small groups of 40 to 60 men at this time, Carrión said. Across the border in Honduras they have no more than 3,000

The main danger is the presence of U.S. and Honduran troops in the border area. The contras are being used as pawns to provide an opening for these more powerful forces to intervene.

U.S. media cover-up

During the most recent weeks of the U.S. escalation, new revelations surfaced in Washington that top Reagan aides were secretly funding the contras behind the backs of the U.S. people.

As the revelations began to unfold, the Nicaraguan government sounded the alarm on the U.S. military escalation taking place along Nicaragua's borders. The Sandinistas warned that Reagan was seeking some kind of provocation.

As the Sandinista daily Barricada noted, these warnings received "superficial and light treatment" by the major U.S. media, which focused instead on proposals for how to patch up the crisis in Washington. They are "asking for the heads of the little fish in order to leave intact the demented head of Reagan along with his policy of and extermination," Barricada

The Nicaraguan government has responded to the latest events, culminating in the bombings, by calling for an emergency session of the United Nations Security Council. The Nicaraguan government has also met with as many representatives of Latin American governments as possible, including Honduran officials, in an attempt to slow down Washington's push toward a

In a December 8 letter to the foreign minister of Honduras, Miguel D'Escoto strongly protested the use of Honduran territory to bomb Nicaragua. He pointed to the only solution to the escalating conflict between the two countries - remove the contras from Honduras.

He repeated the proposal to invite an international commission to inspect the border area and make recommendations on how to relieve the tension there.

Factory and neighborhood mobilizations

Meanwhile, Nicaragua's Sandinista Defense Committees, which are organized to provide civilian defense of neighborhoods,

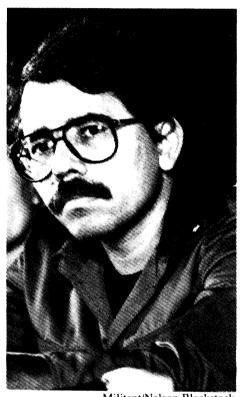
announced a national campaign to step up organized block-by-block vigilance. The Sandinista union federation reported that factory militia teams were on alert

In a major editorial December 9 Barricada pointed out that "in contrast to the war-mongering hysteria that prevails in the governing circles of the United States and Honduras, the government and people of Nicaragua are displaying reasoned calm, showing their firmness in not letting themselves be provoked but not renouncing their duties to defend themselves.

On December 8 Sandinista television broadcast footage of the damage done in Wiwilí and reported some of the initial denunciations of the attack from around the world. The remainder of the news covered Purísima celebrations, which proceeded normally in the rest of the country the day after the bombing raids, with workers getting the day off.

A special film followed the news, showing the recent military parade in Cuba celebrating the 30th anniversary of the Revolutionary Armed Forces there.

Gen. Humberto Ortega, head of the Sandinista Army, was a special guest at the parade.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega

10 AND 25 YEARS AGO

December 17, 1976

CLEVELAND — Speaking before a rally of more than 300 steelworkers here November 30, Ed Sadlowski hit hard against the steel corporations' attempt to blame layoffs on steel imports.

"Foreign imports do not have the impact the American steel industry says they do,' the insurgent candidate for union president

'You can't attribute a Japanese worker for taking an American worker's job. That's the boss's game. He'd like you to

With thousands of steelworkers being laid off across the country, this emotioncharged issue points up the fundamental difference between Sadlowski's approach and that of the present United Steelworkers of America leadership.

Current President I.W. Abel and his handpicked successor Lloyd McBride are flag-waving partisans of the anti-import drive, absolving the steel profiteers of all responsibility for layoffs.

Abel and McBride call for import quotas and tariffs to protect "our" industry, and for joint labor-management efforts to increase productivity so "our" corporations will be more competitive.

Sadlowski puts the blame for unemployment squarely on the bosses. And he rejects union cooperation with productivity drives that eliminate jobs and endanger workers' lives through speedup.

