

INSHORT

By Joel Bleifuss

Now step this way

One room in the 14th century Augustine monastery is dedicated to hunter dogs. Brek, a German shepherd, stands statue-mounted. The guide tells the assembled school children that Brek caught 62 people as they tried to cross the border. This scene and others in Czechoslovakia's state police museum in Prague are described by William Echikson in a recent edition of the *Christian Science Monitor*. One wall of the museum displays a series of angel-filled baroque paintings under which are tacked 444 revolvers captured from CIA agents. In another room next to a picture of the country's first Communist president is a portion of a 1949 speech in which he said that he was pleased that demonstrators in new Czechoslovakia now shout, "Long live the police. Long live national security." In the section devoted to the 1968 "counter-revolution," one of the exhibits explains, "If it weren't for brotherly help we would have ended up with civil war." And another room hosts the homemade inventions of people who were caught leaving the country. There is the hand-crafted hot air balloon. "This balloon was designed by two people trying to escape to Austria. They were watched and caught," the guide tells the children. And there is a helicopter powered by a car engine. "This was designed by an engineer from Prague," says the guide. "He, too, was caught."

"Dirty little wars" and other names

The *Los Angeles Times* is now bearing the standard—held in previous decades by the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*—of the liberal newspaper of record. And newspaper watchers have noted a divergence of editorial opinion in the big three U.S. dailies. The difference is most obvious on the issue of Central America. The *Washington Post* describes the Reagan administration's Central America policy as the "American program to support the contra cause," while the *New York Times* calls it "a policy of military pressure without a second track of negotiations." In welcome contrast, the *Los Angeles Times*, bitter and honest, characterizes the president's policies like this: "His dirty little war against Nicaragua," "the folly of his bloody policies in the region" and "international outlaws" who practice "state-sponsored terrorism." Editorial page editor Anthony Day agrees that the *L.A. Times* is more critical of official policy than its equivocating Eastern cousins. "That is true. We have been so since the beginning," he told *In These Times*. "We collectively know Central America pretty well and we have strong views about what the U.S. should and should not be doing there. And one thing we should absolutely not be doing is intervening militarily to overthrow the Sandinistas. This is a Latin American problem that should be dealt with by Latin Americans."

Gary voters deny Hatcher sixth term

Richard Hatcher, the first black mayor of a large American city and a national leader in civil rights and other issues, was defeated last week in his bid for a sixth term as mayor of Gary, Ind. Hatcher lost to Thomas V. Barnes, the Calumet Township Assessor who began his career 20 years ago in the Hatcher camp. Frederick Stern sent this report: Hatcher came to office in 1967, shortly before the election of Carl Stokes in Cleveland, in what was soon to become a national phenomenon—the election of black mayors in American cities. Active in civil rights in Gary, Hatcher had gone south as an attorney during the demonstrations in Selma and elsewhere. Returning to Gary, he established a coalition of impatient blacks and liberal-to-left whites in the "Steel City," a center of U.S. Steel's then-thriving industry. Hatcher's election was followed by a series of shocks for Gary. First came a rapid white flight to the Lake County suburbs, and with it disinvestment from the city's commercial areas. Then the nation's steel companies sharply cut production. U.S. Steel (now USX), which had once employed more than 21,000 in several plants, now has one plant with fewer than 6,000 employees. For many years Hatcher has been a national figure in a wide variety of civil rights, civil liberties and peace causes. He was chairman of the board of TransAfrica, a prominent organization in the attack on apartheid. He was a central figure in Rev. Jesse Jackson's 1984 presidential campaign, an involvement that cost him his position as a vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Hatcher also served as chair of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, an organization of black mayors.



Heeding the call: Bishop Thomas Gumbleton of Detroit (center) and retired Bishop Charles Buswell of Pueblo, Colo., were two of 98 Christian protesters arrested May 5 for trespassing and being public nuisances at the Department of Energy's Nevada Test Site. Gumbleton, president of Pax Christi USA, had invited the Christian community "to come to the Nevada desert to pray at the place where all U.S. nuclear weapons are tested." He also asked those who felt "called" to join him in "a non-violent act of civil disobedience to protest our nation's policy of testing and stockpiling nuclear weapons." Several days before the Pax Christi-initiated action—which was attended by 250 and took place on the fourth anniversary of the U.S. bishops' Challenge of Peace pastoral letter—Nye County District Attorney Phil Dunleavy said all charges against those arrested would be dropped as soon as they reached his desk. The Nye County justice system, he said, would not become a forum for the personal opinions of those who throw "adult temper tantrums." During the past six years more than 1,500 people have been arrested for civil disobedience at the Nevada Test Site.

