

## Nicaraguans celebrate 8 years of revolution

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

MATAGALPA, Nicaragua — Flanked by a huge billboard welcoming African National Congress leader Oliver Tambo, 40,000 Nicaraguan workers and peasants here celebrated the eighth anniversary of their revolution, which overthrew dictator Anastasio Somoza July 19.

Matagalpa is the government seat of Nicaragua's north-central Region VI. Bordering Honduras, it is the region that has suffered most from the six-year contra war imposed by the U.S. government. U.S. engineer Benjamin Linder was murdered by the contras not far from here in April.

Thousands of peasants and workers came to the rally despite increased contra attacks in the region in the last few weeks and threats by the mercenaries to disrupt the celebrations. Thousands of army reservists were mobilized along the highway to guarantee the safety of travelers.

Prominent among the banners and signs displayed at the rally were several from international solidarity brigades working in Nicaragua, including teachers from the United States, the Roberto Clemente Brigade from Puerto Rico, and brigades from Italy and Switzerland, among others. A large red-and-black banner carried by West German metalworkers read, "We are workers, we are internationalists."

Sharing the platform with leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and the Nicaraguan government were Oliver Tambo, president of the African Na-



Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress of South Africa, addressed 40,000 workers and peasants who rallied to mark anniversary of Nicaraguan revolution. Banner reads, "Welcome Comrade Oliver Tambo."

tional Congress of South Africa, and Puerto Rican independence hero Irving Flores.

The well-known U.S. country and western singer, Kris Kristofferson, sang "Sandinista", a song he wrote in honor of the revolution's anniversary.

Tambo was the featured guest speaker.

During the rally he was awarded the Order of Carlos Fonseca, the highest honor given to distinguished members of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. The FSLN gave him the award in recognition of his contribution, together with Nelson Mandela, "to

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## El Salvador death squads attack in Los Angeles

BY OLGA RODRÍGUEZ AND ANDRÉS PÉREZ

LOS ANGELES — A series of abductions, violent attacks, and threats have occurred here in the past few weeks against Central Americans who oppose U.S. government policy.

On July 7 Yanira "N," a leading activist in the Association of Progressive Salvadoran Women (AMPES), was abducted near the offices of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) by two Salvadoran men. They interrogated her about other Central American activists, burned her fingers with cigarettes, cut her hands and tongue, and raped her. The ordeal lasted for six hours. They further threatened, "We won't kill you this time, but it will continue with your son," referring to her child. Yanira was found by police officers the next morning dumped under a bridge.

On July 17 Ana María López, a young Guatemalan refugee activist, was abducted at gun point while waiting for a bus by a masked man who spoke what she described as "Salvadoran Spanish." She was driven around for two hours, verbally threatened, and terrorized. She was also interrogated about her activities with the Guatemalan Cultural Center, other Guatemalans, Salvadorans, and two U.S. citizens who support the Salvadoran refugee community. She was warned to stop her activities or "others" would come after her.

Marta Alicia Rivera, a well-known exiled Salvadoran trade union leader who had been kidnapped and tortured in El Salvador, received a death threat in her mailbox. The letter also named 18 other Central American solidarity activists as targets, among them Angela Sanbrano, national coordinator of CISPES.

Luis Oliveres, a Catholic priest and leader in the fight for immigrant and refugee rights and against U.S. intervention in Central America, received a similar letter. The letter was signed "E.M." for *escuadrones de la muerte* — death squads.

Phillip Zwerling announced that the First Unitarian Church, a well-known movement center, had been vandalized sometime on July 18 or 19.

In a statement to a broadly attended press conference, Angela Sanbrano said, "The attacks against CISPES, religious organizations, and the Salvadoran community are, we believe, part of the overall strategy to intimidate, harass, and delegitimize those who are working to change U.S. foreign policy."

The CISPES leader called on the Los Angeles Police Department to investigate and prosecute those responsible, and de-

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## North, Congress, and the contra war

BY HARRY RING

At the congressional hearing on the Iran-contra arms scandal, Lt. Col. Oliver North proved himself a fast-talking, shifty witness. But, for one brief moment, he slipped and let it all hang out.

Pressed on why he and his associates had lied about the covert contra supply operation, he blurted out:

"Quite simply . . . the exposure of the operation would have caused it to be terminated. . . . I'm talking about the political debate that would have occurred here in this country and the revelations piece by piece by piece, just like we have on this ac-

tivity."

North quickly realized what a damning admission he had made — that if the people of this country knew what was going on, Washington's contra war would be totally undermined.

So he shifted gears, returning to his stock argument that exposure of the illegal operation would have jeopardized lives.

Throughout his testimony, North took the political offensive, pressing his line about the need to stop "communism" in Nicaragua, insisting that the U.S. mercenaries were an authentic "democratic resistance" in Nicaragua, and that any means

taken to support them was justified.

In the face of North's challenge to make support of the contra war the standard by which every action is measured, all of the members of the congressional investigating committee backed down. Rather than challenging the war itself, they kept insisting that how U.S. policy is implemented is the key issue. In fact, they accepted North's basic political thesis — that the Sandinista government is "bad" and a way must be found to get rid of it.

With that as their starting point, they couldn't politically stand up to North effectively — even if they had wanted to.

As North developed his testimony, it was disclosed that his concern for the secrecy of the operation was not limited to assuring that the contra war would continue.

He explained to the committee that there was a long-term perspective of creating an ongoing secret operation for use worldwide — a CIA within the CIA, an underground enterprise that would not suffer even the

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## Haitians protest U.S. support to repressive military junta

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — Chanting "Down with the KNG" and "People's power," 4,000 protesters marched here July 20 in a demonstration called by university and high school students.

The marchers held rallies in front of the Ministry of Education, the National Palace, and the U.S. consulate. They demanded the ouster of the ruling military junta, the National Council of Government, known by its creole initials KNG, and an end to the U.S. government's political and military intervention in Haiti.

Similar demonstrations were reported in Jérémie, Cap Haïtien, Gonaïves, Port-de-Paix, and Jacmel.

These marches were the latest in a month of strikes and protests against the government. The junta was appointed by dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier shortly before massive protests forced him to flee the country in early 1986.

Junta leaders Gen. Henri Namphy and Col. Williams Regala were top officers in Duvalier's army.

"The KNG is anticonstitutional, it's a dictatorship," one demonstrator told this reporter as the action passed in front of the National Palace.

Another said the junta had prepared a "coup d'état" against the constitution by trying to control elections scheduled for later this year. "We want democracy," he said. "The KNG must go before there can be elections."

"The U.S. government should get it [the junta] out," a marcher shouted. "The United States put it in and is backing it to keep it in power against the people."

"We will strike and demonstrate like this until the KNG goes. When Namphy goes, then we will be free," a man explained as he passed by. This upsurge began June 22

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## U.S. warships threaten Iran

BY FRED FELDMAN

The escorting by U.S. warships of Kuwaiti tankers placed under U.S. flag and command began July 22, days after Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger reiterated the threat to strike at Iranian ships, planes, and territory at the first "evidence of hostile intent."

U.S. naval commanders have been granted wide authority to strike at Iranian targets which they judge to be hostile, even if U.S. forces have not come under fire.

Washington's goal in reflagging Kuwaiti tankers and providing them with heavily

armed naval escorts in the Persian Gulf is to provoke incidents that can provide credible pretexts for U.S. military strikes against Iran.

Washington now has a fleet of nine ships, including guided missile frigates and destroyers, in the gulf. In addition, an aircraft carrier, guided missile cruiser, guided missile frigate, and other U.S. ships are now operating near the entrance to the Persian Gulf.

The battleship *Missouri*, heading up a task force estimated at six warships, including an Aegis cruiser specializing in an-

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# Cuba to be a theme of socialist conference

BY SAM MANUEL

Some 1,000 unionists; students; activists in the anti-apartheid, farm, Black rights, and women's rights struggles; and international fighters are expected to attend a Socialist Educational and Active Workers Conference in Oberlin, Ohio, next month. The conference, sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, will be held August 8-13.

A central theme of the gathering will be today's historic turning point in the Cuban revolution. Although it has been virtually ignored by the press around the world, inside Cuba the last year and a half an intense public discussion has been occurring on the next steps for advancing toward socialism.

This process, led by the Cuban Communist Party, involves every sector and level of society. Cuban leaders have pointed to the obstacles that had developed in Cuba — reliance on economic mechanisms rather than political consciousness and activity, the growth of social inequalities and privileged sectors — and they initiated the major reorientation needed to overcome them. They are countering these trends by taking steps to deepen the development of communist understanding throughout the country.

Two major talks will be given on this theme. The first talk, *Cuba — A Historic Turning Point*, will be given by Socialist Workers Party leader Mary-Alice Waters at the opening session of the conference on Saturday evening, August 8.

The second talk will be given the following morning by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. It will focus on where the developments in Cuba fit into the pattern of world revolution and the tasks of communist party-building today, including the struggle against privilege and bureaucracy in those countries where capitalism has been overturned.

There will be a series of classes on Cuba and another series on the role of the communist party in the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The Cuba series will focus on two important speeches by Fidel Castro that appear in the current issue of *New Internationalist*, and around books published by Pathfinder, including *Women and the Cuban Revolution* by Betsey Stone and *Fidel Castro's Political Strategy — From Moncada to Victory* by Marta Harnecker.

The series on the role of communist leadership in the transition to socialism will be based on the forthcoming Pathfinder book, *Lenin's Unfinished Fight*, containing articles by V.I. Lenin; *Revolution Betrayed* by Russian revolutionist Leon Trotsky; and *Socialism and Man* by Che Guevara.

A class will focus on the meaning of the economic and political reforms launched by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in the USSR.

One of the major presentations will be given on the Philippines. It will take up the challenges to building a communist leadership in that country.

The Nicaraguan revolution will also be the topic of classes and discussions. There will be classes on the Atlantic Coast autonomy program and on the fight for women's equality in Nicaragua today.

A slide show on the organization and struggles of political prisoners in El Salvador will be given by U.S. trade unionists who visited El Salvador.

Significant developments in the Caribbean will also be featured. Among them will be a series of classes on the Grenada revolution based on the article, "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop," which also appears in the current issue of *New Internationalist*.

Classes on other international struggles will include ones on the Philippines, Haiti, Korea, India, Britain, and Canada.

Representatives of political organizations and trade unions from the Caribbean, Central America, and Africa will be in attendance to address the conference and participate in all of these classes and discussions.

The conference will also take up the struggles of workers and working farmers in the United States. There will be a major presentation called "U.S. Labor at the Crossroads" and discussions of struggles by farm workers and meat-packing workers.

One of the class series on U.S. politics will be based on the article, "Washington's 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation." It will examine the government's use of political police against the socialist, Black, and labor movements, and other social struggles.

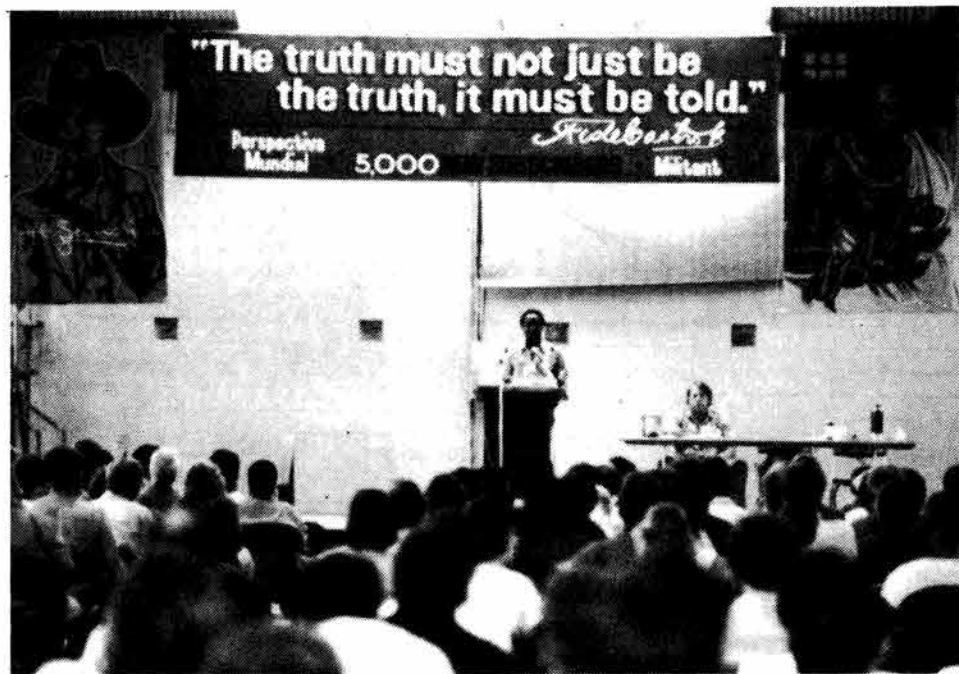
A number of basic classes on Marxism will be presented on the *Communist Manifesto*, the *Wages System*, and other prominent writings by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

There will also be an activist side to the conference. Ample opportunity will be provided for unionists to get together to share ideas and discuss perspectives. Opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America and of the apartheid regime in South Africa, and activists in other social struggles, will meet to talk about coming activities.

A wide range of entertainment and recreation will be available for conference participants. These will include concerts, dancing, movies, swimming, and other sports. A recital of music including from Spain and Latin America will be given by Claudia Hommel.

Another concert on Tuesday evening, August 11, will feature the Brazilian jazz composer-singer Thiago de Mello and his band Amazon. The concert will be dedicated to Benjamin Linder and other martyrs of the Nicaraguan revolution and to the fighters against apartheid in southern Africa.

If you are interested in attending the Socialist Educational and Active Workers Conference contact the branch of the Socialist Workers Party nearest you. (See directory page 12).



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Socialist Workers Party leader Mac Warren speaks to session of last year's Socialist Educational and Active Workers Conference in Oberlin, Ohio. Hundreds of fighters will discuss struggles of working people here and around world at upcoming meeting.

## Death squads target war foes

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mandated an independent investigation by the U.S. House and Senate judiciary committees.

For its part, the LAPD claims to have begun an investigation. The Federal Bureau of Investigation announced that it is also looking into "the possibility of terrorist activity" in Los Angeles.

These incidents of violence, threats, and vandalism have provoked an outcry and have been featured in the Los Angeles and other national and international press. In a July 17 editorial, *La Opinión*, the leading Spanish-language daily in the area, said, "In reality, the attack is testimony to the truth of claims and accusations of exiled Salvadorans, gives the lie to the assertion by our government that El Salvador is a country that marches toward democracy, and invalidates the whole policy destined to hide the true face of the Salvadoran reality."

Central American solidarity activists here have made clear that they will not bow to these terror tactics. They are urging opponents of these antidemocratic attacks to pressure LAPD Chief of Police Daryl Gates and Mayor Thomas Bradley to set up an emergency hot line where incidents could be reported and acted on promptly.

Protests against these attacks featured at two large events celebrating the eighth anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution. At a meeting held at the hall of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union here, Oliveres and others pledged to con-

tinue their work in solidarity with Central America.

In a July 19 "Hands Off the Americas Festival," attended by more than 1,000 people, opposition to the death squads was prominent. Speakers included John Linder, the brother of the American engineer killed by the contras in Nicaragua, State Assemblywoman Maxine Waters, and others.

## New Yorkers protest death squad attacks

BY NANCY BLYTH

NEW YORK — Forty people attended a press conference and picket at City Hall here July 14 to denounce the recent rise in government repression in El Salvador and the first death-squad-style attack on Central America solidarity activists in the United States.

City Councilman Stanley Michels told the press, "We have a responsibility to see human rights observed there and here. This violation should be investigated."

Chanting "Hey, hey, ho, ho, the death squads have gotta go!" 60 people, many of them Salvadorans, picketed the Salvadoran consulate here on the same day. The picket was called by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and Coordinadora Salvadoreña.

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The *Militant* is written in the interests of workers and farmers. Every week it tells the truth about the war Washington and the employers are waging against working people at home and abroad. We provide first-hand coverage of events in other countries, such as Cuba, Burkina Faso, and the Philippines. In addition, regular on-the-scene reports come from our Nicaragua Bureau.

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If you already have a subscription, by renewing now for six months or a year you'll receive a free issue of *New Internationalist* (cover price \$6.50), a magazine of Marxist politics and theory published in New York. The current issue features the article, "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop," by Steve Clark.