"For every American worker whose job has been lost by foreign importation," Sadlowski told the Cleveland rally, "five American workers' jobs have been lost because of BOF [basic oxygen furnace]

December 18, 1961

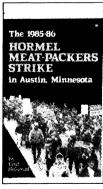
Dec. 13 — The fourth AFL-CIO convention, which began December 7, turned out to be unexpectedly mild, with President George Meany having things pretty much his own way. But the differences among the top union leaders that Meany patched over in the sunshine of Bal Harbour, Florida, are still there. And the falling out among the easy-living bureaucrats has profound causes — in colder climes and among harder lives — that are not to be eliminated by soft talk and a little quick work with the gavel.

The problem of jurisdictional disputes was heavily emphasized by United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther and his Industrial Union Department — and softpedaled by Meany. It was "resolved" by a compromise that cut the heart out of Reuther's proposed solution — an enforceable ban on raiding — and left the Building Trades craft unions free to continue organizing at the expense of industrial unions.

One reason Reuther is sensitive on this issue is because the relative position of the industrial workers has so deteriorated under his leadership that the raiding moves of craft unions have some attraction for certain sections of his own rank and file. A UAW carpenter or electrician makes a dollar or two an hour less than a craft-union member of the same trade in the same area.

The proper solution, of course, is not to turn the plants over to fractionalized job trusts by yielding to the raiding, but to lead the industrial unions in a militant struggle for higher wages and better conditions.

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. 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 handling.

No justice in Grenada

A court in Grenada has imposed sentences of death by hanging on Bernard Coard and 13 others. Terms of up to 45 years were given three other defendants.

The trial and sentencing are an attack on democratic rights in Grenada and throughout the Caribbean. They are a consequence of the overthrow of the revolutionary Grenadian government in a coup carried out by Coard and his followers in October 1983; the U.S. invasion and occupation of the country that followed; and the imposition by the occupiers of a government that takes its orders from Washington.

The sentences were imposed December 4, after the court found the 17 guilty of the murder of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and other leaders of the revolution. Bishop had led the Grenadian revolutionary government from the time it came to power in March 1979 until the 1983 counterrevolution. He and other revolutionary leaders were executed by the Coard gang as it crushed popular resistance to the coup.

But the trial and sentences imposed on the 17 have nothing to do with justice for these martyrs or with the goals to which Bishop and the revolutionary government were committed.

On the contrary, the U.S. rulers and their handpicked government are determined to root out every trace of the gains won by working people between March 1979 and October 1983.

The U.S. and Grenadian governments used the trial as part of their campaign to discredit the revolution — which is still looked to by many workers and farmers throughout the Caribbean as a high point in their struggle for freedom from imperialist domination and exploitation.

The U.S.-imposed government has systematically destroyed the political, social, and economic conquests of the revolution. Under Bishop, Grenada had an independent government that spoke for the interests of the oppressed and exploited. The current regime grovels before Washington to such an extent that it is among the few regimes that votes with U.S. representatives in the United Nations against imposing sanctions on apartheid South Africa.

Under the revolutionary government, democratic rights were vastly expanded as the workers and farmers took command of their destinies for the first time. Union membership soared. Mass organizations of youth, women, and farmers were created. The working people participated in shaping government policy.

Many mass organizations have now been dissolved, and the labor movement faces union-busting attacks backed by the Grenadian government and Washington. Political harassment of those who identify with the gains won under the Bishop government continues to rise.

Police brutality against working people, eliminated under the Bishop government, has become an everyday event again.

The trial and sentencing of Coard and the others was an effort to legitimize the cops, courts, and repressive practices of the U.S.-dominated regime.

By falsely portraying the defendants as Marxists and imposing heavy sentences on 17 of them, the U.S. rulers and the Grenadian government are preparing increased repression against Marxists and other opponents of U.S. domination not only in Grenada, but throughout the Caribbean

The U.S. rulers and the Grenadian government also hope that the death sentences in this case will make it easier for them to use the brutal weapon of capital punishment in future cases.

Coard and his gang are guilty of a heinous crime. They destroyed the revolutionary government, the greatest political and social conquest that the people of Grenada have ever achieved. Their coup, followed by their gunning down of protesters and the assassination of Bishop and other leaders, dealt such blows to the Grenadian people that the U.S. invaders met little resistance. The Coard clique handed Grenada to Washington on a platter.

But the counterrevolutionary government that rules Grenada today in the interests of U.S. imperialism has no moral or political right to try, imprison, or hang Coard or any other defendant in this case. The sentences handed down against the 17 should be strongly opposed.