Mexico facilitates U.S. maneuvers in Honduras

MEXICO CITY—U.S. Army helicopters ferrying troops and supplies to and from military maneuvers in Honduras routinely land in Mexico to refuel. This has prompted observers here to remark on an apparent "schizophrenia" in Mexico's Central American policy.

While U.S. Embassy spokesmen confirmed that U.S. military helicopters use Mexican airports for refueling en route to Honduran maneuvers, they would not confirm if the practice will continue during the massive "Solid Shield" maneuvers taking place this month.

A total of 50,000 U.S. Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force and Coast Guard personnel will participate in Operation Solid Shield. During the mock war, Camp Lejeune, a Marine base in North Carolina, will repel a mock invasion and the U.S. base at Guantanamo, Cuba, will undergo a simulated evacuation. A Honduras-based part of the operation—code named Pegasus 87—will see the deployment of 7,000 Marine, Army, Navy and Air Force personnel in southern Honduras near the Nicaraguan border. Pegasus 87 will be the largest ever joint exercise between Honduras and the U.S. For the first time U.S. jet fighters and Airborne Warning and Control Systems aircraft (AWACS) will fly Honduran skies. According to *Mesoamerica*, a Costa Rican monthly of Central American news and analysis, the plan will also "in-

clude a mock large-scale amphibious invasion on Honduras' Caribbean coast."

The Mexican press reported that on February 23 four U.S. Boeing "Chinook" helicopters landed at the civilian Heriberto Jara Corona airport in the Mexican city of Veracruz. A U.S. Embassy spokesman confirmed that "four American helicopters did in fact land in Veracruz as part of the exercises in Honduras." The U.S. Defense Department mission at the embassy "processed a request and it was granted...I would think by the Mexican defense department," said the spokesman.

The Mexican Unified Socialist Party (PSUM) brought the landings to national attention, basing their information on stories and photographs in the Veracruz newspapers *El Dictamen* and *El Universal* and reports from Veracruz party members.

PSUM Veracruz committee member Rafael Covarrubias told *In These Times* that the helicopters have been landing in Veracruz "since the end of the World Cup [soccer tournament]—I think it was July 27 when the newspapers first took note of it."

Neither Mexico's Foreign Relations Secretariat nor the National Defense Secretariat has claimed responsibility for authorizing the landings.

John Saxe-Fernandez, a political science professor at the National Autonomous University of Mexico in Mexico City and an authority on military and strategic affairs, told *In These Times* that the flights over

Mexico and landings in the country "had to have been authorized from above, but we don't know if it came from the presidential level or from the National Defense Secretariat."

If the Mexican military is authorizing the landings, it comes as somewhat of a surprise, he said, because, unlike most other Latin American countries, Mexico does not have a bilateral defense treaty with the U.S. and, officially at least, cooperation between the two militaries is minimal.

"What is certain is that it shows a 'schizophrenia' in Mexico's foreign policy," Saxe said. One of the pillars of the Contadora peace initiative, of which Mexico is a principal supporter, is a cessation of all foreign military exercises six months after signing the accord. Allowing Mexican territory to be used in logistical support of such maneuvers, said Saxe, "could create a rather serious crisis in [Mexico's] Central America policy."

Cuauhtemoc Sandoval, a member of the PSUM's international relations committee, told *In These Times* that leftist parties in the National Chamber of Deputies attempted to open an investigation into the matter "because it just can't be that part of the government is backing Contadora...while another part is allowing U.S. helicopters bound for Honduran maneuvers to use national territory." But, said Sandoval, that proposed probe was quashed by the ruling Revolutionary Institutional Party, which holds a 299-101 majority in the Chamber.

—Mike Tangeman

Tambo confers with white South African ministers

LUSAKA, ZAMBIA—When African National Congress (ANC) President Oliver Tambo walked into the conference room at Lusaka's Pamodzi (Unity) Hotel on May 5, South African delegates to a World Council of Churches Conference on the search for justice and peace in southern Africa left no doubt where their votes would go if the next day's South African election was open to all races.

When chants and songs of praise finally ended, a visibly tired Tambo spoke softly at first, then with a deepening passion fueled by listeners' enthusiasm. He had come here directly from the all-night flight that concluded his five-week tour of the Far East and Europe.