## The Militant

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# Linders hit U.S. war at meetings celebrating Nicaragua victory

Members of the family of Ben Linder, the U.S. volunteer worker murdered in Nicaragua by the U.S.-organized contras, were featured speakers in several cities at celebrations of the eighth anniversary of the July 19, 1979 Nicaraguan revolution.

About 1,000 people packed the First Unitarian Church in San Francisco July 18 as John Linder — Ben's brother — and Nicaraguan embassy official Martín Vega saluted the anniversary.

Linder denounced the campaign of "media hype" aimed at winning support for the contra war by painting Oliver North as a hero. "They give more coverage to 200 people demonstrating their support for 'Ollie' than they gave to 200,000 people demonstrating in Washington and San Francisco on April 25 against the U.S. government's war in Central America. They show North's fan mail, but they never show the boxes and boxes of letters at my parents' home in Portland" expressing solidarity with them and with the work that Ben Linder was doing in Nicaragua.

"Nobody challenged North," Linder said of the congressional committee that heard his testimony. "Nobody in those hearings asked, 'What about Ben Linder? What about the 20,000 Nicaraguan dead?'"

"Nobody in the hearings said what Nicaragua really is: a free people, a country where there are democratic elections, a country where land is being distributed to the peasants. Our voices, the voices of the American people, were not heard in those hearings."

Nancy Walker, president of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, sent a message to the meeting saluting the work of Ben Linder and the "many thousands who have traveled to Central America to try to build where others have tried to tear down."

Messages to the rally also came from Locals 2 and 28 of the hotel and restaurant

workers' union, and from Rep. Ronald Dellums. A message from Young Koreans United drew a parallel between the Nicaraguan peoples' victory over a U.S.-backed dictatorship and the struggle in South Korea today.

The meeting was the high point of a six-day tour of the Bay Area by John Linder.

The tour included talks before the San Francisco AFL-CIO Central Labor Council, the executive board of United Auto Workers Local 2244 in Fremont, and the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Board of Supervisors President Walker also joined Linder at a crowded City Hall news conference. The major newspapers, television stations, and radio stations in the area covered the tour.

Linder spoke to meetings of more than 300 in San Jose, 500 in Santa Cruz, 200 in Davis, and 75 in Marin.

About \$10,000 was collected for projects to aid the people of Nicaragua.

Elisabeth Linder, Ben Linder's mother, was the featured speaker in New York City at the July 18 celebration of the anniversary.

She spoke first to the crowd of 300 who could not get into the packed Washington Square Church, and then to the 600 people inside. The meeting was dedicated to Linder and to the thousands of others murdered by the contras.

She described the project that Ben had been working on — building hydroelectric plants to better enable the region around El Cuá in northern Nicaragua to produce food and to free it from dependence on expensive imported gas and technology.

She discussed projects that the Ben Linder Memorial Fund is helping to finance: the building of a hydroelectric plant in Bocay, the setting up of a machine shop in El Cuá to repair agricultural implements and machinery, a water purification plant, and the training of Nicaraguan mechanics.

"The contras thought they could discour-

age other young Americans from participating in building a new Nicaragua by murdering Ben and his coworkers," she said. "But Ben's death has had the opposite effect — the number of volunteers for work brigades in Nicaragua has doubled."

Elisabeth Linder spoke the next day in Washington, D.C., at an anniversary celebration attended by 700 people. Other featured speakers included Ben Chavis and Carlos Tünnermann, Nicaragua's ambassador to the United States.

The Benjamin Linder Peace Tour is sponsored nationally by the Nicaragua Network, Quixote Center/Quest for Peace, and National Witness for Peace, and supported by dozens of other organizations. The Peace Tour's national office is located at 2025 I Street NW, Suite 208A, Washington, D.C. 20006, (202) 331-7675.

This article was based on reporting by Ike Nahem, Ed Warren, and Matilde Zimmermann.



Militant John Linder, brother of U.S. volunteer worker murdered by contras in Nicaragua, spoke at San Francisco meeting of 1,000.

## Watsonville, Calif., rally backs suit against FBI

BY FRED FELDMAN

Cannery workers made up most of the audience at the July 9 meeting held in Watsonville, California, to support the Political Rights Defense Fund. The PRDF helps fund and publicize the suit against government political spying brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The meeting, held at a local church that had been a center of strike support activity, was conducted in Spanish — the first language of most frozen-food and cannery workers in the area.

The workers were mostly veterans of the 18-month strike by International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 912. The union defeated a union-busting drive at three local food-processing plants here.

The speakers included Héctor Marroquín, the Mexican-born socialist who is fighting for the right to live permanently in the United States, and Carlos Hernández, a leader of the strike committee.

Marroquín denounced the government's hunting down and persecution of undocumented Mexican immigrants as the cause of the deaths of 18 whose bodies were found in a boxcar near El Paso, Texas, July 2. "My fight is part of the fight for the human rights of all so-called illegals," he said.

Hernández told the audience of 30 how police from surrounding towns and counties had been brought in during the Watsonville strike to escort scabs, break up picket lines, and harass strikers. He said that he and other workers still face frame-up charges stemming from the strike.

### Atlanta meeting

Representatives of the Coalition to Support Cuban Detainees, which defends the rights of Cuban immigrants being held without charges in federal custody in Atlanta, were among the speakers at a June 27 public meeting in Atlanta sponsored by the PRDF.

Sally Sandidge described the investigation into the fatal beating of one Cuban-born prisoner, reportedly by a prison guard. She denounced the Immigration and Naturalization Service claim that these immigrants are "excludable aliens" with no rights.

Anna Pérez, wife of one of the detainees, told how her husband was seized by federal officials after his release from jail in New Jersey and taken to Atlanta to be imprisoned as an "excludable alien."

Jarrod Hayes, a student at Emory University who heads the Emory Central America Network, spoke about the government's harassment of those who offer sanctuary to refugees from El Salvador.

He described his experiences in winning endorsements for the PRDF at antiwar activities. "Students are really open to the PRDF, because young people are the

pawns in U.S. wars."

On June 28 about 45 supporters of the suit against illegal government spying rallied in Portland, Oregon. The panel of speakers included Kevin Czaplá, a student who is a member of Reed Out of Apartheid.

Czaplá has been suspended from Reed College because of his involvement in a protest demanding that the board of trustees divest more than \$3 million from corporations doing business in South Africa. He is barred from the campus. Czaplá said he plans to return to Reed when he is eligible "so that I can carry on the same struggle."

"In defending your democratic rights," he said, "you are defending me, you are defending everyone."

Johnny Jackson, sub-chief of the Columbia River Tribes, denounced the federal frame-up that led to the conviction of Indian activist David Sohappay on charges of violating fishing laws.

"The farm workers' struggle is really a struggle for freedom of association and recognition. Farm workers are fighting for political, economic, and civil rights," declared Tomas Villanueva, president of the United Farm Workers of Washington State. Three members of the Farm Workers and Tree Planters Union in Oregon also attended the rally.

Phil Perry of International Association of Machinists Lodge 63 also spoke.

Messages of support to the rally came from David Linder, father of Ben Linder, the U.S. engineer murdered by the contras in Nicaragua; Bob Rodgers, executive vice-president of the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers Union; and Chisao Hata of the Japanese American Citizens League.

This article is based in part on reporting by Diana Cantú and Fred Auger.

## Political Rights Defense Fund \$90,000 Fund Scoreboard

(as of July 22, 1987)

Region	Goal	Received	%	Region	Goal	Received	%
Texas	3,500	4,611	132	Utah	1,950	1,118	57
Pennsylvania	2,200	2,699	123	N. Carolina	1,000	517	52
Wisconsin	1,200	1,360	113	Mid-Atlantic	3,025	1,453	48
Iowa	750	756	101	Oregon	1,200	560	47
Washington state	2,000	1,975	99	Northern California	7,000	3,246	46
Illinois-Indiana	2,500	2,402	96	Arizona-New Mex.	1,010	377	37
New Jersey	5,000	4,477	90	Louisiana	1,000	368	37
Southern California	11,200	9,639	86	Colorado	1,200	430	36
Ohio	2,810	2,227	79	Alabama	1,200	358	30
W. Virginia-Kentucky	2,200	1,677	76	Florida	1,020	308	30
New York	9,100	6,839	75	Nebraska-S. Dakota	750	196	26
Missouri-Kansas	3,550	2,434	69	New England	3,020	755	25
Georgia	1,500	969	65	Minnesota-N. Dakota	2,750	306	11
Michigan	2,000	1,288	64	Other	15,000	10,686	71
				<b>Total</b>	<b>90,635</b>	<b>64,031</b>	<b>71</b>

## Join the fight for democratic rights . . .

Help the Political Rights Defense Fund protect the Bill of Rights. Support the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government spying.

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

## Coming next week . . .

Next week's *Militant* will contain an eight-page "International Socialist Review" supplement featuring a speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro.

Given before a meeting of the National Council of the Cuban Workers Confederation, it covers important aspects of the process now under way to make a historic correction in the course of the Cuban revolution. In this particular speech, Castro discusses some of the problems related to the transition from capitalism to socialism, including the persistence of inequalities and how to reduce them. The workers, Castro explains, have a special role to play in combating inefficiency and privilege.



# Congress, North, Poindexter and the U.S. contra war

Continued from front page

minimum oversight or legal constraints of the existing one. This, according to North, was conceived of by the recently deceased CIA chief, William Casey.

It wasn't just that Casey liked conspiracy, North indicated. Rather, he conceived of the supersecret agency as necessary for the pursuit of the government's political objectives.

A strong admirer of the late cloak-and-dagger honcho, North told the committee, "After all, Director Casey was the one who, in the Union League Club speech, basically formulated or laid out for the first time publicly... what has come to be called the Reagan Doctrine."

That "doctrine" boils down to trying to do the same thing previous administrations have tried to do, crush liberation struggles everywhere. In pursuit of that objective, Casey wanted an operation, North explained, that could be shelved or activated as needed.

"Director Casey and I," he confided to the committee, "talked at length on a variety of occasions about the use of those monies [the contra supply fund] to support other operations... activities that were planned beyond the Nicaraguan resistance...."

"And, at various times, he and I talked about the fact that it might be necessary at some point in the future to have something... to pull off the shelf and to help support other activities like that."

## A 'stand alone' agency

Casey, North added, had in mind an overseas entity that would be "capable of conducting operations or activities of assistance to the U.S. foreign policy goals that was a 'stand alone.'"

"It was self-financing, independent of appropriated monies, and capable of conducting activities similar to the ones that we had conducted here."

Discussion of a new agency that, hopefully, the people of this country wouldn't even know existed, was not limited to coffee break chitchat.

Former general Richard Secord, bagman for the contra funding operation, was brought in on the planning, according to North's testimony.

Secord, North said, "did prepare a layout which showed how others of those commercial entities [his various dummy companies] could be used to support activities in other places besides Central America, and besides the U.S.-Israeli operations...."

In addition to plans for a supersecret warfare agency, there was apparently some other mind-boggling work on the drawing board to deal with major disasters.

The issue was raised by Rep. Jack Brooks (D.-Texas), who asked North if it was true that as part of his work at the National Security Council he was "assigned at one time to work on plans for the continuity of government in the event of a major disaster?"

Energetically rapping his gavel, committee head Sen. Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii) declared this touched upon "a highly sensitive and classified area," which would not be discussed in public session.

Brooks responded: "I was particularly concerned, Mr. Chairman, because I read in Miami papers and several others that there had been a plan developed by that same agency, a contingency plan in the event of an emergency that would suspend the American Constitution."

Although information about possible plans to suspend the Constitution was shunted aside, North's admissions made clear that insofar as the contra operation was concerned, the Constitution and laws of the land were inoperative.

## Operation began in '84

In 1984, according to the testimony, the CIA anticipated passage of the Boland Amendment, which, for a time, barred U.S. military aid to the contras. North, as a National Security Council staff person, was assigned to take charge of the illegal work of supplying and directing the contras and buttressing their murderous efforts against Nicaragua's popularly chosen and legally elected government.

Funds were illegally solicited from private sources in this country. Such dauntless champions of "democracy" as the South Korean regime and other governments were also leaned on to contribute. Some, apparently, were simply conned. The government of the Southeast Asian country Brunei, which just got that misplaced \$10 million back, claims it was told the money was not for the contras, but for "humanitarian" aid for the people of Central America.

Secord, who had to quit the army because of his ties with ex-CIA man Edwin Wilson, now doing 52 years in federal prison, was given the franchise to sell government-owned military hardware to Iran, with the "residuals" siphoned off to the contras.

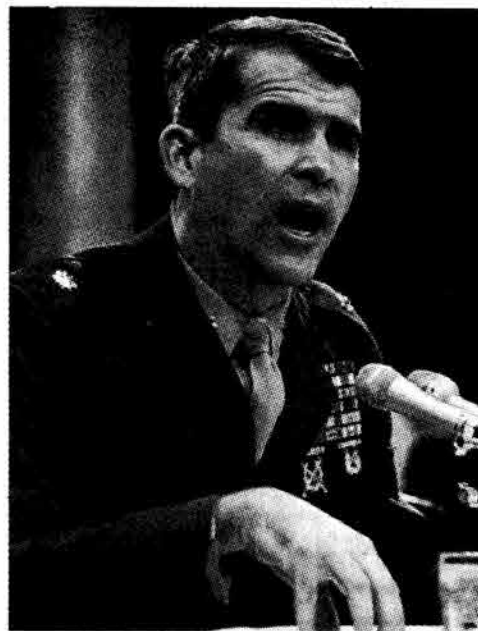
(The congressional probe indicated that for every dollar the contras got, Secord and his partner, Albert Hakim, pocketed two. According to North, he didn't see an accounting; periodically, Secord would simply tell him how much was left.)

The money that went for the war was not restricted to the contras. North told of David Walker, a British mercenary he hired to conduct attacks on Nicaraguan aircraft, plus unspecified "internal operations" within the city of Managua. These were designed, according to North, "to improve the perception that the Nicaraguan resistance could operate anywhere that it so desired."

## North did it all?

All of this, a skeptical congressional committee asked, was accomplished by a lone lieutenant colonel?

No. The evidence shows that personnel from the White House, State Department, Pentagon, CIA, Justice Department, and



North and Poindexter vigorously defended contra war before congressional hearings

others were actively involved in this patently illegal activity, and its cover-up.

The evidence further shows that they all lied to each other, lied to Congress, lied to the media, and, above all, lied to the people of this country and the world.

At the same time they continue to try to politically justify their reactionary endeavor.

With calculated demagoguery, North insisted on referring to the contras as the "resistance," and even had the brass to insist that this gang of cutthroats, fashioned by the CIA out of the remnants of ex-dictator Anastasio Somoza's murder machine, is a "democratic" force thrown up in response to alleged Sandinista "totalitarianism."

For whatever reason, North's boss, Admiral John Poindexter, chose to speak somewhat differently.

In his appearance, Poindexter told the committee, "I have no problem with calling them contras."

Some might tab that as the most truthful statement of his entire testimony.

Contra is Spanish shorthand for counter-revolutionary. And that is indeed why Poindexter and all those he speaks for are supporting them.

What Washington aspires to in Nicaragua is to impose a counterrevolutionary solution. It wants to roll back the clock of history to the days when puppet governments kept the people in check and assured safe investment and superprofits for U.S. capitalists and financiers.

## Administration's goal

Poindexter, it can also be said, summed up administration policy quite succinctly.

"The president," he testified, "was bound and determined, and still is, that he will not sit still for the consolidation of a Communist government on the mainland of America."

By that, of course, he means a Nicaraguan government that is resolved not to accept U.S. imperialist dictates and that leads the reorganization of Nicaraguan society in a way that puts people before profits.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the hearing was the refusal of the investigating committee members to deal with the key issue — the contra war itself.

Some of them contested the legality and constitutionality of the administration's covert operations. But they mainly preoccupied themselves with such questions as what the president knew and when he knew it.

While members of the committee took a somewhat jaundiced view of what they were being told, they still would not utter anything resembling a serious challenge to the White House policy on Nicaragua, which North and Poindexter vigorously defended during the hearings.

Members of the committee, right-wing and liberal alike, fell over each other in their haste to assure that they too were "patriots" and opponents of "communism," that they too had no use for the Sandinista government, and that they too recognized the claimed need of Washington to engage in "covert activity" — that is, Nicaragua-style dirty wars.

## Not a voice

There has not been a single voice on the committee, nor in the entire Congress, that has posed the elementary but decisive questions:

What law, national or international — what standard of authentic justice — gives the U.S. government the right to try to overthrow the government of Nicaragua?