Bilingual programs under attack

Antilabor forces are stepping up their campaign to have English proclaimed the official language of the United States. In the November 4 election in California, an amendment to the state constitution was adopted to this effect. Seven states and about 40 cities and counties have adopted such laws, and similar bills are pending in 15 states.

Following the passage of the California amendment, backers began preparing bills to abolish bilingual education in the state. They also announced that they would press the state legislature to require that drivers' tests, welfare applications, state university student aid forms, and other services be provided only in English.

U.S. English, an outfit founded in 1983 by former U.S. Senator S.I. Hayakawa and John Tanton, has been campaigning for such laws across the country.

Bilingual education programs, which are a prime target of the English-only campaigns, are gains won by Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Chinese rights struggles of the 1960s and 1970s. In 1974 a Supreme Court ruling barred the practice of letting children who spoke other languages "sink or swim" in classes conducted in English. That same year, the Bilingual Education Act was expanded to offer instruction in students' own languages

According to the U.S. Department of Education, nearly 1.2 million children are enrolled in such programs

These programs should not only be continued, but massively expanded to provide bilingual education for the many millions of children and adults who need and want it.

Politicians from both the Republican and Democratic

parties are chiming in behind the English-only campaign.

Idaho Republican Senator Steven Symms denounced "policies that challenge the uniqueness of English in our national life."

"We should be color blind, but not linguistically deaf," declared Democrat Richard Lamm, former governor of Colorado. "We should welcome different people, but not adopt different languages."

According to these hypocrites, discrimination against Latinos, Chinese, Haitians, and others on the basis of their skin color would be wrong. But discrimination against them on the basis of language should be the law of the land.

Contrary to the pretensions of Lamm and Symms, the United States has always been a multilingual country.

The "uniqueness of English in our national life" has been a pretext for discrimination against these working people on the job, in schools, in social services, and in every other aspect of life.

Language discrimination has long been used to divide and weaken the union movement by stirring hostility toward immigrants and other workers who don't speak English.

The beneficiary has been big business, which has raked in untold billions from the super-exploitation of these workers. To keep these profits pouring in, workers who speak Spanish, Chinese, Creole, and other languages must be kept at the bottom of the heap.

The drive for English-only legislation is antilabor, discriminatory, and chauvinist. The union movement should join the effort to mobilize wide opposition to these bills.

Defend Palestinian journalist

The Israeli government's attempt to deport Akram Haniyeh, a Palestinian journalist and poet living in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, has sparked growing protest. Haniyeh was arrested November 5 and issued a military order expelling him from Israeli-held land. He has been held in solitary confinement ever since.

Haniyeh was the chief editor of Al-Sha'ab, an Arabiclanguage daily published on the West Bank.

Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin claimed November 10 that Haniyeh was being deported "because of his activities within the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] specifically, and as part of Israel's war against terrorism in general." Even top Israeli security officials have conceded that there is no evidence that Haniyeh has engaged in any "terrorist" acts.

The next day, 300 Palestinians and Israelis, including two members of parliament, attended a public meeting demanding an end to the actions against Haniyeh. Twenty-nine Israeli journalists also signed a petition protesting the expulsion order and his imprisonment.

In Britain, the National Journalists Association sent a letter of protest to the Israeli government.

Felicia Langer and Avigdor Feldman, Haniyeh's attorneys, point out that the expulsion order is intended to "deter all those who oppose the Israeli occupation."

Haniyeh is being held in solitary confinement and threatened with expulsion because he opposes the crimes of the Israeli rulers. Supporters of democratic rights around the world should join in demanding his release and the rescinding of the expulsion order.

Is home ownership the solution to the housing problem?

BY DOUG JENNESS

At the tail end of a mid-November news conference, a reporter asked President Reagan when he was going to develop a federally coordinated program for the homeless

The president replied that the government was "spending more than has ever been spent before" to help the needy. But he'd "look into" the matter.

When pressed by the journalist, Reagan hinted that more than enough is being spent locally. He cited the case of a homeless family in New York being put up in a hotel by the city welfare department for \$37,000 a year. "I wonder why somebody doesn't build them a house for \$37,000," he chided.

The president's cynical remark underlines his callous disregard for the hardships of the homeless. But it also

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

carries an interesting implication. Is the solution to homelessness and high-cost, low-quality housing that everybody should own their own house?