The excitement reflected the most basic fact of South African politics, said Rev. C.F. Beyers Naude, the white secretary general of the South African Council of Churches. In a universal suffrage election the "overwhelming majority" would, he said, choose the ANC's jailed and exiled leaders to head their government. Tambo emphasized the reluctance with which his movement entered armed struggle in 1961 after 49 years of failed peaceful protest. The ANC leader and delegates who came

from South Africa then conversed like old friends, continuing a long-running dialogue on strategies for ending apartheid. Most had neither seen nor heard Tambo, who has been exiled a quarter century and cannot legally be quoted in the South African press.

"We who are inside are weaving the carpet on which you will come home," a grandmother long active in religious movements against apartheid told Tambo.

Tambo invited criticism and debate. When a university professor complained that the "cultural boycott" of South Africa isolates anti-apartheid scholars from international progressive movements, the ANC president immediately acknowledged that "the cultural boycott is in trouble" and promised to work toward restructuring it.

Tambo disappointed a militant township youth who complained that parents and church leaders tried to prevent violent reprisals against apartheid's collaborators. The solution is political, the ANC leader insisted: organizers must unite their communities so effectively that government collaborators will be totally isolated.

The most poignant exchange came when Tambo led the audience in applause for Naude as "a great man, a great fighter." As Tambo stepped down from the stage, the white church leader and black rebel embraced like long-

separated brothers, stepped back to glimpse each other's smiling face and embraced again.

Named for an Afrikaner general and immersed until middle age in the white pro-apartheid Dutch Reform Church, Naude broke with his tradition in the '60s, joined the democratic movement and became a symbol of its aspirations for a new South Africa. The SACC leader refused to vote in last Wednesday's whites-only election.

Tambo's demeanor impressed whites who have not made Naude's pilgrimage. William Nicol, a minister of the white Dutch Reform Church, was pleasantly surprised that the ANC leader "offered not one word to encourage" reprisals against collaborators. A Lutheran pastor said he had not expected to see such a "thoughtful, scholarly" man. The two white clergymen were racial moderates from outside "the movement," invited by Naude so they could get a first-hand glimpse of the black leaders portrayed as terrorists in most of the South African press.

Against the backdrop of election-linked turmoil inside South Africa and the apartheid army's anti-civilian violence in last month's raid on Zambia (see *In These Times*, May 6), this gathering projected a rare image of a potentially peaceful and united future for South Africa after apartheid is ended.

—Steve Askin

In publication...

In its one year of existence, the Washington-based National Security Archive's goal has been to make declassified and unclassified national security documents accessible to reporters and the public. The publication of its impressive study, *The Chronology: A Documented Day-by-Day Account of the Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Contras*, as a mass paperback helps fulfill that aim.

While *The Chronology* contains much of the information found in the Tower Commission report (see *In These Times*, March 11), Malcolm Byrne of the Archive says that this new work is a "more ambitious attempt to look at the Reagan foreign policy process." The book examines policies involving not only Iran and Nicaragua but also Libya, South Africa, Afghanistan and nations in Western Europe.

Price: \$5.95. Published by Warner Books. Available in most bookstores.

In *Double Jeopardy: Short Run Tax Savings Threaten Nuclear Safety*, Joseph Kriesberg of Public Citizen's Critical Mass Energy Project discusses how certain tax breaks provide incentives for utility companies to rush nuclear power plants into service, perhaps at the cost of safety.

Since depreciation benefits are not at present pro-rated, a utility company gains a full year's tax ad-

vantage by getting new plants in service late one year rather than early the next. Kriesberg points out that the Three Mile Island reactor was put in service on Dec. 31, 1978—and three months later suffered a partial meltdown. "This is a clear example of the implications" of utility companies' haste, he told *In These Times*.

Price: \$5, Public Citizen, 215 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Washington, DC 20003.

Exploring the drawbacks of standardized testing is the mission of the *FairTest Examiner*, a new quarterly put out by the National Center for Fair and Open Testing.

According to FairTest's Nancy Murray, the *Examiner's* purpose is twofold: first, to act as a clearinghouse for those doing work in the field of evaluation and use of standardized exams; and to inform the public of the harm caused by the use of these tests in assessing intelligence, college aptitude and job ability.

The first issue, Spring 1987, provides an overview of such problems: the apparent discriminatory effects against women and minorities, the failure to accommodate intellectual nuances and the frequent misuse of test scores by educational institutions and employers.