What gives it the right to try to prevent the people of Nicaragua from determining their own destiny?

True, there are members of Congress and others in capitalist ruling circles who take a bleak view of the contras' prospects, and who recognize that direct U.S. troop intervention to overthrow the Sandinistas would mean a calamitous overhead price.

But they accept the administration's basic premise — that the Nicaraguan government must be dislodged from power.

As Sen. John Kerry, the liberal Massachusetts Democrat put it, "There are better ways of containing communism in Central America."

It was this basic political agreement on the goal that gave North the opening to utilize the national publicity offered by the committee. He exploited the hearings to aggressively stump for the contras. And he almost got away with presenting his rigged slide show designed to depict the Sandinistas as an "evil" force that must be destroyed by any means necessary.

North's testimony gave a boost to right-wing supporters of aid to the contras, who are now stepping up their efforts to get some "overt" appropriations from Congress as the next vote on financing the mercenaries approaches.

As North exploited the televised hearings to press his procontra line, a few questions were readily apparent:

- Why is it that a small band of Sandinistas was able to win the allegiance of the Nicaraguan people and, without being armed or financed by anyone outside the country, succeeded in toppling a tyranny that was armed to the teeth by Washington?

- Why is it that the contras — the so-called "democratic resistance" — can't survive without U.S. guns and dollars?

- Why is it that even with those guns and dollars, they can't win the allegiance of any significant sector of the Nicaraguan people?

- Why do the contras carry out terrorist attacks on food sources, schools, farm co-ops, and medical centers?

- Why do they routinely rape, kidnap, and murder civilians?

The members of Congress didn't ask North such questions because it would have exposed them as much as it would him. After all, just a year ago, they voted a \$100-million military appropriation for the contra war.

## Political crisis

That dirty war, and the current revelations about how it is being conducted, is a mark of an ongoing political crisis that betrays the capitalist rulers of this country.

In key areas of the world, including Central and Latin America, they face growing, stubborn resistance to their drive for domination and its ruinous consequences.

And at home, despite their best efforts, the U.S. ruling families have not been able to "cure" the Vietnam syndrome. Working people and youth are not about to be dragooned into a Central American Vietnam.

That's why Washington is compelled to rely so heavily on a wretched instrument like the contras, function in the shadows, and delegate an Oliver North to break all of their own laws.



Contra army organized, trained, and financed by Washington.



# Trinidad union sponsors bookfair

## Malcolm X, Fidel Castro, Maurice Bishop, women's liberation top sales

BY SAM MANUEL

SAN FERNANDO, Trinidad and Tobago — Books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder were well received here at the First Caribbean Peoples International Bookfair and Bookfair Festival June 21–July 5. Pathfinder publishes and distributes books and pamphlets by many working-class and revolutionary leaders.

The book events were sponsored by the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union (OWTU) of Trinidad and Tobago. They were part of a series of activities commemorating the 50th anniversary of the 1937 strike wave that established industrial unions in this two-island nation and in other Caribbean countries.

The events were opened by Errol McLeod, acting president general of the OWTU. He pointed to the significance of the union movement playing the main role in organizing this bookfair — the first of its kind in the Caribbean. Co-organizers of the events included John La Rose of Race Today Publications and New Beacon Books in London.

Participating in the bookfair were eighteen exhibitors and publishers from nine countries, including Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Dominica, Guyana, Grenada, Suriname, Guadeloupe, Belgium, Britain, and the United States.

More than 400 books and pamphlets were sold at the Pathfinder exhibit. Ninety were about the Black struggle in the United States, 60 of them by or about Malcolm X. "If I had the money I would buy all that you have on Malcolm X," said one high school student who purchased *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*.

Interest ran high about the Cuban revolution. Ten copies of *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History* were sold. It is based on an interview with Cuban President Fidel Castro conducted by Professor Jeffrey Elliot and Congressman Mervyn Dymally. Altogether 73 copies of titles about Cuba were sold.

There has been an explosion of interest here in the fight for women's liberation. Three women from a women's study group at the Trinidad and Tobago campus of the University of the West Indies purchased a copy of every title on women's liberation available at the Pathfinder booth. "Many women are interested in these books," one of them explained, "but only those who have traveled outside the country have been able to get them."

A total of 67 books and pamphlets on women's liberation were bought. Among the best sellers were *Woman's Evolution*, by Evelyn Reed, and *Cosmetics, Fashion, and the Exploitation of Women*, by Joseph Hansen and Evelyn Reed. Two pamphlets, *Abortion is a Woman's Right* and *Abortion and the Catholic Church*, also sold well. Although abortion is illegal in Trinidad and Tobago, the Catholic hierarchy has launched a campaign here against it in response to the growing number of abortions performed despite the ban on them.

Lessons of the Grenada revolution and its overthrow in 1983 was a much discussed topic during the bookfair and at the Conference of Caribbean Trade Unions held a few days earlier. Twenty-two copies of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, a collection of speeches by Grenada's murdered prime minister, were sold.

Pathfinder's sales also reflected interest in Marxism. Thirty-six titles by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, and Leon Trotsky were sold. Among the most popular were *The Communist Manifesto* and *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*.

Many trade unionists, women's rights activists, and others came with prepared lists and budgets from their organizations. Two librarians purchased several titles for

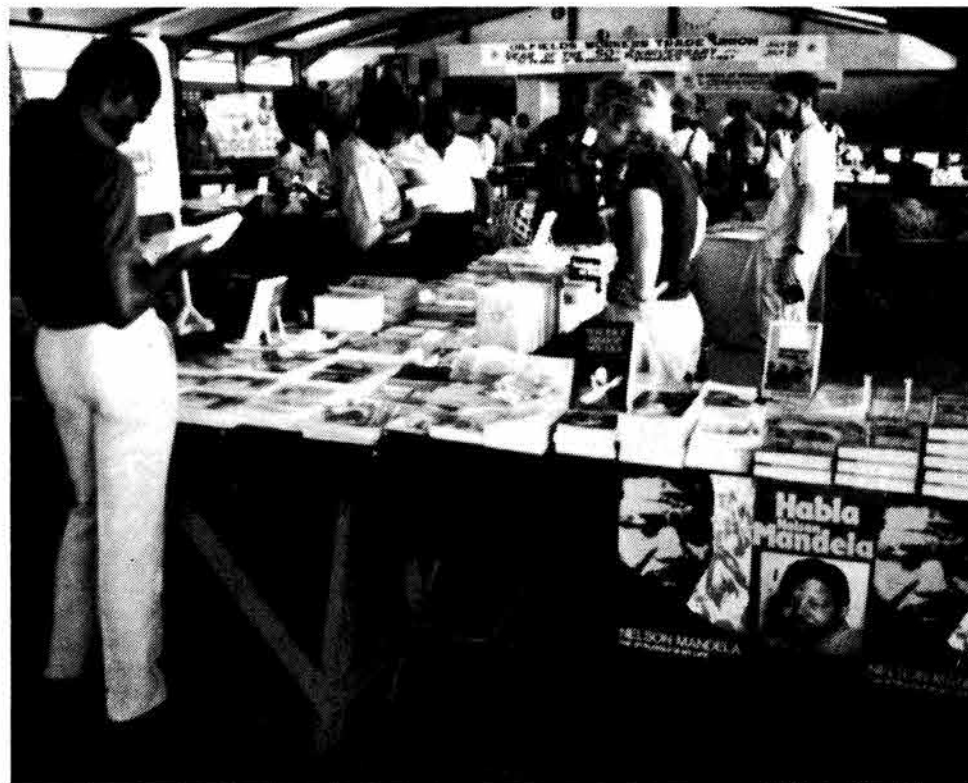
the public library of Trinidad and Tobago. They were especially interested in Cuba, the Caribbean, and Marxism.

A unionist from the Communications Workers Union purchased for the union's library titles on U.S. labor history and works by Leon Trotsky, a central leader of the Russian revolution in October 1917. Other individuals brought lists in order to carefully select their purchases.

Due to the response to the bookfair, the organizers extended it two days and moved it to the island's capital city, Port of Spain.

The First Caribbean Peoples International Festival ran concurrently with the bookfair. It featured arts, crafts, an international film forum, musical performances from the islands in the region, and a theater production entitled "I Marcus Garvey." Garvey was a prominent nationalist leader from Jamaica in the early part of this century. He founded and led the Universal Negro Improvement Association, which attracted thousands of supporters in the United States and the Caribbean.

In closing the events, McLeod announced the decision of the organizers to hold the Second Caribbean Peoples International Bookfair and Bookfair Festival in the latter part of 1988.



Militant/Sam Manuel

Pathfinder booth at Caribbean bookfair

## Reviews in Irish, British labor and Black press boost Castro book sales

BY BILL LYONS

LONDON — Since the sales of *Fidel Castro: Nothing Can Stop the Course of History* were launched by Pathfinder Press' office here in November, 750 copies have been sold. The bulk of these have been to customers in Britain, but significant sales have also been made in Iceland, Ireland, and Sweden. The book is the current bestseller among Pathfinder sales here, and new orders are coming in daily.

The higher sales of this title over other books by Castro that Pathfinder has published can be, in part, attributed to the reviews and endorsements by prominent newspapers and individuals in this country. To date, the book has been reviewed by eight newspapers in Britain and Ireland. These include *Labour Weekly* (the weekly paper of the Labour Party), *New Socialist* (monthly magazine of the Labour Party), *Morning Star* (daily paper produced by supporters of the Communist Party), *Seven Days* (official weekly journal of the Communist Party), and *New Society* (a liberal social science weekly).

The two major weekly's oriented to Blacks, the *Voice* and the *Caribbean Times*, both featured substantial extracts from the book as part of news dispatches from Barbados. In addition, *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, (weekly newspaper of the Irish republican organization, Sinn Féin), carried a full-page review of the book in its Nov. 13, 1986, issue.

The May 9 *Guardian*, a mass-circulation daily with a readership of over a half million, carried a review by Tony Benn, a Labour Party member of Parliament (MP).

The book has also been endorsed by Lord Pitt of Hemstead, a Black member of the House of Lords; Ken Livingstone, a newly elected Labour MP; Victoria Brittain, editor of the *Guardian* Third World Review page; and by John La Rose, editor of New Beacon, Britain's major Black publisher and bookseller.

Overwhelmingly these reviews and endorsements recommended *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History*.

Writing in *Labour Weekly*, Jane McIntosh commented, "Beyond its content, the book has also been translated well — a rare achievement. It is seldom that interesting content is matched with a fluid style, and this book has both." It is, she said, "a thoroughly good read."

Labour MP Livingstone stated, "This is a remarkable book — remarkable for the honesty, incisiveness, and clarity with which Fidel answers major questions con-

fronting the labor movement internationally."

### Gains of revolution

Many of the reviews rooted the growing international interest in Castro's ideas in the gains and strengths of the Cuban revolution.

Benn's opening remarks in the *Guardian* review explained it this way:

"For nearly 30 years Fidel Castro has led the Cuban people in their revolution. Cuba has made astonishing progress in every aspect of life, industrial and agricultural, including the establishment of modern and comprehensive social services in health, education, and housing, raising living standards in health, education, and housing, raising living standards that put it high amongst the so-called third world countries."

"All this," Benn continued, "has been achieved against the most sustained and bitter opposition of the United States of America, which has attacked it, at the Bay of Pigs, blockaded it throughout, attempted to subvert it and to assassinate its leadership, while retaining a U.S. military base on Cuban territory, at Guantánamo."

"Yet the Cuban Revolution has survived," Benn pointed out, "and Fidel has emerged as one of the greatest leaders in the postwar world.... His role in the nonaligned movement is widely recognized and no one doubts that Cuba has a central role to play in the future of Latin American politics."

### The debt crisis

The most extensive comment on Castro's call for cancelling the foreign debts of oppressed Third World countries was contained in the Irish republican *An Phoblacht*.

Relative to its population and income, the massive \$30 billion foreign debt of the government of the 26 counties of Ireland, places the Irish nation as a whole in the same boat as the debtor nations of the Nonaligned Movement.

The *An Phoblacht* review explained, "The 26 Counties' position is very much like that of the Latin American and African countries. Indeed, in some ways it is worse off.... If for no other reason, Irish people should read *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History* in order to understand the foreign debt problem and how we are being used and abused by the large creditor nations."

"Of course," *An Phoblacht* continued, "the obvious conclusion is that we would be much better off putting in our lot with

the nonaligned countries — with whom we have so much in common — than staying in the rich man's EEC club where we don't and never will belong."

New Beacon editor La Rose welcomed the publication of *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History*, commenting that it is a "very important book, and special attention should be paid to Fidel Castro's views on Grenada." In response to one of the questions in the book, Castro explains that the assassination of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop in 1983 by the faction headed by Bernard Coard destroyed the revolutionary government. Castro described the Coardites as a "Pol Pot-type group."

The promotion and sales of *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History* show the increasing stature of the Cuban revolution and the growing interest here in the ideas of Fidel. At the same time, they reveal the continuing prejudices against the Cuban revolution, due to lack of information, and the deliberate frame-up of Cuba.

This is confirmed by the sales here of the book *Cuba Libre: Breaking the Chains?* authored by Peter Marshall and published by Gollancz. In some publications this book was reviewed jointly with *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History*.

The review of both of these books in the journal *Seven Days* referred to "bureaucratic abuses... perpetrated on the Cubans" but challenged the "factual inaccuracies and mistranslations" of *Cuba Libre*, which, it argued, "are frequent enough for the book to forfeit overall trust." In contrast, it congratulated Pathfinder for performing "the invaluable service of making President Castro's speeches and statements available to an international audience. *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History* is well translated and very readable...."

Explaining the change that the sales of *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History* represented, Pathfinder's London director, Alan Harris, commented: "In the past, bookshops have been reluctant to stock books by Castro and the audience for the Cuban revolution has been quite narrow. The endorsements and reviews for this book indicate a growth in the impact of the Cuban revolution."

Harris said that after Benn's review appeared in the *Guardian*, Pathfinder placed an advertisement in the same paper. "As a result," he noted, "several bookshops placed large orders, and individuals and booksellers from all over the country have been ordering continuously. Although the book had already been on sale for six months, following the *Guardian* review and ad, additional sales exceeded 200."

### Labor news in the Militant

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



# Good response to paper at mines near Pittsburgh

BY GREG JACKSON

PITTSBURGH — "That's a good idea!" declared one miner as

paper to miners at portals in several counties in the Pittsburgh area.

sold 13 *Militants*. One miner suggested we sell at a second portal. We did and sold eight copies more.

The third week of portal sales we met a miner who had bought the paper previously. He told us he had liked the *Militant* so much that he sent in for a subscription.

Three truckers who haul coal also talked to us about politics. They bought the paper.

Miners from the Helen Mining

Co.'s Homer City mine, 50 miles east of Pittsburgh, were glad to see us too. Almost every car stopped, with many miners expressing excitement at seeing the *Militant's* coverage of coal strikes in the western states.

A number of workers appreciated the *Militant's* coverage of the assassination of Ben Linder in Nicaragua by U.S.-backed contras and wanted to learn what the Linder family had to say about it.

Two years ago Quaker Oil took

over ownership of the Homer City mine. "A lot of people have been getting fired" since then, miners told us. One miner explained that the company wanted to cut their wages by \$7 an hour. No one we talked to thought Quaker Oil would get away with this.

That day, we sold 15 *Militants*. We would have sold more if we hadn't run out of papers. We assured several other miners wanting to buy the *Militant* that we would be back every week.

## SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

he dug 75 cents out of his car ashtray. We had explained that *Militant* supporters have begun regularly bringing the socialist

The initial response has been great. During the first week, our sales team visited the Fawn mine, owned by Bethlehem, where we

## Postal workers rebuff takeback contract demands

BY BILL RAYSON

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A tentative contract between unions representing 580,000 postal workers and the U.S. Postal Service was announced July 21.

The settlement calls for members of the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC) and the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) to receive a 2 percent raise in each of the next three years. According to APWU President Moe Biller, postal workers will also receive cost-of-living payments equal to 60 percent of the rise in the Consumer Price Index.

The postal service backed down on its demand to increase the number of part-time, casual workers.

The agreement still has to be approved by the membership of the two unions.

With the contract deadline approaching, more than 6,000 postal workers, from Alaska to Puerto Rico converged on Washington, D.C., July 10 to protest the government's outrageous giveback demands.