This has been a prominent theme promoted by the employing class in this country, especially since the end of World War II. We've been pounded with the virtues of settling into our own house with a yard and maybe a garden. This is all part of the "American dream."

And the relative economic prosperity of the postwar period made this dream seem realizable for growing numbers of working people. By 1983 nearly 65 percent of all housing units were owner-occupied, compared to 44 percent in 1940.

In last week's column, I promised to take up socialist proposals for solving the housing problem. But I'm going to postpone that another week in order to discuss why home ownership isn't part of the solution.

For one thing, purchasing a house is out of reach for most low-income people and for an increasing number in the middle-income range, too. Reagan notwithstanding, \$37,000 wouldn't go very far toward building a house. A standard new house today costs more than \$75,000, a big jump from \$23,400 in 1970. And that doesn't include interest on monthly payments.

Close to two-thirds of all homeowners are paying off mortgages at high rates of interest. And their total monthly payments are generally higher than rents of apartment dwellers. In addition to mortgage payments, homeowners' costs include real estate taxes, property insurance, utilities, fuel, water, garbage collection, and repairs.

In 1981, over one-half the homeowners with a mortgage were paying out more than \$400 per month. And for recent home buyers, the amount was considerably higher. The average monthly mortgage payment for those purchasing a house in 1981 was \$694, on average 35.5 percent of their income.

By comparison, the same year, 18 percent of tenants paid more than \$400 for rent (excluding utilities).

The average mortgage is between 25 and 30 years, which means that homeowners keep paying for most of their working lives.

The notion that making house payments, instead of paying rent, can lead to cheaper housing in the long run is an illusion.

One of the benefits of home ownership hailed by its promoters is that it offers escape from the hassle of dealing with cold-hearted landlords and the threat of eviction.

But this promise of security is a con. Whenever a recession occurs, tens of thousands of mortgage-holders are kicked out of their homes. Cuts in pay or the loss of a breadwinner's job, of a spouse's second income, or of unemployment benefits make it impossible for many to afford monthly payments.

The massive increase in home ownership has given real estate speculators, construction companies, loan sharks, and bankers a profit bonanza. But the employing class has an additional motive in pressing workers to buy a home. It figures that the more workers look at themselves as private property owners, with interests in common with other property owners, the harder it will be for them to recognize their common interests as wage workers.

The employers hope this will encourage workers to put their individual, private interests ahead of collective, social action against the employers.

The employers expect that workers who feel responsible for their small plot of land and the house that sits on it, and who can't, on short notice, pick up and move to another location for work, will be less inclined to take risks — such as going out on strike. And they will be more receptive to settling for less in disputes with the employers.

While these conservatizing factors have undoubtedly hindered the workers' movement, they will be unable to prevent workers in the long run from seeing the interests of the working class as a whole.

But one thing is clear. Home ownership is no guarantee of affordable and secure housing.

N. Carolina garment workers fight for a union

BY MICHAEL FITZSIMMONS

In September workers at Bates Nitewear's five facilities in Greensboro, Troy, and Yadkinville, North Carolina, voted 384 to 321 to be represented by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. This

UNION TALK

victory followed votes earlier this year for ACTWU representation at Reeve Brothers in Cornelius, and at Armitage Shanks in Mooresville.

Bates Nitewear, the country's largest manufacturer of baby and young children's night clothes, was bought out by Gerber Products in 1984. The buyout brought no benefits to Bates workers.

There was no system of seniority or job classification. Favoritism was rampant. Women workers, who make up the majority of employees, are often treated with disrespect. Pay is low and has decreased in recent years for

Many Bates workers have worked in, or have family or friends working at, some of the ACTWU-organized textile mills or other unionized factories in the area. From August to October 1985, ACTWU got a lot of publicity because of its unsuccessful organizing drive at Cannon Mills in Kannapolis.

In August 1985 several Bates workers contacted ACTWU's local office. The vast majority of the workers signed cards asking for union representation. Well-attended organizing meetings were held. In the fall of 1985, ACTWU filed with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) for a representation election.

The company responded to the workers' organizing efforts with intimidation and lies. Workers were shown antiunion movies and given antiunion lectures by the plant manager. Antiunion posters and newspaper clippings plastered the walls.