This issue also devotes a page to ambiguous test questions. For example, a 1971 IQ test for elementary school children asks: "In New York City, it is almost impossible

to find a place to — your car. a) drive, b) repair, c) wash, d) park, e) hide."

Yearly subscription: \$15 FairTest, P.O. Box 1272, Harvard Square Station, Cambridge, MA 02238.

Tom Barry and Deb Preusch of the Inter-Hemispheric Education Resource Center take on the AFL-CIO's operations in Central America in *AIFLD in Central America: Agents as Organizers*. The authors detail how the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), the AFL-CIO's Latin American labor institute, has supported U.S. military and economic activity in the region (see *In These Times*, April 15).

Most of the operations Barry and Preusch describe took place with the knowledge of only a few AFL-CIO officials; local union leaders and members have been kept in the dark. Chuck Hosking of the Resource Center says that publication of this work has, "for the first time, blown the issue wide open."

Furthermore, some repercussions can already be seen. Hosking told *In These Times* that in New York members of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador read the study, were convinced of its claims and are now working to forestall further AIFLD adventurism.

Price \$5. The Resource Center, P.O. Box 4506, Albuquerque, NM 87196.

—Lynn Travers

15. Additionally, the new use by the FDN of American-made mines adds an element of randomness and increases the danger of civilian transport on the roads I must travel.

16. I plan to remain in Nicaragua for the foreseeable future. If the United States continues to train, support, finance and aid the FDN in violation of international law and the June 1986 decision of the World Court, I will be subject to personal danger to life and limb as I carry out my work.

17. The danger to my physical safety is immediate and unless an injunction is issued, I may suffer irreparable physical harm as a result of the unlawful activities of the United States government.

Benjamin Linder
BENJAMIN LINDER

Sworn to before me this
7 day of September, 1986

Vicki Robinson
NOTARY PUBLIC 05/08/89
notary for Oregon

'His death was policy' —John Linder

On Sept. 7, 1986, Benjamin Linder wrote a three-page deposition for the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York. He described the contra attacks in the Jinotega province where he lived and wrote about the danger he faced travelling rural roads where American-made mines had killed several European development workers and scores of Nicaraguans. The final portion of that deposition is shown above. To that we add a postscript by Benjamin's brother John, who said, "The U.S. government killed my brother. The contras killed my brother. Ronald Reagan says he is a contra. My brother's death was not an accident. His death was policy." To help continue the work that Linder and others gave their lives for, the Benjamin Linder Memorial Fund for Technical Aid to Nicaragua has been established. Contributions can be sent to P.O. Box 5685, Bellingham, Wash. 98227.

Contra contradictions

"We conduct our activities and ourselves according to the highest standards of integrity, morality and honor and according to the spirit and letter of our law and Constitution.... We measure our success by our contribution to the protection and enhancement of American values, security and national interest."

—Credo, Central Intelligence Agency

Former CIA Director William Casey died last week. His family has asked that mourners forego flowers and send contributions to the William J. Casey Fund for the Nicaraguan Freedom Fighters.

Banana journalism in Costa Rica

"At least eight Costa Rican journalists, including three 'top editors,' receive monthly payments from the CIA," according to the former president of the Costa Rican journalists' union, Carlos Morales. Journalist Martha Honey (one of the plaintiffs in the Christic Institute's suit against "the secret team" that allegedly worked to keep the contras armed with white-powder profits) details these allegations in a recent issue of *Columbia Journalism Review*. Morales told Honey, "There may be more [CIA-sponsored journalists in Costa Rica], but these I know for certain because most are former students of mine, and some have talked to me about it. Their job is to get into the press stories, commentaries or editorials attacking Nicaragua and sympathetic to the contras." The latest issue of the Costa Rican-based *Mesoamerica*, a compendium of Central American news and analysis, reports that people are doing their job: "The media in Costa Rica have been practicing a thorough-going self-censorship since representatives of the media began having regular meetings in April 1980 to 'coordinate' their activities. Those meetings were originally called by the U.S. Information Agency and held in its offices, though for several years the meetings have been held without visible U.S. participation. But the monolithic kind of reporting that the Costa Rican media provide, with news and analysis always following the same line and reporting the same news, has led many observers to the conclusion that there is some kind of 'central planning' involved.... In recent days this coordination became more flagrant than ever as an event that received major coverage throughout the world, the Marine spy scandal in Moscow, received virtually no coverage at all in Costa Rica.... It is hard to imagine that the usually sensationalistic Costa Rican media, if uncontrolled, would without exception pass up such a juicy story."