Negotiations had been stalled for weeks over management's proposal to double the number of casual workers from 5 to 10 percent of the work force, as well as double

the number of hours they would be allowed to work.

Casuals have no benefits, are not allowed union representation, and are paid at half the rate of full-time workers.

U.S. postal management also sought to overturn gains made in the 1984 contract limiting forced overtime. Since 1985, anyone working more than 10 hours a day is paid double time. Management has constantly tried to get around this. The union has filed thousands of grievances and spent considerable money contesting the contract violations.

When officials from the NALC and APWU issued a call for a demonstration in front of postal service headquarters in Washington, thousands of workers responded in spite of the short notice.

Buses came from Chicago, Cleveland, New York, Philadelphia, North Carolina, Ohio, and many other places. Many of those participating were Blacks and women, reflecting their growing numbers in the two unions.

Entertainer Ossie Davis spoke at the rally, comparing the attempt to increase the number of second-class jobs to the struggle against second-class citizenship waged by Blacks during the 1960s.

Bill Rayson is a letter carrier and member of NALC Branch 1071 and the APWU in Miami.



Postal workers

## Meat-packers win contract at two Swift Co. plants

BY BAILEY COOK

ST. JOSEPH, Mo. — Meat-packers at Swift Independent Packing Co. plants here and in Worthington, Minnesota, voted June 22 to approve new contracts.

The two locals of the United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW), representing some 700 workers, had held out against most of Swift's takeback demands since May.

Armour owned the St. Joseph's plant from 1912 to 1983. It was one of several packinghouses in the city, for decades a center of unionized meat-packing. Swift bought the plant from Armour, and reopened it as a nonunion operation hiring new workers. Wages were drastically cut.

Drawn from the area, the new work force quickly grasped the need for a union and in 1984 voted to affiliate to the UFCW.

At the beginning of the recent negotiations, Swift demanded a \$1-an-hour wage cut, sharp reductions in medical benefits, and other givebacks that would further undermine already exhausting and dangerous working conditions.

Then Swift unilaterally imposed its demands on UFCW Local P-58 on May 9. In addition, the company also forced workers to turn in their company-paid discount prescription cards and to begin assuming medical insurance payments.

Swift quickly moved to double the number of "stand-by" workers in the plant to more than 85. These temporary workers were paid \$6 an hour and had no union protection.

The chain speed was increased so that 970 hogs an hour were being processed. Four years ago, the same plant processed 550 hogs an hour.

The company demanded a 13-week limit on the duration of sick pay. It further proposed eliminating overtime pay after eight hours, ending the guaranteed 36-hour workweek, and ending its obligation to provide six months' notification before a plant shutdown. Similar demands were presented to workers at the Worthington plant.

Swift tried to sweeten the takeback deal by offering a \$1,000 cash payment if the workers would sign it. But Local P-58 members voted 236-15 to reject the contract and decided to work without an agreement until June 23 when the contract was scheduled to expire in Worthington.

The UFCW Packinghouse Bargaining Council approved joint negotiations between the two locals, and tentative plans were made for a coordinated strike.

On June 22 Swift offered both locals identical four-year pacts that would maintain the terms of the previous contract with one change. Wages would remain frozen at

\$8 an hour and the 50-cents-an-hour raise that was due would be foregone. After two years, wages would rise 25 cents an hour and then rise again by 75 cents over the next two years.

Terms also included restoration of medical care benefits. Many of the stand-by workers would be designated permanent employees eligible to join the union, reducing the stand-bys to 10 percent of the total work force.

The new contract was overwhelmingly approved by both locals.

## 'Militant' subscription renewal drive picks up steam

BY JIM WHITE

Seventy-eight *Militant* readers have renewed their subscriptions in the two weeks since we last reported. The pace is now beginning to pick up since the July 4 holiday weekend.

Our total so far in the renewal drive is 205. A quick look at the facts reveals three encouraging trends: a tendency to renew for six months or longer, an increasing number of subscribers renewing for the first time, and a large number of renewals through personal contact from *Militant* supporters.

Nearly two-thirds of the renewals are for six months or longer. Even among readers who first bought the paper during the spring subscription drive, 57 percent of

those who renew are taking the offer for a longer term. Altogether these new readers make up 44 percent of the grand total, but in the last two weeks they account for exactly half of the subscriptions renewed.

We continue to get nearly a third of the renewals on sub blanks, a sure sign that *Militant* supporters around the country are getting out and talking to people about renewing their subscriptions.

The tendency to take the longer-term sub is not just deduced statistically. A reader from Seattle, who bought her first subscription during our subscription drive last fall and has renewed twice for three months, sent this note with her six-month renewal: "You see, I'm increasing the sub time. Hope you have something pithy to re-

port re Iran-contra-Ollie hearings!" She also took advantage of our offer of a free issue of *New Internationalist* with a renewal of six months or longer.

A reader from Atlanta, who renewed for a year, let us know why he considers the *Militant* important and got in a sly dig at the big-business media. He writes: "Good newspaper. You don't cut corners on your opinions or ideas. You always report on important issues, and I get a personal experience of the issues instead of just entertainment."

That's about as good an endorsement as a newspaper could ask for. And it is a good summary of the reasons for pushing hard the next few weeks to complete the summer renewal drive.

## Young Socialist Alliance T-shirts & buttons



### T-shirts

- Stop the U.S. War on Nicaragua!
- Free Nelson Mandela
- Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose
- plus Che Guevara, Malcolm X

\$8 each

Sizes: S, M, L, XL

### Buttons

- Divest Now
- Stop Racist Attacks
- Stop the U.S. War on Central America & the Caribbean
- And more!

\$1 each



Order from YSA, 64 Watts St., New York, N.Y. 10013. Include \$1 for postage.



# Why Haitian workers demand resignation of military junta

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — The general strike called to demand the resignation of Haiti's ruling military junta shut down this capital city and most other cities here again on July 15. A few government offices were open here and a handful of street merchants hawked their wares, but stores, markets, and schools were closed and shuttered. The tap taps, brightly colored pickup trucks that provide transportation and usually jam the capital streets, were nowhere to be seen.

There was little activity at the Acierie d'Haiti metal plant or the Huilerie Nationale cooking-oil plant, so this reporter decided to visit the big industrial park on the northern edge of the city.

I arrived at lunchtime and drove through the main gate and passed dozens of large factory buildings. This park is the home of

**In its next several issues, the Militant will carry firsthand coverage of developments in Haiti from reporters Harvey McArthur and Art Young.**

garment, furniture, electronic-assembly, and similar plants owned by U.S., Canadian, and other foreign capitalists.

Some streets were deserted, but in others, hundreds of workers clustered around vendors selling food and drink under shade trees. I parked on a side street and started talking with the first worker who came by. Within minutes, 50 workers had gathered for a lively discussion that lasted an hour.

These workers said they supported the antijunta strike but many had come to the industrial park because they were afraid of losing their jobs, or could not afford to miss another day's pay. Some said they were unemployed and came to the park every day looking for work, even if it was just day labor loading trucks.

"We make only \$3 a day," Rosemond Sanon said. "Wages have not gone up at all since Duvalier was overthrown."

"And that's for 12 hours' work," another worker said. "I have a wife and children. We can't even eat on \$3 a day."

## Unions

I asked if the workers had organized unions in these plants.

"Some factories have them," Sanon answered, "but they have no strength. If 15 or 20 workers get together and decide to form a union, the boss fires all of them. Sometimes they have shut down the entire factory when the workers wanted a union."

One older worker showed me a small slip of paper that was circulating in the plant. Written in Creole, it invited the workers to attend a rally sponsored by the Autonomous Confederation of Haitian Workers (CATH) July 16. The ruling junta issued a decree dissolving CATH on June 22, but massive protests forced them to allow the union to function again. The July 16 rally would be the official reopening of CATH headquarters.

The discussion moved on to the ruling military junta, known by its Creole initials, KNG, and the new constitution adopted in a referendum last March 29.

Everyone who spoke agreed that the junta had to go.

"Namphy and Regala, they're no good," one older worker said, referring to two army officers in the junta. "Regala says paying us \$3 a day is too much. He thinks we should get only \$2," he added indignantly.

"We like the constitution," Sanon said, as others nodded in agreement. "It's the best solution for us, to get the Macoutes out of the government and to lift the people out of misery." Macoutes, secret police under the overthrown Duvalier dictatorship, is the name given now for supporters of the ousted regime.

"The best thing now is to put in a provi-

sional government, a civilian government, that would organize fair, clean elections," Mont-Louis Amilcar, an unemployed worker, added. "The KNG has got to go before the elections. There are decent leaders here, and with elections, we can put them in the government."

One worker said the provisional government should include a "good" military officer, as well as civilian leaders. Another vehemently disagreed.

"We don't want the military," he said. "Look at the Dominican Republic and other countries. It's always better when there is no dictatorship. We want democracy."

## 'Where are you from?'

The workers then started asking me questions.

"Where are you from?" "How come you speak Creole?" "What do American workers know about Haiti?" "Why does the U.S. government support the KNG?"

I explained that I had learned Creole by working alongside Haitian immigrants in Miami's garment plants, and that I was visiting Haiti as a correspondent for a workers' newspaper.

"Ah, that's good," a woman worker replied. "He's an American journalist, but he's a worker, too."

"We like the USA and we like the U.S. people," another said. "We know the United States gives us aid. The problem is the aid never gets to the people. It all goes to the government and they put it in the Swiss bank."

"Why does the United States always give money to the army?" one worker asked. "We don't need an army. We're not fighting a war. It's the people that need help."

He and several others stressed that they hoped a freely elected government would guarantee that international aid benefited the impoverished workers and peasants here.

"Today, the peasants don't get anything," Amilcar said. "Many of us would go back to the countryside and work, but we don't have a plot of land, tools, or even a little money to get started."

Sanon insisted that I tell them what I thought the U.S. government should do for Haiti. The workers applauded and cheered when I began by saying that Washington should let Haiti alone and allow the Haitian people to choose their own leader.

Finally, Sanon had another question.

## Haitians demand U.S. stop support to regime

Continued from front page

when the Autonomous Confederation of Haitian Workers (CATH) launched a two-day protest strike that shut down the country.

The union raised 18 demands, including a minimum wage of \$6 a day, land for poor peasants, and freedom for unions to organize.

The junta responded by ordering CATH to dissolve. The union's offices were seized, and three union leaders were arrested and beaten.

That same day, the regime issued a decree giving it control over future elections, in open violation of the new constitution adopted in a national referendum March 29.

The junta's attack on democratic and political rights and its attempt to perpetuate its own rule led to a general strike that began June 29.

The strike was coordinated by a coalition of moderate and radical political parties and a democratic rights organization known as the Committee of 57. The committee's initial demands called for lifting the ban on CATH, freedom for the arrested unionists, and respect for the constitution's provisions for elections. Organizations demanding the ouster of the junta also joined in the strike.

The regime initially tried to crush the



Shantytown in Cap-Haitien. Workers' dwellings are made of discarded sheet metal and wood, crowded along drainage ditches full of sewage and garbage.

"This is good work you are doing here, but I want to know if you really want to see what things are like for the people."

## Dité Soleil

When I said, "Yes," he answered with, "Good, then we'll take you to Dité Soleil."

Dité Soleil is a shantytown slum wedged between a sewage-filled lagoon and the HASCO sugar mill, along the northern coast line of Port-au-Prince. More than 100,000 people are estimated to live there.

Tiny huts, made of discarded sheet metal, crowd together along drainage ditches full of black water, sewage, and garbage. The huts bake under the tropical sun and leak badly during rainstorms. Dité Soleil is only a few inches above sea level, and the canals often flood, pouring water and sewage into the homes.

The workers led the way along narrow alleyways covered with discarded rags and rotting food. We crossed drainage ditches on one-plank bridges, stopping to talk to people along the way.

"The Americans are responsible for this," one said angrily as he pointed to a group of huts at the water's edge. "They invaded Haiti in 1915. They always support corrupt governments. They don't care that their aid never goes to the people."

He showed me two open wounds on his arm, injuries he sustained when government troops attacked protesters in Dité Soleil a week ago. Troops killed 23 and wounded more than 100 in different repressive attacks throughout Port-au-Prince in late June and early July.

"You should understand, we are proud people here," he said. "We don't have any-

thing. But each scrap of sheet metal, each piece of wood used in building a shack, we got ourselves. The government has never given us anything."

At a small church, made of sheet metal and woven mats, I was introduced to Fruzzner, the president of Group Association No. 3 of Dité Soleil, and Anthonne Dumat, a church activist.

"This neighborhood is contaminated," Dumat said in anger. "People don't want to live here. Many die, and they have no one to help them. Look at this water," he said, pointing to the sewage all around us. "We're all contaminated." The group wants to improve living conditions, "but we don't have any land, and we don't have any money, not even a few cents," Dumat said. "The government doesn't give us any help at all."

By then a crowd had gathered in front of the church. I asked them what they thought of the KNG, the constitution, and how things could be changed in Dité Soleil.

Several answered at once.

"We like the constitution." "We don't like the KNG." "The KNG violates the constitution." "We want clean, honest elections." "The KNG must go before the election."

I asked about the general strike, and one man answered, "We're for the strike, but we're not doing anything special, we're always on strike here. There's never any work for us."

As we started to leave, a woman pointed to me and asked angrily, "So what's he going to do for us?"

"He'll tell the American workers what he saw and what we said," one of my hosts replied.

protests. Army troops murdered 23 people and wounded 100 in late June and July. This fueled anger and spurred more demands for the junta's overthrow.

On June 27, Monsignor Willy Romelus, the Catholic bishop of Jérémie, issued a public call for the ouster of the junta. His slogan, "KNG: uproot it like a manyok plant, make the land free again," quickly became a national rallying cry.

By the first week of July, the Committee of 57 also began calling for the junta to go. It proposed that a new provisional government take over and organize the elections.

Then another protest strike shut down transportation and commerce here for three consecutive days. Government offices remained open, however, and many industrial workers reported to their jobs.

Radio Soleil, the Catholic church's radio network, stated that the strike was 80 to 100 percent effective in several other cities.

The regime responded July 17 with a pompous ceremony. Army officers, led by Namphy, swore allegiance "to the constitution and to the flag." Namphy, pointedly referred to as "the highest-ranking officer of the Haitian armed forces," told the officers to be ready to act against "those who abuse the newly acquired freedoms of speech, association, and assembly."

The Committee of 57 did not resume the

strike after July 17, although it did call for participation in the July 20 student march.

Another important rally took place July 16 when CATH officially reopened its headquarters. Earlier, the government, under pressure from the protests, had said CATH would be allowed to function legally again if it chose new leaders.

The union refused to meet this demand. "CATH is an organization of the workers and peasants," it said in a statement. "It is only the members of CATH not the government, who can decide who its leaders are."

More than 1,000 workers and other activists attended the rally in front of CATH headquarters. Dozens of leaders from political and democratic rights groups participated in a show of solidarity.

Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a Catholic priest who has led protests here since before the overthrow of the Duvalier dictatorship, was the keynote speaker.

"Light will triumph over darkness," Aristide told the crowd. "CATH is the light of the workers, of the peasants, of the Lord. What is darkness?" he asked.

"The KNG," the crowd answered.

"Stand together until we control our country. We want a people's revolution, we want a people's government," Aristide said. The crowd chanted, "People's power, people's power."



# Why employers, gov't want to expand drug and alcohol testing

## Unions must control rehabilitation programs

BY MICHAEL CARPER  
AND FRED STANTON

"Conrail Killer Crew Was High on Pot," one tabloid blared after the January 4 Amtrak-Conrail collision near Baltimore left 16 dead. Another paper said traces of THC (a chemical in marijuana) had been found in the blood of Ricky Gates, the Conrail engineer.

In another instance, a Philadelphia TV reporter claimed cocaine had showed up in the urine of Kevin Bland, one of the engineers in a Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) train accident that injured 42.

But drug use was eventually ruled out as a cause of both accidents.

The intense campaign by the employers and the government to tie accidents to workers' abuse of alcohol and drugs raises a number of questions that are on the minds of rail workers and other workers today. What attitude should the unions take to employer demands for drug and alcohol testing? What stance should the unions take to alcohol and drug abuse on dangerous jobs that endanger the safety of coworkers, the surrounding communities, and passengers?

Backed up by federal and state officials, the employers are on a drive to expand mandatory drug and alcohol testing.

This campaign, however, isn't motivated by concern for on-the-job safety.