The employer asserted that unions are run as businesses, looking for more people to collect dues from, and that they are undemocratic and use violence.

The company tried to convince workers that it would be forced to close the plants if the union won. Workers were warned about the growth of low-wage garment manufacturing in Puerto Rico, Mexico, and other places. To save U.S. jobs, one poster claimed, we need to restrict imports and do away with unions.

Many prounion workers were hounded, arbitrarily given days off, or fired for breaking work rules. Workers of entire departments were ordered not to talk to coworkers or risk dismissal. Bathroom and phone use were further restricted.

Union or no union, company officials said, they would not give us any more than we were already getting. If we wanted changes, we would have to strike, management insisted. And they even pointed to the use of the National Guard against Hormel meat-packers in Minnesota as an example of what could happen here. The message was, "If you fight, you will lose."

We were told that we were one big family at Bates, and that we didn't need "third-party intruders."

The Bates' general manager claimed he was in the same boat we were. He had no pension and was just trying "to put some food on the table."

The first vote, on March 9, went 380-334 against the union. Most who voted no feared the plant would close down if the union won.

ACTWU filed objections with the NLRB, citing 20 different unfair labor practice violations by the company during the election period. Forty workers testified against the company. The NLRB ruled the first vote invalid and

another election was called for September.

Over the next months, many more workers saw through the company's lies and decided a union would put us in a better position to deal with the company. Some workers who had voted no in March got involved in the organizing drive.

Home visits by ACTWU representatives and Bates workers made it possible to answer questions about what having a union would mean.

During the last four weeks of the campaign, momentum for a union built. Workers asked questions and made statements during meetings set up by management and in shop-floor discussions, challenging the bosses' antiunion stand. The company was unable to establish an antiunion committee among the workers.

Following the September 19 vote in favor of a union, the company appealed the election to the NLRB's regional office. The employers charged that the union had created an atmosphere of violence and intimidation. The regional office dismissed the charges as unsubstantiated.

On October 28 the company filed a brief with the NLRB in Washington, D.C., asking that the election results be set aside. The board has until the beginning of February to rule on the election.

The NLRB's delay enables Bates to buy time and search for ways to defeat the union. Many workers' charges of unfair labor practices are tied up in appeals and other red tape.

The big issue for Bates workers now is how to force the company to quit stalling, recognize the union, and negotiate a decent contract.

Michael Fitzsimmons works at Bates Nitewear in Greensboro, North Carolina, and is a participant in the union organizing drive.

Say Remember

LETTERS

Indians

I thought your readers might be interested in this article published by the National Indian Youth Council.

"The Smithsonian Institution has released a state-by-state inventory of the remains of 14,000 Indian bodies in its collection. It invited Indian tribes to apply for them if the tribes can make a proper identification.

'So if you know what the skeleton of your relative looks like or you can tell Kiowa bones from Sioux bones you can make an application for their return.

"When asked if they had any remains of Anglos in their general collection they replied that they did not think so. When asked why not, they said they did not know."

Buzzards Bay, Massachusetts

Haiti

I am writing to inform you about my country. I take the occasion to salute you in the name of the world socialist revolution. Throughout the land, demands and demonstrations are being carried out — not for fun, but for the wellbeing of all.

Given that the National Council of Government (CNG) is the exact replica of the Jean-Claude [Duvalier] government;

And given that the criminals killed Jean Rober Mackenson Michel, and Danielson Ismaël were never brought to justice; given that the victims of Martissant have never gotten jus-

And given that the CNG protects the Tontons Macoutes and commits acts and actions contrary to the basic principles of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen; given that the CNG continues to lie to the people;

And given that the CNG is working with the Haitian people's number one enemy, the USA, in order to tolerate Yankee imperialism in the country; given that the CNG is resorting to deception, treason, and crime to preserve the Duvalierist government; given that certain disappearances were the work of the CNG;

It follows that the CNG is no longer recognized as the government of the people.

For this purpose, using the existing democratic institutions, the people will begin a struggle for its true liberation.