Material supporting increased worker testing circulated by the National Safety Council claims that because of workers' drug and alcohol abuse, the employers lose millions of dollars every year from lost-time accidents, low productivity, absenteeism, civil suits, and worker's compensation claims.

Rail workers know that in the event of a mishap one of the first arrivals on the scene will be a boss demanding a blood or urine test.

### Right to privacy

Many workers correctly see mandatory tests as an invasion of their constitutionally

protected right to privacy.

Unionists have every right to object to an employer asking them questions about the results of a mandatory test. This type of inquiry can range from asking whether you had a beer after work to why you are taking certain prescription medications. Your current and past medical history, and whether or how often you have a beer away from work are none of the employer's business.

A growing number of workers also realize that mandatory drug or alcohol testing programs can be used to victimize union activists. Supervisors can try to force unionists who defend their rights, or the rights of other workers, into the testing program. Those who complain about dangerous work conditions can become prime candidates for a test.

Workers who come in late or miss days are often forced to submit to the boss' program. The goal is to try to intimidate the work force, break down solidarity on the job, and to weaken the union.

Moreover, there is considerable margin for error in drug tests. Such things as poppy seed rolls, tonic water, various herbal teas, and over-the-counter drugs like Midol, and Dristan, have contributed to producing false positive test results.

Many employers also scream about drug and alcohol abuse as part of covering up their own role in certain accidents.

### Safety gutted

Much could have been done to prevent the Amtrak tragedy. Fred Hardin, president of the United Transportation Union (UTU), noted in the February *UTU News* that Conrail management had removed devices that could have shunted Conrail diesels off the track if they ran a stop signal.

And, as part of its speed-up drive, Conrail got rid of braking devices that automatically slow or stop trains when a signal indicates danger ahead.

The rail bosses also allow much-needed equipment and track maintenance to be ignored for months.



Train crash near Baltimore in January killed 16. Employers often try to cover up their own role in accidents by blaming them on workers' drug and alcohol abuse.

Most railroads have been stripping trains of their most important safety features: ample crews. Firemen, for example, have been eliminated on some lines leaving engineers alone in the cabs during long stretches of high-speed operation.

The small crews add to fatigue, the biggest problem faced by rail workers.

At SEPTA, crew sizes have been slashed. Many workers are kept on duty up to 14 hours a day, 6 days a week. A conductor was recently disciplined for taking a day off after 10 straight weeks on the job.

The truth is that many rail workers are already exhausted when they report for duty. Having to work high pressure jobs under these conditions contributes to alcohol and drug abuse.

Pressures on the job are compounded by strains away from work. Alcohol and drug abuse are part of the normal, routine functioning of the decaying capitalist system where a life of alienation and drudgery is the norm for millions.

### Carried over into work place

Given the level of alcohol and drug abuse in society, it invariably carries over into the work place. Workers are generally conscious about safety on dangerous jobs, look out for the safety of their coworkers, and do their utmost to prevent accidents that can endanger neighboring communities.

It does happen, however, that an individual worker can be high on alcohol or drugs on a dangerous job. Other workers do not like working with them in these situations. Normally, they are mainly ignored or worked around. That's because most workers recognize that if they complain to the boss about a coworker being drunk or high on drugs that individual faces almost certain victimization, including loss of their job. At the least, they face a prolonged period with the company prying into their personal lives.

Sometimes when a situation gets out of hand, a worker, or several workers including a union representative, will try to talk to the individual with the problem and encourage them to go home for the day or to get some help.

Over the years, many unions have secured company-paid health care and sick leave. In the 1960s and the early 1970s, as awareness about the problems of alcohol abuse increased, the Steelworkers, Auto Workers, and other unions were able to have medical benefits extended to cover workers suffering from alcoholism.

Initially, these programs were tools to help the unions defend workers and prevent them from being victimized.

But, these programs have come to be more and more started up and dominated by the companies. The unions have had less and less say in how they are run.

SEPTA workers routinely avoid management's drug "rehabilitation" program. One union newsletter called it "painting a target on your back." Those who seek rehabilitation can later be subjected to random testing and their medical records, which are supposed to be confidential, can be used as "evidence" in current or future disciplinary matters.

Programs like these also tie workers and their families more closely to the company, put the company in a stronger position over a workers' personal life, and reduce the power of the union to defend its members.

Under the impact of the employer and government campaign for mandatory testing, many union officials are now claiming that joint company-union testing programs are needed to fight drug and alcohol addiction.

While the officials sometimes demand assurances that the democratic rights of individuals be protected under the programs, this approach accepts the framework of the employers' right to conduct alcohol and drug tests.

Right now, rail union officials are negotiating with management to come up with a "fair" testing program. This falsely assumes that the employers share our regard for workers' well-being. It can lead to the officialdom giving a rubber stamp to programs that ultimately victimize the union membership.

### Working-class alternative

Instead, unionists need to present our own alternative to company and government testing programs. Workers who are addicted to drugs or alcohol have the right to the best treatment available, and to the right to be defended against company reprisals. These rights can be guaranteed only if the union controls rehabilitation programs from beginning to end.

That way workers who need help can get it without company snoops prying into their lives.

Union-controlled programs could also guarantee a workers' income while they are being treated and a return to their normal job as soon as possible.

There is no way for the unions to address alcohol and drug abuse without relating it to long shifts that often include mandatory overtime, extended periods of few or no days off, undersized work crews, and dangerous working conditions.

A serious fight against drug and alcohol abuse and against company and government drug testing will have to involve raising and winning demands for a shorter workweek without a loss in pay. And union power will have to be mobilized to enforce safer working conditions and to win better job training programs.

Over the past decade the employers and their government have waged a broadside offensive against working people. This has included attacks on our living standards, union rights on the job, and democratic rights. The drive to expand mandatory testing is an aspect of this assault.

Resistance to these attacks is increasing.

Workers today who are trying to effectively fight back immediately see the need for solidarity and discipline in our ranks. And they expect the union as a whole to set policy on important questions. Drunkenness on a strike picket line can lead to a breakdown in discipline and open the door to cop provocations and attacks that can damage the struggle.

A positive example in that regard was set during the 1985-86 Hormel meat-packers' strike in Austin, Minnesota, when United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local P-9 did not tolerate union members drinking in the union's headquarters or on the picket line.

Michael Carper is a conductor on SEPTA in Philadelphia and a member of UTU Local 61. Fred Stanton works in the Amtrak rail yard in Washington, D.C., and is a member of UTU Local 1522.

# Calif. high school students report on trip to Nicaragua

BY PAT NIXON

SANTA MONICA, Calif. — Five students who had just returned from Nicaragua held a news conference here July 8 to tell the story of what they saw in that country. They were part of the first high school delegation sponsored by the Office of the Americas, a West Coast anti-intervention organization. Nine high school and one college student participated, ranging in age from 14 to 20.

They read a statement in English and Spanish: "As high school students, we are the people who will be called to serve in the Central American War. We have been to Nicaragua and have come to know and love the people who live there. Actually, the majority of the citizens of Nicaragua are younger than us.

"We can imagine no circumstance in which the people of Nicaragua can be identified as our enemy. Hence, we insist that President Reagan engage in effective non-military negotiations with the Contadora nations" of Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela.

Tamara Oyola, 15, explained that the group went to find out the truth. They wanted to see Nicaragua with their own eyes. "The Sandinista revolution," she said, "has bettered the people's lives." The students talked about advances in health, literacy, and electrification.

The group spoke with many young people. One was Tomás, who fought against the Somoza tyranny at age 14 and the contras at 19. He was crippled at the front, but said that if he got better, he



Militant/Bill Greter  
Young Nicaraguans participating in military training. California students said, "People of Nicaragua are not our enemy."

would fight again to defend his country.

Jacob Pinger, 17, explained that "even the press says Nicaragua is the next Vietnam. I wanted to learn if I should go fight." But what he and the others intend to fight is U.S. government intervention. They say they will talk to anyone who will listen, tell them the truth about Nicaragua, and work hard to stop the U.S. war.



# Exploitation of Canada's working farmers

## How landlords, capitalists extract profits from the toilers on the land

The following is an excerpt from an article by Michel Dugré, "Land, Labor, and the Canadian Socialist Revolution," which appears in the latest issue of *New International*. The article describes the current problems of working farmers and a perspective for fighting to resolve them, and provides a historical outline of how land relations have developed in Canada.

The *New International*, published in New York, is a magazine of Marxist politics and theory.

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Contrary to a widespread misconception, capitalism's growing domination of agriculture in Canada has not taken place primarily through the transformation of the lands of independent farmers into vast factories in the fields employing agricultural workers. In fact, the exploitation of working farmers has remained a central feature of capitalist domination of agriculture.

The exploitation of these working farmers, as Marx explained, "differs only in form from the exploitation of the industrial proletariat. The exploiter is the same: capitalist."<sup>1</sup> Capitalist exploitation in Canada today is not limited to a single form: wage labor. The class structure of modern capitalist society cannot be reduced solely to bosses and wage workers. On a world scale, the form of exploitation that the small farmer is subjected to is still a predominant way in which wealth is extorted from the toilers, and — as we have seen — it remains a vital source of profits today for capitalists in Canada, as well.

### Exploitation of working farmers

Working farmers are exploited differently from wage workers. Wage workers, having no other means of making their living, are forced to sell their labor power — their ability to work — to a capitalist. Wages received by workers represent only a portion of the total value they produce during their hours of labor. They produce a value equivalent to their total wage during one part of their work day; during the rest of the day they work for free for the capitalist. The products workers produce do not belong to them but to the employer. After the sale of the product on the market, the capitalists pocket the value produced by this unpaid labor in the form of profit. This is the fundamental method of the exploitation of workers under capitalism.

Farmers, by contrast, generally possess some means of production with which to make a living. They do not have to rely solely on the sale of their labor power to a capitalist. Many hold title to the land on which they work, and even if they rent the land, they own some farm machinery and livestock. The majority of farmers also possess the product of their labor, which they then sell on the market.

Nevertheless, after the sale of their products, the working farmers do not realize the entire value they produced. The capitalists take a portion of that value from these farmers; they reap profits from a portion of the farmers' labor time.

This exploitation of farmers takes place in two principal ways. The first is through the gap between their production costs and their minimum living expenses, on the one hand, and, on the other, the price they receive from the capitalist "middlemen" — whether government marketing boards or private corporations — who purchase, process, and market agricultural products. And the second is through the system of rents and mortgages.

The gap between costs and prices flows from the farmers' exploitation by capitalists at both ends of the food production chain. They are exploited both by those capitalists who sell them the goods they need in order to produce, and by those to whom they sell their products.

When they come to the market to buy or to sell, farmers find themselves in a situa-

tion similar to that facing the underdeveloped countries vis-à-vis the imperialist powers: they confront unequal terms of trade. The farmers confront powerful monopolies capable of imposing prices and terms. They must pay inflated monopoly prices for the commodities they need (machinery, fuel, fertilizer, fodder, etc.), while they receive far less for their products than they are worth from the government marketing boards and the big processing and marketing concerns. The wealthy capitalist families who own the monopolies pocket the difference.

Four corporations selling agricultural machinery control practically the entire market in Canada. Cominco and Imperial Oil control 55 percent of the market for chemical fertilizers. Kraft controls 60 percent of the canning industry in Québec. Kraft and Aulds control the sales of 90 percent of the cheese produced in Ontario. A handful of companies control the entire market in Canada for red meat. In 1983 five big chains of stores controlled 86 percent of the retail food trade. Two rail giants share the entire rail transportation of agricultural products.

The meat-packing industry provides a good example of how these monopolies function. Since the 1930s, this industry has been completely dominated by three giants: Canada Packers, Swift, and Burns. On at least two occasions — in the 1930s, and again in 1959 — these companies have been cited by Royal Commissions of Inquiry for their price-fixing practices. In 1969, they were found guilty of collusion in price-fixing over a five-year period, but the matter was settled out of court.

The capitalist government in Canada, far from suppressing the development of these monopolies, encourages them.

One of the most direct expressions of this exploitation of working farmers through the monopolies' control over the prices of farm inputs and farm products is contract farming. Farmers sign contracts committing them to sell their products only to a specific company at a set price. Sometimes companies concentrating in one sector of agricultural production branch out into others in order to build up a guaranteed market for their products among farmers. Grain companies, for example, sign contracts with independent pork producers. The companies agree to buy the farmer's entire production on the condition that the farmer buy feed grain only from them. In 1981 a majority of the pork producers in Québec operated under such contracts. Farmers placed in that situation become almost employees of the company. While they lose nearly all control over their production, however, the farmers continue to take all the risks.

### System of rents and mortgages

Farmers are also exploited by capital through the system of rents and mortgages.

With the decline of feudal social relations and the development of the capitalist mode of production, land began to take on the character of a commodity, that is, it began to be bought and sold. The land itself *did not become* a commodity, however, since land is not a product of human labor. While land, or rather the right to use of the land, comes to have a market price (regulated by a combination of factors not discussed in this article), the land itself has no value.<sup>2</sup>

2. Neither land nor labor has value. Value (or exchange value) is a social relation, not a natural or material product. Labor produces all value. Labor and land, on the other hand, are equally the source of use values, which are the material products that make up all the wealth of society. "Labour is the father of material wealth, the earth is its mother," Marx wrote in *Capital* (New York: Random House, 1977), vol. 1, p. 134.

For Marx's discussion of the relation between land (or nature) and labor in the production of value and wealth, see Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, pp. 133-34, 176; Marx, "Value, Price, and Profit," in Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, vol. 20, pp. 124-25; and Marx, "Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party" [Critique of the Gotha Program], in Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), vol. 3, p. 13.

Marx explains in volume 3 of *Capital* that "the purchase and sale of land, the circulation of land as a commodity . . . is the practical result of the development of the capitalist mode of production, in as much as here the commodity becomes the general form of every product and of all instruments of production."<sup>3</sup>

Under capitalism, therefore, the farmers have to either buy land or rent it from a landowner. They have to pay rent or interest on a mortgage loan to cover a land purchase, simply to get access to grazing land or a field to till.

The October 1985 issue of *Union Farmer*, the monthly newspaper of the National Farmers Union, reported the case of two farmers from Dawson Creek, British Columbia, Carl and Joyce Torio. "The Torios, who have been farming for 38 years in the community, started to get into trouble in 1977. A year in which, ironically, their farm was virtually debt-free.

"The Bank of Montreal encouraged the Torios to use their equity towards investing in the feedlot business and supplied a major loan." Eight years later, after a fall in beef prices and a rise in interest rates, the Torios had their backs to the wall. "After having paid the bank in excess of \$700,000 in interest payments since 1977, the Torios are still \$400,000 in debt and face foreclosure proceedings," the *Union Farmer* commented.

The Torios' case is typical. The pressures that the Bank of Montreal exerted on the Torios to switch sectors of production are a common practice. The bankers' aim is to keep the farmers in debt. That is how the banks make their money.

When a bank lends money to industrial capitalists for expansion of their factories, the interest on the debt is the bank's share in the overall surplus value that the industrial capitalists take from the unpaid labor of workers. When a bank lends money to a working farmer, on the other hand, the interest paid by that farmer on the loan constitutes the bank's *direct* expropriation of part of the value produced by the farmer. The bank therefore is directly involved in exploiting the farmer.

Several governmental bodies and programs also work to increase the farmers' indebtedness. Legal proceedings that Québec farmers brought against the Québec Office of Agricultural Credit in March 1985 revealed that the credit office actually

exaggerated the assets of some farmers as part of pressuring them to take higher loans than they themselves had initially requested.

### Land rents

The capitalists also expropriate a portion of the value produced by the farmers through land rents. In Canada, nearly 37 percent of the farmers rent at least some of the land they work. Land rents in 1981 represented an expense to farmers of at least US\$470 million.

At least 45 percent of this rent is paid either in kind or as a share of production or revenue. This modern version of sharecropping is increasingly widespread. In a typical agreement, the farmer will pay a rent of one-third of the total revenue from sales of the crop, while the landowner pays the land tax.

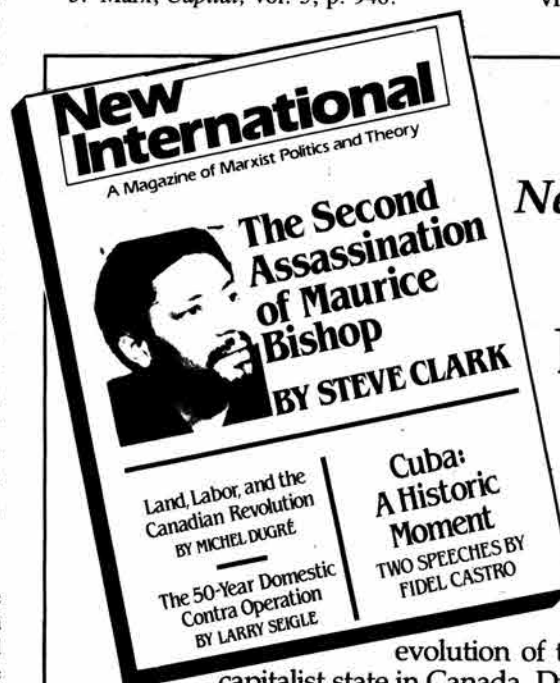
The renting of land is an obstacle to the development of agriculture. Landlords try to negotiate relatively short leases with farmers, so that they can quickly renegotiate them with higher rents. As a result, farmers are discouraged from making lasting improvements on the land. Farmers know that any benefits from these improvements — which they have had to pay for in higher production costs — will end up in the pockets of the landlords, who will use such improvements in order to raise rents when the next lease comes around.

This system of renting, whose most grotesque form is sharecropping, illustrates the parasitical character of the capitalist landlords. The landlords make no contribution to production. They acquire the right to profit from the labor of others simply by the possession of a land title.

To complete the picture, another layer of exploiting parasites must be mentioned: the land speculators. These speculators, who in no way participate in production, accumulate fortunes simply by profiting from variations in land prices. This form of profiteering has emerged as a growing aspect of the exploitative practices of big capital in Canada.

In addition to these particular forms of exploitation, many farmers are exploited as wage workers, as well. These semiproletarian farmers must take jobs in a factory, as farm hands, or elsewhere in order to make a living income. Farmers, like other exploited working people, are also victims of the other evils of capitalist society: imperialist wars, inflation, racism and national oppression, women's inequality and subjugation, nuclear power and other environmental destruction, and so on.

3. Marx, *Capital*, vol. 3, p. 948.



Just out!

New International

"Land  
Labor, and the  
Canadian  
Revolution"

an article by  
Michel Dugré

Based on an analysis of the evolution of the economy, class struggle, and capitalist state in Canada, Dugré deals with questions of communist strategy in forging an alliance of workers and farmers against their common exploiters.

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1. Karl Marx, "The Class Struggles in France," in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works* (New York: International Publishers, 1978), vol. 10, p. 122.



# Right-wing provocation backfires in peasant towns

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

Counterrevolutionary elements took advantage of the accidental death of a Sandinista soldier in June to foment demonstrations against military service in Nicaragua.

The events took place in Region V, a rural area where U.S.-armed

## NOTES FROM NICARAGUA

contras are very active. On the night of June 18, a Sandinista soldier was accidentally shot to death at a training school when he failed to give the proper password and was mistaken for a contra.

Many of the draftees and reservists at the school had families in the nearby towns of Boaco and Camoapa. Rightist elements in the two towns began visiting the families, giving them false versions of what had happened at the training school and how the young man died. One version said 16 soldiers were dead. Another said that the troops had risen up against their commanders and been machine-gunned. Still another tale had the contras attacking the school and wiping out everyone.

Panicked and confused, some family members were convinced

by the right-wing provocateurs to take over the offices of the Red Cross in Boaco and Camoapa on June 19. They demanded that the soldiers be brought home. Many involved in the takeovers were women.

Upon hearing what had happened, the soldiers at the training school sent a delegation to the Red Cross offices to inform their relatives that they had been tricked. They also took a delegation of soldiers' mothers to visit the school and ascertain the facts.

On June 20, convinced they had been used, the family members left the Red Cross offices. One woman, who said she had been ready to physically attack members of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and army, said, "the people [who led the takeover] were infiltrators who manipulated us."

Nicaragua's Ministry of the Interior arrested five men who organized the rumor campaign and Red Cross takeover. Three are members of the Independent Liberal Party and two belong to the Social Christian Party. None of the five has any family members in the military service.

Two more top leaders of a group known as Pro-war KISAN, the Miskito contra organization, have laid down their arms and returned to Nicaragua to accept amnesty.

Ismael Ramírez had organized kidnapping of Miskitos from Nica-

raguan villages and taking them to Honduras, where they were placed in "refugee camps."

Mauricio Isaías was Pro-war KISAN's head of "psychological operations," recruiting Miskito youth from these camps to join combat units against the Sandinista army.

Both said they finally decided to quit Pro-war KISAN because of in-fighting within it and because of the abusive treatment they received from the CIA, the contras of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, and from the Honduran army.

The thousands of Nicaraguan Miskitos in Honduran camps "don't have a single right," said Ramírez. "They have no land to plant. They have no food because they aren't allowed to fish or hunt. Nor are they allowed to cut wood to sell." Thirty Miskitos have recently been jailed, he said, for violating these Honduran regulations.

Isaías said he considered Nicaragua's autonomy project for Indians "something serious, the only solution to our problems, so that we can start to work and live, instead of destroying each other."

More Nicaraguan little leaguers will be playing with real gloves this year instead of socks wrapped around their hands. This is a result of a donation of baseball equipment from the United States.

The donation came from the California-based group Baseball for Peace, which sent a delegation



Militant/Michael Baumann  
Peasant woman of Boaco region with her daughter. Following accidental killing of Sandinista soldier there, contra backers began visiting families trying to get them to demonstrate against draft.

to Nicaragua in June. Most of the group's members are amateur ball players, but some supporters are professional players or sports writers.

One member of the delegation, warehouse worker Kathy Rosenmeier, told the *Militant* that the Little League of Dixon, California, contributed much of the donated equipment. The town has a large Spanish-speaking population

and responded readily to Baseball for Peace's appeal.

English teacher Cynthia Cilensek said Baseball for Peace is organizing a brigade to Nicaragua next November to help build a stadium in Boaco.

To donate your glove or bat, contact Baseball for Peace, c/o J. Feldman, Box 379, Winters, Calif. 95694. Telephone: (916) 795-4818.

# Contras murder Salvadoran priest in Nicaragua

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — A Salvadoran priest working with Nicaraguan peasants was killed July 3 when his truck hit a contra land mine.

Tomás Agustín Zavaleta is the first priest murdered by the U.S.-sponsored contra mercenaries in their six-year war against Nicaragua.

Three passengers with him were seriously wounded in the blast, one dying two days later. The attack occurred near the town of Matiguás, in north-central Nicaragua.

Survivor Ignacio Urbina, a Nicaraguan priest, told reporters that the four were returning to Matiguás from Río Blanco at about five in the afternoon, when their Toyota truck struck the mine.

"This was a planned crime," Urbina said, "because just two hours earlier, we had crossed to Río Blanco, and on our way back, they had already placed the bomb that killed brother Tomás."

Zavaleta had been in Nicaragua since March working in a peasant cooperative project sponsored by the Franciscan order in Matiguás.

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega laid full responsibility for Zavaleta's murder on President Ronald Reagan, who "claims to be a defender of religious Nicaraguans." Zavaleta, Ortega said, "is a victim of the U.S. government's terrorist policies."

Ortega challenged Nicaraguan Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo to condemn the contras' murder of Zavaleta. Obando was recently named in a *Newsweek* article as a likely recipient of CIA funds for the contras. The most prominent opponent here of the Nicaraguan government, Obando has given masses to the contras in Miami and has never denounced their crimes in Nicaragua. The contras call him "our Cardinal."

At a Sunday mass in his Managua church July 5, Obando made reference to Zavaleta's murder but refused to blame the contras for planting the mine.

"Who did it?" he asked rhetorically. "Well, it's a question in such a confusing

world, a world where information is so manipulated. Who? Only God knows."

He then stated that the Nicaraguan Catholic church hierarchy had already spoken in favor of "reconciliation and dialogue" with the contras.

Responding to Obando's sermon, Ortega said that the cardinal "is supposed to be a religious leader of the Nicaraguan people, but he is acting like a paid employee of the CIA, an accomplice to its crimes."

Thousands of members of Christian base communities met July 5 to celebrate the eighth anniversary of the Sandinista revolution. They denounced Zavaleta's murder at the hands of the contras.

A statement in the name of the Christian base communities said, "We repudiate the murder of Brother Tomás Zavaleta and reassert our Christian commitment to support our revolution, which favors the poor."

## Subscribe to 'Perspectiva Mundial' July issue: U.S. out of Persian Gulf!

As a reader of the *Militant* you are familiar with our weekly coverage of the struggles of working people around the world.

If you can read or are studying Spanish, there is a complementary monthly magazine for you: *Perspectiva Mundial*. PM is a Spanish-language socialist magazine that carries many of the same articles you read in the *Militant*.

The July issue features a news analysis of the current U.S. war moves in the Persian Gulf and their connection to the Iran-contra scandal.

The article points out that Washington's policy in the Persian Gulf is to prevent the toppling of the Iraqi regime. It explains how resistance by the people of the United States to using U.S. military forces has deepened the crisis of the government.

Also in this issue is an interview with Jesús Antonio Escandell, secretary of international relations for the Cuban trade union federation.

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## Israeli backer of Palestinian rights on tour in the U.S.

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Supporters of Palestinian rights here heard the noted Israeli lawyer and human rights fighter Lea Tsemel at a special reception July 1. The event was organized by the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee.

Tsemel is a longtime and prominent supporter of the rights of Palestinian Arabs in Israel and in the West Bank and Gaza territories occupied by Israeli troops.

She recently toured several U.S. cities to publicize the case of the West Jerusalem-based Alternative Information Centre (AIC), which was shut down by Israeli authorities February 16 and remains shut down despite protests in Israel and around the world. The Israeli police charged the center with "rendering services" to "terrorist" organizations. This is one of the few cases of censorship directed against a group organized by Israeli Jews.

The AIC was established nearly three

years ago as a source of information on Palestinian political activity and Israeli repression in the West Bank and Gaza.

The director of the center is Michel Warschawsky, well-known Israeli socialist and supporter of Palestinian self-determination. Warschawsky was held for 32 days in detention by Israeli authorities, until protests forced his release after paying exorbitant bail. He still faces serious criminal charges of "identification" with an illegal organization and possession of written material published by illegal organizations.

Vigorous protests have been lodged by organizations of Israeli journalists. Moreover, the prestigious U.S. Committee to Protect Journalists, whose honorary chairman is Walter Cronkite, sent a protest letter to the Israeli embassy in Washington.

Letters and telegrams protesting the shutdown of the AIC should be sent to: Ambassador Meir Rosenne, Embassy of Israel, 3415 International Way NW, Washington, D.C. 20008.



# El Salvador's prisons

## 'Trenches of the revolution'

BY DON GUREWITZ

Entering El Salvador's political prisons is an astonishing experience: the guards escort you through the common prisoners' section up to the entrance where political prisoners are held — and then they stop. They are not "allowed" in. You are greeted and escorted in by representatives of the elected leadership of the political prisoners themselves. This is true in both the men's and women's prisons.

Inside, the walls are festooned with political murals, slogans, posters, and announcements. "Workers of the world unite," proclaims one mural in the Mariona Prison. "Against imperialist intervention, Central America prepares itself," reads another. "Stop the Yankee aggression in Nicaragua," says the first mural you see upon entering the women's prison at Ilopango. "Political prisoners of Mariona-Ilopango," says another, "are making of the prison a trench of the revolution."

On the wall of the exercise yard they share with the common prisoners, they have painted an enormous mural depicting the assassination of San Salvador Archbishop Oscar Romero in 1980. A ghostlike hand points the finger of guilt at a figure labeled "D'Aubuisson," a cashiered military officer and leader of the right-wing ARENA party, long-associated with the notorious death squads.

Both Mariona and Ilopango have three sections: common, political, and military. The political prisoners are segregated in separate, walled sections. This was one of the first demands they won in 1980 when their organization, Committee of Political Prisoners of El Salvador (COPPE), was formed. Through a lengthy hunger strike, they forced the government to grant them political prisoner status and give them their own sections where they could organize themselves.

Today, COPPE functions as a joint committee of the male and female political prisoners. In each prison, general assemblies are held where a five-person directorate is elected for a term of six months. The prisoners are organized for political study, sports, physical therapy for those injured in the war, arts and crafts, and other activities. They raise money by selling handicrafts, run their own canteen, do their own cooking, and maintain their own discipline.

Benjamin, Mariona's youngest political prisoner, is 13 years old and had been in Mariona five months. His crime? He had refused an order by some soldiers to buy them cigarettes. In Mariona, Benjamin was in school for the first time in his life thanks to the literacy campaign run by COPPE.

We also visited the clinic run by the political prisoners in a converted cell in Mariona. There is also an "official" clinic, with a licensed doctor, run by the prison authorities. But the COPPE clinic serves not only the 1,100 political prisoners, but the 2,100 common prisoners — and even the guards. Care is provided by a staff of six, most of whom have had no previous medical training.

The clinic coordinator, Vladimir Centeno, was chosen to run the clinic because he had briefly attended medical school.

At the time of our visit, besides routine medical services, the staff was also per-

forming surgery, providing dental services, and counseling older peasants suffering claustrophobia from being confined after a life outdoors. All their medical supplies are donated.

Most of the prisoners in Mariona were dayworkers. Many were trade union activists. Some were captured in the countryside and accused of being guerrillas.

We were told that none of the political prisoners had ever been tried and that the average "sentence" served was two years. Even then, once the authorities have decided to release someone, a substantial bribe has to be paid. The amount depends on the prisoner's occupation and social status.

At Ilopango we were told a story that helped explain the remarkable amount of control exercised by the political prisoners. In February 1985, the prison authorities had announced that they intended to come into the political section of the prison and remove all of the women's personal belongings. This would have been a devastating blow.

Like the men, the women are forced by the paltry prison budget to provide for most of their own needs: they produce handicrafts for sale, purchase most of their own food, do their own cooking, provide their own rudimentary medical care, organize their own education and recreation, etc. They even have to organize child care since most of them have their younger children in prison with them.

The 68 women held a general assembly and decided to resist the authorities' threat. They used a phone in an office to call the press. They seized a number of administrators as hostages.

The military surrounded the prison. The air force was put on alert. A helicopter landed on the roof of the building the women were occupying. Soldiers opened fire, and four women were wounded.

The political prisoners offered to exchange some of the hostages for the right to have the Red Cross take the wounded women out the front gate, past some 100 international reporters gathered there. Eventually, the authorities bowed to the militancy of the women prisoners and the glare of the international spotlight and agreed to abandon their threat to remove the personal belongings.

It has been through a constant series of hunger strikes, demonstrations in the prisons, rallies by supporters on the outside, and confrontations such as the one just described, that the prisoners in the men's and women's prisons have gradually forced the authorities to relinquish to them the degree of control they now have.

*Don Gurewitz is a member of International Union of Electronic workers Local 201. He visited Ilopango Prison in November 1985 as part of the U.S. delegation to a convention of FENASTRAS, a Salvadoran trade union federation.*

*Last November he visited Mariona Prison as part of another U.S. delegation that participated in the Conference in Search of Peace: U.S.-El Salvador, sponsored by the National Union of Salvadoran Workers.*

their land, to prevent the poisoning of the environment by U.S. corporations, and to stop young Puerto Ricans from being forced to participate in U.S. wars like the one in Vietnam, he said.

U.S. military intervention in Central America relies heavily on U.S. bases in Puerto Rico and on Puerto Rican troops, Castro Ramos added. The U.S. government wants to prevent opposition to its wars from developing in Puerto Rico.

Another of the Hartford 16, Ivonne Melendez, participated in the forum. Zoilo Torres, president of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights; Roger Wareham, one of the New York 8+ defendants, Black and Puerto Rican activists framed up in 1984; and Victor Nieto of the Socialist Workers Party also spoke.

## Forum hears Hartford 16 defendant

NEW YORK — "U.S. corporations take out \$6 billion in profits from Puerto Rico every year. The FBI protects their ability to do this," explained Elías Castro Ramos, one of the Hartford 16.

Castro Ramos was the featured speaker at a July 10 Militant Labor Forum defending 16 Puerto Rican independence fighters being framed up by the U.S. government. Arrested in August 1985 and early 1986, they are being tried in a courtroom in Hartford, Connecticut, on charges that they robbed a Wells Fargo depot there in 1983.

FBI harassment, Castro Ramos explained, is meant to intimidate Puerto Ricans from speaking out and organizing against U.S. colonial domination. The Puerto Rican people have fought to keep



Militant/Don Gurewitz  
Slogan on wall of Mariona Prison in El Salvador says, "Let us all join the Mothers' Committees!"