Richardson Narcisse, spokesperson for Patriot's Mission Réginald Volny, secretary-general

Feminist calendar

Port-au-Prince, Haiti

An Irish feminist calendar for 1987 on the theme of "women fight back" is now available, which your readers may be inter-

Copies may be ordered from Women Fight Back Action Group, 30 Fonteroy St., Dublin 7, Ireland at \$5 each, which will include prompt packaging and receipt.

We are not a publishing house or anything like that, but a group that grew out of the Campaign Against the Kerry Tribunal Re-

Mary O'Connell for Women Fight Back Action Dublin, Ireland

'Contras'

In response to the editorial titled "Reagan's secret aid to contras" in the December 5 Militant, I am skeptical about a few points men-

I will develop two of them. The first refers to the paragraph:

"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 con-

Who is "we"? If you are including yourself in "we," why do you have the "right" to have the information you ask for?

Maybe you meant to write, "The Sandinistas would love to know. . . . " "We have the right" is far-fetched. A war is being fought. Do I have the right to know the Sandinistas' game plan? I hardly think so. The conflict between the Sandinistas and contras is reality - not a game of show and tell.

I also disagree with the sentence, "The primary reason for the secrecy of this war is its unpopularity at home and abroad."

Thank goodness these words were written under the title "editorial," because it is definitely your personal socialist opinion, Mr.

Sure, there are those at home in the capitalist USA who are unsupportive of the war. But a majority? No. I ask you to stop trying to convince your 11,000 subscribers that the U.S. doesn't support President Reagan. Rather, it is the socialists that are grieving about the war. Must you be so biased that you stop making sense?

Jerry Moped Lewiston, Idaho

The Bohemian feeling

Ronald Reagan, George Bush, Weinberger, Shultz, and other members of the 114-year-old Bohemian Club have lost an appeals court decision. They will no longer be able to wander naked around the posh grounds of the 2,700-acre club in Northern California exclusively under the eyes of male-only employees.

The court ordered the club to hire women, rejecting claims that the presence of female employees "would change the spirit of the organization" and "destroy the Bohemian feeling."

A lower-court decision that exempted the club from federal fair-employment laws was overturned. The justice ruled that the club's own prohibition of fraternization by employees with members makes irrelevant the argument that hiring females would deny members their constitutional

Howard Mayhew Whitin, New Jersey

Privacy

The government's prosecution of Pamela Rae Monson for her private behavior during pregnancy seriously threatens women's privacy and reproductive rights.

Whatever caused the death of Monson's baby, it is exceedingly doubtful that marijuana had much to do with it. Marijuana is a nonaddictive herb with much lower toxicity than most legal drugs, and it does not cause fetal deformities or "fetal distress syndrome." R.B. Wilk

Bloomfield, New Jersey

AIDS

As a new subscriber, I would like to express my admiration for the Militant and my appreciation of its treatment of all the various conflagration. issues shunned by the establishment papers and other media. Keep up the good work.

TOMORROW I LEAVE FOR CENTRAL AMERICA

TO BE AN ADVISE

On the question of the disease AIDS, does the *Militant* or any of your readers have any information as to its origins? I ask this question because Radio Moscow World Service, which I listen to regularly, broadcast an item recently in which it was claimed that AIDS is a man-made ailment. The program quoted an Irish newspaper and a French scientist as sources for reports that AIDS was cultured in U.S. laboratories and that convicts were used as guinea pigs in return for early release from prison.

Could AIDS indeed be the product of some government agency's mad Dr. Moreau, deliberately designed as the equivalent of a capitalist war without the expense of weapons or the risk of global destruction as a result of a nuclear

Even now, the pharmaceutical manufacturers are talking of the billions of dollars to be made from the introduction of an effective vaccine against AIDS.

This suggests to me waiting until the "war" has killed off enough of the world's population to make consumer markets once again attractive to capitalist producers. Then a suitable vaccine will be miraculously discovered to bring about the corresponding equivalent of peace.

Harry Turnbull League City, Texas

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



THEMILITANT

Human cost of war against Angola

S. Africa troops, U.S.-armed terrorists kill, maim, destroy

BY SAM MANUEL

HUAMBO, Angola — Ever since it overthrew Portuguese colonial rule 11 years ago, Angola has been at war. The war is carried out against the Angolan people by the apartheid regime of South Africa, in collaboration with the counterrevolutionary bands of the so-called National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) led by Jonas Savimbi.