## —WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

### S. African whites meet with banned ANC

The biggest meeting yet held between the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) and South African whites opposed to apartheid took place over a four-day period in the West African city of Dakar, Senegal.

Sixty-one participants came to Dakar from South Africa, most of them Afrikaans-speaking whites, who included intellectuals, writers, clergy, politicians, artists, and businessmen. They were led by Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the main white liberal parliamentary opposition party, who resigned from parliament last year.

The 17-member ANC delegation was led by Thabo Mbeki.

Upon his arrival in Dakar, Slabbert proclaimed that there could be no solution to the crisis in South Africa without the ANC, which he acknowledged as "the largest and oldest movement working for liberation in South Africa."

A declaration at the end of the talks noted the two sides' "shared commitment towards the removal of the apartheid system and the building of a united, democratic, and nonracial South Africa."

Although Slabbert's delegation raised some concerns about the ANC's determination to maintain and intensify its armed struggle against apartheid rule, all the participants in the Dakar talks "accepted the historical reality of the armed struggle" and "recognized that the source of violence in South Africa derives from the fact that the use of force is fundamental to the existence and practice of racial domination."

The apartheid authorities, who have strongly discouraged such contacts with the ANC, blasted the 61 South Africans who traveled to Dakar as "political terrorists." The ultrarightist Afrikaner Resistance Movement threatened to take physical reprisals against them when they returned to South Africa.

### Iran and France break diplomatic ties

A day after the Iranian government warned that it might sever diplomatic relations with France, the French Foreign Ministry announced July 17 that it was cutting formal ties between the two

countries. The Iranian government quickly reciprocated, citing as its reason the poor treatment of Iranian officials in France.

Although not cited as a direct factor in this diplomatic rupture, relations between the two governments have been strained for some years by the continued and massive French arms sales to Iraq. Iran and Iraq have been at war since 1980, following an Iraqi invasion aimed at turning back the Iranian revolution.

Two weeks before the break in ties, French police encircled the Iranian embassy in Paris and have surrounded it ever since. They claimed that an Iranian employee at the embassy was wanted for questioning in a series of terrorist bombings.

Then an Iranian diplomat, Mohsen Aminzadeh, was roughed up by French customs officials at the French-controlled section of the Geneva airport. Documents in Aminzadeh's briefcase were taken and photocopied.

The Iranian government demanded punishment for the French customs officials and the lifting of the police siege on its Paris embassy. The French authorities termed these "unacceptable conditions."

Meanwhile, a French consul in Tehran has been summoned to appear before an Iranian court on accusations of espionage and drug trafficking.

### Political prisoners freed in S. Korea

The South Korean government announced a broad political amnesty July 9 covering 2,335 people. By that date, some 500 political prisoners had already been freed. Some of those covered by the amnesty had been convicted of antigovernment activities going back to the 1970s.

The Justice Ministry affirmed, however, that scores of alleged communists and "unrepentant" prisoners would remain in jail.

The regime's amnesty came as demonstrations for greater democratic rights continued.

On July 9 up to a million South Koreans poured into the streets of Seoul for the funeral of Lee Han Yol, a student killed by riot police during the recent protests against dictatorial rule. Hundreds of thousands also turned out for a similar funeral in Kwangju, Lee's hometown.



# —THE GREAT SOCIETY—

Like, crazy — Haitian demands for the resignation of junta chief Henri Namphy are a "fairy tale" wish for a "utopian solu-



Harry Ring

tion," according to Richard Holwill, a U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state.

**See no problem** — About 1,800 public drinking water systems, serving 10 million people,

are contaminated with vinyl chloride, benzene, and other deadly chemicals. The EPA announced standards to control this, with environmentalists assailing the standards as totally inadequate. But the question's moot. Congress didn't vote any money for the program.

**Our rational society** — "About the only hope left for U.S. wheat prices is summertime damage to the nation's soybean and corn crops . . ." — News item.

**Note to Fawn and Ollie** — What with increased liability and malpractice suits, regulatory laws, etc., business is destroying more documents than ever, reports *Waste Age*, voice of the industry.

One result, a new shredder that will rip through nine tons an hour.

**Back to the fray** — When he was tossed out of PTL, Jim Bakker "stayed on the couch for weeks and curled up in a ball listening to Bible tapes," confides spouse Tammy. But, after a few days' rest on the yacht of his attorney, Melvin Belli, Jim's ready to undertake the legal battle to regain control of the ministry.

**Repeating history as farce?** — In Cuba, the *barbudos*, or bearded, were the guerrillas who vowed they wouldn't shave until they toppled Batista. Now, in Washington, right-wing supporters of the Supreme Court nomination of

Judge Bork are sporting stubbles and insisting they won't shave until he's confirmed.

**So then Baker threw away his cards** — Initially, Reagan considered his current aide, Howard Baker, to head the CIA, and, a source said, Baker would have accepted if the prez had really urged him. But Ron forgot to follow the script written on his file cards, so Baker said no.

**That's why they're so popular?** — Yuppies work and play so hard, many of them are being hit by trench mouth, a gum infection, says Dr. Dwight Weathers of the Emory University School of Dentistry. Principal symptoms, he said

are "halitosis, excessive salivation, and fever."

**Who's "we"?** — "The main economic problem is that as a nation we consume too much in relation to what we produce." — Economist Allan Meltzer.

**Sounds like a reasonable chap** — "Fashion is so expensive. When a T-shirt costs \$295, the price exceeds fairness. I think there should be a middle ground." — Designer Randolph Duke, who recently whipped up a black pique trench coat. \$650.

**The march of science** — You can now have your pet (deceased, natch) freeze-dried. A medium-size cat, \$225.

## —CALENDAR—

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf! Washington's Role in the Iran-Iraq War.** Speaker: Dean Denno, Socialist Workers Party and member United Auto Workers Local 148. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 25, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

#### Oakland

**Oakland (East Bay) Socialist Summer School.**

Sat., July 25, 3-5 p.m. "What Causes War — How To Fight It."

Class translated to Spanish and held at 3808 E 14th St. Donation: \$1. Sponsors: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (415) 261-3014 or 658-8898.

#### San Francisco

**Chile: Popular Resistance Against Government Terror.** Speaker: Lee Anderson, recently returned from fact-finding tour of Chile. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Aug. 1, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

### FLORIDA

#### Miami

**Socialist Summer School and Educational Weekend: Cuba's Road to Socialism.**

Sat., July 25. Two classes: "Cuba: A Giant in World Politics," 1 p.m. "Cuba: A Historic Turning Point," 5 p.m. Speaker: Thabo Ntweng, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Translation to Spanish and Creole. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2 per class or \$3 for weekend. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

### GEORGIA

#### Atlanta

**Cuba Today: Celebration of the Cuban Revolution.** Speaker: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers Local 34. Film: *Fidel and Cuba*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 25, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

### ILLINOIS

#### Chicago

**Political Rights Defense Fund Rally.** Speak-

ers: William Taylor, president Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-507; Rachel Del Golia, director Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights; Ibrahim Adu-Lughod, professor of political science, Northwestern University, member Palestine National Council; Carrie Brown, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 100-A; Lee Ravenscroft, representative of tecNICA; Joe Swanson, Political Rights Defense Fund. Sun. Aug. 2. Program 5-7 p.m.; reception, 7-9. United Electrical Workers Hall, 37 S Ashland. Donation \$3. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

**Protest U.S. Attacks on El Yunque Rain Forest.** Speakers: Prof. Monte Lloyd, University of Chicago zoologist and rainforest defender; Prof. José López, Puerto Rican community center on Culture and the Arts. Fri., Aug. 7, 7:30 p.m. Chicago Academy of Sciences, 2001 N Clark St. Sponsor: Chicago Comité Pro-Yunque Defense and Green Flag.

### MINNESOTA

#### Austin

**What Socialists Stand For.** Speaker: Wendy Lyons, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 789. Sun., July 26, 6:30 p.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

#### St. Paul

**Stop U.S. Domestic Contra War.** Speakers: Joe Swanson, labor spokesman, Political Rights Defense Fund; Mahmoud El-kati, civil rights activist, history professor at Macalester College; John Morrin, American Indian activist in White Earth land struggle. Sat., July 25, 7 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

### NEBRASKA

#### Omaha

**The Cuban Revolution: 28 Years of Progress.** Slideshow and presentations by Bob Schwarz and Meisa Patterson, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 25, 7 p.m. Dinner, 5:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**Cuba: A Historic Turning Point.** Speaker:

Mary-Alice Waters, member of Socialist Workers Party Political Committee, reported for *Militant* on Third Congress of the Cuban Communist Party and congress of the Union of Young Communists. Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 24, Reception, 7 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

**Socialist Educational Weekend.** Classes on Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions. Sat., July 25, 11 a.m. and 3 p.m. Translation to Spanish. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$1 per class. Sponsors: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

**Art and Revolution. Slideshow and presentation on the Cuban revolution.** Speakers: Eva Cockcroft, artist-writer; Juan Sanchez, artist; Mike Alewitz, director of Pathfinder mural project. Fri., July 31, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

### OHIO

#### Cleveland

**The Cuban Revolution: Eyewitness Report.** Speakers: Mylion Waite, associate director, Interchurch Council of Greater Cleveland; representative, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 25, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

**Socialist Summer School.** Class on *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* by Frederick Engels. Sun., July 26. 2521 Market Ave. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

### OREGON

#### Portland

**Socialist Educational Weekend.** Forum: "Cuba, Eyewitness Report." Presentation and slideshow by Cathy Sedwick, participant in recent Venceremos Brigade to Cuba; Lorna Lockwood, participant in 1987 Center for Cuban Studies tour in Cuba focusing on education. Sat., July 25, 7:30 p.m. Dinner, 6 p.m. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Two classes. "The Cuban Rectification Process: A Turning Point in the Revolution." Speaker: Cathy Sedwick. Sat., July 25, 4 p.m. "The Second Assassination of Maurice

Bishop." Speaker: Janet Post, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Local 1005. Sun., July 26, 11 a.m.

All events at 2732 NE Union. Translation to Spanish. Sponsors: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

### TEXAS

#### Houston

**Socialist Summer School.** A series of classes on the foundations of communist politics. Open to both English- and Spanish-speaking participants. Classes every Sunday at 11 a.m. and Thursday at 7 p.m. through Aug. 6.

Classes held at 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$1.50 per class. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

### UTAH

#### Price

**An Evening for Political Rights.** Speakers: Kipp Dawson, national labor spokesperson for the Political Rights Defense Fund, member United Mine Workers of America; Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 31. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

### WASHINGTON

#### Seattle

**Socialist Summer School.** Two series of classes.

Series on Stalinism. Sundays at 2 p.m. on July 26, and Aug. 2. Readings from the *Revolution Betrayed*, *In Defense of Marxism*, *Our Power Is That of the Working People*, and *New International No. 6*.

Series on the fundamentals of Marxism. Thursdays at 6:30 p.m. and Saturdays at 1:30 p.m. on July 25, 30, Aug. 1, and Aug. 6. Readings from *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, *Wage-Labor and Capital*, *Value, Price and Profit*, and the *Wages System*.

Translation to Spanish. All classes at 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$1 per class or \$5 for both series. Sponsors: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (602) 723-5330.

**Revolutionary Cuba Today.** Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 25, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

## —IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

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

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

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

**CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles:** SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 2803 B St. Zip: 92102. Tel: (619) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. **Seaside:** YSA, P.O. Box 1645. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855. **Stockton:** YSA, c/o Ted Barratt and Gustavo Mendoza, 825 N. San Jose St. Zip: 95203. Tel: (209) 941-8544.

**COLORADO: Denver:** SWP, YSA, Tel: (303) 733-3280.

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

**GEORGIA: Atlanta:** SWP, YSA, 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd Floor. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

**ILLINOIS: Chicago:** SWP, YSA, 3455 S. Michigan Ave. Zip: 60616. Tel: (312) 326-5853 or 326-5453.

**INDIANA: Muncie:** YSA, c/o Scott Shafroth, 1125 W. Marsh St. Zip: 47303. Tel: (317) 282-2996.

**IOWA: Des Moines:** SWP, YSA, 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-1695.

**LOUISIANA: Baton Rouge:** YSA, 4264 Oxford Ave. #4, Zip: 70808. Tel: (504) 766-0510. **New Orleans:** YSA, c/o Ray Medina, 730 Peniston St. Zip: 70115. Tel: (504) 899-5094.

**MARYLAND: Baltimore:** SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**MASSACHUSETTS: Boston:** SWP, YSA, 605 Massachusetts Ave. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

**MICHIGAN: Detroit:** SWP, YSA, 2135 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48201. Tel: (313) 961-0395.

**MINNESOTA: Austin:** SWP, YSA, 407 1/2 N. Main. Zip: 55912. Tel: (507) 433-3461. **Northfield:** YSA, c/o Heiko Koester and Pat Romero, Carlton College. Zip: 55057. Tel: (507) 663-4000, ext. 4570 or 4563. **Twin Cities:** SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip:

55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**MISSOURI: Kansas City:** SWP, YSA, 4725 Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0224. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

**NEBRASKA: Omaha:** SWP, YSA, 140 S. 40th St. Zip: 68131. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

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

**NEW YORK: Albany:** YSA c/o Lisa Sandberg, 120 Lark St. Zip: 12210. Tel: (518) 463-8001. **Mid-Hudson:** YSA, Box 650, Annandale. Zip: 12504. Tel: (914) 758-0408. **New York:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668. **Pathfinder Books, 226-8445. Rome:** YSA, c/o Cosmos Andoloro, 7172 Rickmeyer Rd. Zip: 13440. **Stony Brook:** YSA, P.O. Box 1384, Patchogue, N.Y. Zip: 11772.

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

**OHIO: Cincinnati:** SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-

dock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. **Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. **Columbus:** YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202.

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

**PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro:** YSA, c/o

Mark Mateja, Edinboro University of Pa. Zip: 16412. Tel: (814) 398-2574. **Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 402 N. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

**TEXAS: Austin:** YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054. **Lubbock:** YSA, c/o Amy Waugh, 2202 22nd St., Apt. B. Zip: 79411.

**UTAH: Price:** SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** SWP, YSA, 767 S. State, 3rd floor. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

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

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

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

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



# Ortega, Tambo address 40,000 in Matagalpa

Continued from front page

the struggle all of humanity is waging for the definitive elimination of racial discrimination."

The Carlos Fonseca award, Tambo told the crowd, "is more than a recognition of the fact that we share a community of objectives, which are freedom, the right to self-determination, democracy, peace, and progress. It is a recognition also of the fact that our peoples are both facing the same enemy: imperialism. While the people of Nicaragua have to confront U.S. imperialism directly, the people of South Africa and Namibia are confronting the U.S.-allied Pretoria regime."

Tambo also referred to the struggle of Angola and Mozambique to defend their independence against the UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) and Renamo (Mozambique National Resistance) contras backed by the South African and U.S. governments, in the same way that Nicaraguans have "been forced to defend your revolution against imperialism's surrogates."

"Just as your triumph of 1979 was a victory for our struggle," Tambo concluded,

"the most powerful solidarity we can extend to you is to hasten the defeat of apartheid and the establishment of a nonracial, democratic, and united South Africa."

Tambo's speech was repeatedly interrupted by enthusiastic applause and chants of "South Africa will win!" and "Free Nelson Mandela!"

Speaking after Tambo, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega reported that in a July 18 speech President Ronald Reagan had called for more funds for the contras attacking Nicaragua.

Nicaragua's answer, Ortega went on, is to "demand more solidarity with the people of South Africa and sanctions against the racist regime of South Africa!"

## Cost of U.S. aggression

The bulk of Ortega's speech focused on the murderous U.S. contra war against Nicaragua. "This is no 'low intensity war,'" he emphasized. The strategists of the Pentagon gave it that name, Ortega said, "to calm the people of the United States, who fear that their youth may have to come and die in a new Vietnam in Central America."

Far from "low intensity," Ortega

stressed, the contra aggression "is an interventionist war whose aim is to destroy the Sandinista People's Revolution." It is a war that "resorts to all forms of aggression and state terrorism on all fronts: military, economic, social, political, and ideological."

Since 1981, a total of 43,176 Nicaraguans, including contras, have been killed, wounded, or kidnapped in the U.S.-sponsored war, Ortega told the rally. In the first half of 1987 alone, he reported, more than 6,000 Nicaraguans have been killed or wounded, and material losses have amounted to \$51.6 million.