Washington, which has always opposed the government of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), has stepped up its political and military aid to UNITA.

The harsh reality of the war is driven home upon arrival at the airport in Huambo. Antiaircraft guns and bunkers are prominent, and security is much tighter than in Luanda, the capital.

Huambo, a city of nearly 1.5 million, is located in the central highlands of Angola. The meager social services the government can provide are further strained as thousands of people flee the areas just to the east of here where UNITA and South African troops operate extensively. Some 600,000 of these displaced people live in constant need of emergency assistance for food, clothing, and shelter.

The vast majority of Angolans live by subsistence farming of potatoes, beans, corn, peanuts, and a variety of fruits.

The cooperative village of Cassege No. 1 some 10 miles from here is typical of thousands throughout the countryside here. The men were away in the fields when we arrived. Some young women were working smaller plots of land near the village dwellings. Though many of the homes had

thatched roofs, the walls were made of adobe brick, an improvement over the stick frames of colonial times. Two young men ages 14 and 15 stood guard with AK-47 assault rifles.

Changes since independence

The village elder explained what had changed since colonial times. "Before, we worked the land but also had to seek work in the city in order to get money to pay the taxes," he said. "Now we don't pay the taxes. We work the land and get help from the MPLA."

This area has historically been a breadbasket of Angola. Now, there is a shortage of food due largely to the war and the rapid flight of peasants from the countryside into the city

Over the last few months the Angolan army has been conducting extensive operations against South African and UNITA forces here. This campaign has resulted in the loss of many UNITA troops, prisoners taken, and large amounts of weapons captured. South African and UNITA troops are largely confined to the country's extreme southeastern corner.

Unable to mount any sort of offensive against the Angolan army, UNITA has more and more turned to terrorist acts against the population.

In the rich agricultural farmlands surrounding Huambo, they plant antipersonnel mines in the fields to prevent the peasants from farming the land. The result is indiscriminate killing and maiming of civilian men, women, and children.

I was taken to an emergency Red Cross hospital that treats people who have lost

arms or legs as a result of the war. The director explained that they get an average of 1,000 cases per year. This hospital has been functioning since 1981. It is the only one of its kind in all of Angola, so possibly thousands of others never receive treatment. Many die as a result.

One by one the patients told me their stories. All of them were peasants. Catarina Tchilombo, 42 years old, is crippled in both legs. She was shot when UNITA forces carried out a midnight attack on her village of Bailundo, 40 miles north of here.

Candida Katanga, 17, lost both legs in an antipersonnel mine explosion while working in the fields.

Magdelena Jambela, 19, lost one leg. She was carrying her child on her back at the time. The child survived only because the mother's body blocked the force of the explosion. Hiyiñyo Lunge, 9, stepped on a mine on his way to the toilet. Each story revealed a conscious pattern of terror against civilians.

'Beat and raped women'

Fifty-six-year-old Gabriel Kassange, a village elder in Bailundo, lost his legs on August 29. He described the attack on the village: "First they started shooting. Many of us attempted to gather some things and run. The shooting forced us to run through the fields. Then the mines started to explode. I stepped on one. I looked down and saw that I had lost my legs. They beat and raped the women, including my daughter. They took everything we had — clothes, food, chickens, and other animals."

Bailundo is an area of the Ovimbundospeaking people whom UNITA has historically claimed as a base of support. Another reporter asked Kassange his feelings toward Savimbi. He answered, shaking, "If I could stand I would go and finish him and the others."

From there we were taken to see another example of how UNITA is fighting for the hearts and minds of the Angolan people. We visited an orphanage. It housed children from infancy up to 12 years old.

The director, Maria Lucia, explained that most of the children had lost their parents in attacks by UNITA and South African soldiers on the villages in the area.



Angolan amputee, Militant/Sam Manuel victim of U.S.-backed war.

Some children arrive traumatized, yet the orphanage cannot provide professional psychiatric care. She explained, "We simply rely on the companionship of the older children to bring the newer ones through."

The U.S. government and the media portray Savimbi and his band as freedom fighters against communism in Angola. But etched upon the bodies of the people here is the true nature of the dirty war conducted by South Africa and UNITA, with increasing support from Washington.

S. Africa cops arrest 13 white foes of apartheid

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Alarmed by the spread of anti-apartheid activism among sectors of South Africa's white population, security police detained 13 people over the night of December 2-3. All were young white antidraft campaigners

In coordinated raids, the police picked up nine activists of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) in Cape Town and four ECC members at a meeting in Johannesburg. Twelve others present at the Johannesburg meeting were served with restriction orders banning them from any further participation in the antidraft campaign.

In South Africa, all able-bodied white males are obliged to serve two years in the South African Defence Force (SADF), followed by periodic call-ups and reserve duty. They might be sent to fight against the Namibian independence forces or to patrol the Black townships within South Africa, alongside the regular police.

But under the impact of the massive Black mobilizations over the past two years and the growing crisis of the apartheid system, some whites have begun to openly oppose the regime's policies.

The ECC was launched in 1984 by more than 40 church, student, and civil rights groups to organize opposition to military conscription. It has held rallies of several thousand.

The ECC's strongest base has been on the white, English-speaking campuses, but in recent months its support has grown on some of the Afrikaans-speaking universities as well. This has included the universities of Pretoria and Stellenbosch, which up to now have been strongholds of support for the governing National Party. According to official figures, 7,589 whites failed to respond to draft call-up orders in 1985, compared to 1,600 the year before.

Some whites have taken their opposition to apartheid a step further. On November 6 a 28-year-old white guerrilla fighter, Marion Monica Sparg, was convicted and sentenced to 25 years in prison.

Sparg was accused of planting bombs at three police stations this year — two of which exploded, causing considerable damage. She admitted openly in court that she had planted the bombs as a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the military wing of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC).

"I regard myself as a patriot," Sparg said, responding to the charge of treason. "Even as a white South African I do not owe any loyalty to a government which is clearly not based on the will of the people."

In her testimony, Sparg explained, "I felt basically that if there was to be any future chance for reconciliation between Blacks and whites in this country, then those whites who sympathized, who agreed with the aims or the ideas for which Black South Africans were fighting, and for which they have indicated that they are preparing to fight to the death, then it is also necessary for those whites who agree with them to also be seen to be acting at that level."

Sparg said that in Umkhonto we Sizwe and the ANC, "we believe that apartheid has to be destroyed, that the only way to do it is by going to war. My motives, I feel, are not those of a murderer or a killer or even of a saboteur. Ultimately my motive is that of a soldier — a volunteer soldier, not one who is conscripted."

Namibia freedom fighter murdered

BY SAM MANUEL

LUANDA, Angola — Emanuel Shifidi, a veteran fighter against the occupation of Namibia by the armed forces of the apartheid regime in South Africa, was recently killed in Windhoek, the capital of Namibia.

He was murdered during an armed attack on a November 30 rally of thousands of members and supporters of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO). Thugs from a military unit called Koevoet were responsible.

In Afrikaans, the language of part of South Africa's white population, Koevoet means crowbar. This group is composed of South African provocateurs, Namibian puppet supporters of the so-called interim government installed by South Africa, and former members of the Rhodesian military.

A two-year-old child was also killed in Koevoet's attack. Twenty-two others are listed in critical condition at the Windhoek Central Hospital.

Shifidi was a pioneer guerrilla of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). On Aug. 26, 1966, he participated in the first armed attack by PLAN units against the South African Defence Force in Namibia. During the battle, Shifidi was captured. He was sent to Pre-

toria for trial, where he received a life sen-

He spent 20 years behind bars, 18 of them on the notorious Robben Island. Early this year, he was released, along with several other prisoners. The South African regime claimed to have released them as part of preparations for the interim government in Namibia. It had hoped that Shifidi and others would participate in this farce, thus legitimizing it.

Upon his return to Namibia, Shifidi continued to struggle against the apartheid occupiers. He denounced the so-called interim government and helped to organize rallies for the immediate independence of Namibia.

Hidipo Hamutenya, secretary of information for SWAPO, explained, "Shifidi was a veteran of political imprisonment. Now he has died in the struggle against the apartheid racists. We have every reason to believe that this was a selective murder. For days leading up to the rally, there had been a campaign of terror organized against SWAPO supporters. Homes were burned, and vehicles were destroyed. Having just released these comrades, the regime could not afford to rearrest them and return them to prison. It therefore now attempts to intimidate them through murden."