The negative effects on the economy are compounded by the fact that almost half the national budget has to be earmarked for military defense. Ortega described how the proportion of the Nicaraguan budget devoted to defense has increased, from around 20 percent in the years 1981-84, to 34 percent in 1985, a total of 38.5 percent in 1986, and 46.3 percent in 1987.

Nicaragua's economy has also been hard hit by the world capitalist economic crisis and the unequal terms of trade between the imperialist countries and underdeveloped nations. Low prices for Nicaragua's major exports, such as coffee and cotton, have combined with a sharp decrease in production brought about by the war. In 1981, Ortega reported, Nicaragua's exports amounted to \$449.8 million. By 1986 these had dropped to only \$229 million.

Despite the crimes committed against Nicaragua, and the economic pressures, the U.S. aggression "is being resisted and defeated by the [Nicaraguan] people," Ortega said. He went over the factors that have determined this successful resistance.

First is the "fighting will of all sectors of Nicaraguan society who have joined the Patriotic Military Service [Nicaragua's draft] and the reserve battalions," he said.

Also decisive in defeating the aggres-

sion, Ortega added, "is the deepening of the land reform, which has meant the granting of 5.5 million acres of arable land to 103,000 families" since the revolution triumphed. He pledged that the revolution will "continue to grant land to all those peasants who demand land to work."

Ortega also singled out the role of the autonomy process on the Atlantic Coast, where most of Nicaragua's Blacks and Indians live.

In fact, the day before, on July 18, an organization of Miskito Indians who had fought against the Sandinista government, Pro-Peace KISAN, released a statement saluting the eighth anniversary of the revolution. They pledged to "continue deepening and consolidating the process of peace, autonomy, and development, threatened today by the strongest power on earth: U.S. imperialism."

Other factors in pushing back the contras have been the resettlement of peasants from war zones, and the amnesty law, explained Ortega. Some 9,500 people who left Nicaragua, many of them to join the contras, have returned to Nicaragua under the amnesty program.

Despite Nicaragua's victories and its international support, "We must be clear that at the moment there is no perspective, no possibility of negotiations with the U.S. government" to end the contra war, Ortega said. "And not because Nicaragua is an obstacle to these [negotiations], but because the government of the United States does not want a peaceful solution, does not want this revolution to remain alive, and wants to destroy it at whatever cost."

In these conditions, Ortega added, "we need a dialogue between the governments of Central America. We need a dialogue between the United States and Nicaragua. We need more decisive actions on the part of the U.S. people so that we do not repeat a new Vietnam in Central America."

## U.S. armada threatens Iran

Continued from front page

ti aircraft operations, is also heading for the gulf area.

This will bring the size of Washington's armada in the region to more than two dozen ships.

Navy officials described the purpose of sending the *Missouri*-led task force to the region in terms that left little doubt that they expect the ships to see action. The June 27 *Washington Post* cited them as describing the role of the task force in the gulf as "an experiment in combining the firepower of the battleship with the electronic eyes of an advanced-technology Aegis ship."

### Iran targeted

The *Missouri* "will have computerized disks containing detailed maps of Iran to guide the battleship's Tomahawk cruise missiles."

Washington claims that its war moves against Iran are intended to protect the "freedom of navigation" of "neutral shipping" in the gulf. But the Kuwaiti regime is far from neutral in the Persian Gulf conflict. It is an active ally of the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein in its nearly seven-year war against Iran.

The Kuwaiti rulers have devoted a large portion of the country's oil production to bankrolling the Iraqi war.

War matériel for Iraq passes through Kuwait's port of Shuaiba — which has functioned as Iraq's main port since the war shut down Iraq's ports. And Iraqi aircraft are permitted to fly over Kuwaiti territory to bomb Iranian targets.

It was the Iraqi regime — not Iran — that began the attacks on gulf shipping in 1981 and that massively escalated the "tanker war" in 1984. It is the Iraqi regime that resumed the attacks June 20 after a month in which no ship had been hit.

### U.S. backs Iraq's tanker war

Top U.S. officials have clearly signaled that they have no objection to the Iraqi air war against shipping bound to or from Iran. U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Armitage recently declared, according to June 20 *London Economist*, that "Iran was doing better in the land war, so Iraq had to be allowed its successes in the sea war."

Iranian leaders, on the other hand, stress their desire for an end to all attacks on shipping in the gulf region. "If Iraq stops its mischief and does not attack our ships, there would be no aggression against any ship on our side, whether that ship carried the U.S. or any other flag," declared Hashemi Rafsanjani, speaker of the Iranian parliament on July 9.

The United Nations Security Council voted July 20 for a resolution demanding a cease-fire and the withdrawal of Iranian troops from Iraqi territory.

The resolution differs from the 1980 resolution adopted by the Security Council

after the Iraqi regime began the war by invading Iran. While the current resolution demands that a cease-fire include a pullback by Iranian forces, the 1980 measure did not urge the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Iranian territory they had seized.

### Campaign to isolate Iran

Washington had pressed hard for the adoption of the resolution, which U.S. officials portray as legitimizing U.S. war moves in the region.

The UN resolution is part of a concerted effort by the U.S. government and its imperialist allies to set the stage for a military confrontation by isolating Iran diplomatically.

In June, police in Britain detained an Iranian diplomat. The government of Margaret Thatcher seized on this to initiate steps that eventually reduced the embassies of Iran in Britain and of the British government in Iran to one diplomat each.

The French government launched a diplomatic provocation of its own that led to breaking diplomatic relations with Iran July 17.

The Reagan administration is also getting sufficient bipartisan support from the Democratic-controlled Congress to enable it to continue the military escalation in the Persian Gulf.

On July 8 the House of Representatives voted by 283 to 126 to reject an amendment that would have prevented the reflagging of Kuwaiti tankers.

The House then approved an amendment to an appropriations measure recommending a 90-day delay in the plan. The U.S. Senate voted to urge "alternatives" to the reflagging.

"The amendment," the *Times* explained, "was a way for the Democrats to distance themselves from the reflagging proposal while avoiding direct opposition to the plan."

The congressional moves, which effectively allow the reflagging and escort operations to go forward, followed the July 7 call by 12 members of the House Armed Services Committee for Congress to go along with the White House on this. The 12, four Republicans and eight Democrats led by committee chairman Les Aspin, had just returned from a tour of the region.

In a joint amendment the legislators declared, "Some do not like the policy, but believe that to stop it now would have worse consequences than going ahead."

The "worse consequences" the members of Congress were worried about have nothing to do with the fate of the many hundreds of U.S. sailors and pilots being readied for sacrifice in the Persian Gulf. Like the 37 who died when an Iraqi missile struck the USS *Stark* May 17, these sailors are viewed as expendable in Washington's fight to preserve its domination of the oil-rich region.

## — 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

July 29, 1977

NEW YORK — It seemed as if the whole of this city's Black and Puerto Rican Central and East Harlem was seized with one idea as the lights flickered out at 9:34 p.m., July 13 — to get back some of what had been taken from them during years of cutbacks and layoffs, and callous gouging by Harlem's merchants.

Minutes after the blackout hit, large crowds had already begun forming.

Working in teams, those gathered on the streets began pulling open the heavy awnings and gratings that guarded the more opulent clothing, jewelry, and shoe shops.

Almost immediately the police came. The cops displayed none of the restraint for which liberal commentators have been showering them with praise. With billy clubs swinging and guns drawn, they tore into the crowds, beating and shoving people to the pavement.

### THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

July 30, 1962

Price 10c

Algeria became independent from France July 3, 1962. Below are portions of an interview with Ahmed Ben Bella, a leader of the Algerian revolution and Algeria's first prime minister, gave to the Cuban newspaper *Revolución* several months before independence.

"We live in Algeria, but our heart is with Cuba," Ben Bella told us, and he went on: "this is a truth, not an empty phrase; the fundamental line that we have chosen is the same and it determines the closeness and the unity between our peoples and our revolutions."

Ben Bella received us at the door of the house that the Moroccan government had made available to him on the outskirts of Rabat. He gives the impression of being in good shape, filled with energy and youth-

fulness for the great battle that is beginning and that is going to decide the destiny of Algeria and of Africa.

At every moment we sensed the sympathy that Ben Bella has for the Cuban revolution. He knows Fidel's speeches, Che's book, the Second Declaration of Havana, and the many books and documents about Cuba that have been published in Europe. He enthusiastically recalled that each day in [a French] jail he and his comrades had read our newspaper, *Revolución*.

"What are the perspectives and tasks of the revolution after the peace accords [leading to independence]?" we asked.

"The peace itself does not fulfill the objectives of the revolution. The peace is a compromise. We need to transform this situation toward the fundamental objectives of the revolution. The reconversion sets before us the problem of time. If the time were to be too extended, the revolutionary enthusiasm, the revolutionary spirit, the morale to struggle of our people would be liquidated. The revolutionary consciousness, the energy and enthusiasm of the Algerian people are the fundamental capital that must be directed toward the essential tasks of the revolution now, toward the construction of socialism later."

And Ben Bella continued: "The first objective is the agrarian revolution as in Cuba. You first made the agrarian revolution, and afterwards you began to build socialism. Simultaneously with building a new Algeria, we must take part in the battles in Africa against colonialism and neo-colonialism."

As Ben Bella had told us he was familiar with the Second Declaration of Havana, we asked about the struggle of guerrillas and about the role of the peasantry in Latin America and Africa. His answer:

"Yes, I know the Declaration of Havana, the thesis of Fidel, and also the articles of Che Guevara in this sense. The peasant masses play a great role in the struggle. They are able to take vanguard positions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and it is beginning from this reality in the colonial countries that we have struggled in Algeria, whose example should be taken to heart in the colonized countries and especially in Africa."



# Are presidents above the law?

When Lt. Col. Oliver North appeared before the congressional committee investigating the Iran-contra arms dealings, he insisted that everything he did was legal.

There could be no restrictions on his actions as a presidential appointee, North explained, because "the president can do what he wants" with his own staff.

"The president of the United States is an elected official of this land. And by the Constitution, as I understand it, he is the person charged with making and carrying out the foreign policy of this country." North argued that his own actions were legal because they were in "furtherance of the foreign policy established by the president."

There is nothing new about this broad assertion of presidential power — although it has no basis in the Constitution.

For 50 years U.S. presidents have claimed virtually unlimited executive authority to carry out actions ranging from waging war abroad to violating the provisions of the Bill of Rights at home.

Under the Constitution, for example only Congress can declare war. But although Congress has not declared any war since World War II, wars have been waged in Korea, Indochina, and Central America on the authority of the president.

This sweeping claim of presidential power began during the administration of President Franklin Roosevelt.

Some of the facts about this were brought to light in the 1981 trial of the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI and other government police agencies.

One of the government's chief witnesses at the trial was Deputy Assistant Attorney General Robert Keuch. Making a case similar to North's, Keuch asserted that the president has the "inherent power" under the Constitution "to protect our government against those who would seek to change it by unlawful means."

Under his "inherent power" to violate the Bill of Rights, Keuch explained that in 1939 Roosevelt ordered the FBI to go after the SWP and other allegedly "subversive" groups.

Keuch stressed that one did not have to advocate or commit any unlawful act in order to qualify as a "subversive" under the order. The Federal authorities merely had to judge that a target was "acting inimically to our form of government."

"There are simply ways that individuals and groups may act that may not necessarily constitute violations of the criminal statutes," Keuch stated.

He said that those whom Roosevelt had targeted for spying and disruption beginning in 1939 were first and foremost people "who were trying to influence public opinion to keep the United States out of war, to keep us neutral." Since the president had secretly set a course toward full-scale U.S. participation in the war, opposition to this policy became "subversive" long before Congress was asked to declare war.

The labor movement became a prime target of

Roosevelt's drive against "subversives."

The 1939 executive order mandating the FBI to target "subversives" became a cornerstone of the network of executive orders and other measures that spurred the post-World War II witch-hunt against union militants and other opponents of the government's policies.

In a 1977 television interview, former President Richard Nixon summed up the broad powers claimed by presidents since Roosevelt to target opponents of U.S. policy:

"When the president does it, that means it is not illegal..."

These claims of virtually totalitarian authority are necessary because the task of the U.S. government — preserving the exploitation of workers and farmers around the world by a handful of billionaire U.S. families — run counter to the democratic rights guaranteed in the Constitution.

The rulers' interests require dragging U.S. working people into increasingly unpopular wars against peoples fighting for freedom from domination by U.S. big business. The rulers require measures to weaken the unions, push back the gains of Blacks and women, and reduce workers' living standards. This course necessitates increasingly extensive use of presidential directives — often secret — backed up by covert operations that the rulers frequently dare not publicly admit to, much less submit to democratic debate and decision.

But this growing concentration of powers in the presidency has not made it possible for the U.S. rulers to roll back the advances of liberation struggles in Cuba, Central America, Vietnam, or elsewhere. Nor have they been able to decisively turn back the democratic and social gains won by workers and farmers in this country.

This failure underlies the successive exposures of the government's secret operations against working people, from the revelations sparked by the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961 to the exposure of the FBI's Cointelpro (Counter-Intelligence Program) operations against the civil rights and antiwar movements to the recent exposés concerning U.S. backing of the contras.

The suit brought by the SWP and YSA against the government has contributed to this process. By bringing some of the crimes against these organizations to public view and winning an August 1986 court ruling that government spying on and disruption of the socialists' political activity is illegal, the suit added to the obstacles the government faces in putting its totalitarian claims into practice. Now the socialists are pressing for an injunction barring the use of millions of files on the SWP and YSA that were illegally gathered by the government.

This continuing battle against Washington's 50-year domestic covert operation against the Bill of Rights deserves the strong support of unionists, farmers, and everyone else with a stake in defending democratic rights.

# 'Subversives' lists in Puerto Rico

The government of Puerto Rico has admitted the existence of lists of so-called subversives compiled by the Intelligence Division of the Puerto Rican Police. Maintained for decades, these lists include members of civic and religious organizations, unionists, members of left and liberal parties, and supporters of independence for Puerto Rico.

The existence of the files was revealed by one of the police agents convicted a few weeks ago for the 1978 murders of two independence activists at Cerro Maravilla. The two were ambushed by cops on the remote mountaintop after being lured there by a police agent who had infiltrated the independence movement.

"A big part of the responsibility for this list falls on the FBI, which created, developed, and maintains the Intelligence Division" of the police department, declared *Claridad*, a proindependence and socialist newspaper, in a July 16 editorial. "In practice," *Claridad* continued, "these 'intelligence' agents work for the FBI, and the FBI uses these lists in carrying out its repression." That issue of *Claridad* printed 998 of the estimated 60,000 names on the lists.

These files are not only at the disposal of the FBI and other U.S. police agencies, but an arrangement between the political police and large corporations on the island allows the lists to be used to screen job applicants as well.

The lists include the names of 16 activists fighting for Puerto Rican independence who are being framed up by the U.S. government on charges of robbing a Wells Fargo depot in 1983 in Hartford, Connecticut. Most of the defendants were arrested by FBI agents who invaded Puerto Rico in August 1985, raiding the homes and offices of dozens of people.

The list also names the defendants' U.S. lawyers, who are not Puerto Rican and who have had no ties to the

Puerto Rican independence movement. Washington wants to portray these lawyers, as well as their clients and Puerto Rican lawyers, as "subversive."

*Claridad* noted that the police lists date from the 1950s. A list of alleged subversives, including more than 40,000 names, was discovered at the time of an October 1950 nationalist uprising on the island colony. This roster was used to arrest more than 1,000 Puerto Ricans, none of whom had anything to do with the uprising.

The FBI had already established a Custodial Detention List in 1940 of those the government deemed to be "security threats" in the United States. Thousands of people were placed on this hit list and subjected to harassment and gross invasion of privacy simply because Washington didn't like their ideas. The FBI claims the list was discontinued in 1976.

Following the revelation by the police agent in the Cerro Maravilla case, the Puerto Rican House of Representatives adopted a resolution demanding that the government turn over the lists of names to that body. Two suits have been brought against the government. One, by a representative of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, demands that the documents not be tampered with or hidden. The other, brought by the former president of the Lawyers Association, demands that the lists be declared illegal and unconstitutional.

The discovery of the "subversives" lists exposes the amount of disruption activities carried out by the FBI and other U.S. police agencies in the colony of Puerto Rico. U.S. working people, many of whom are victimized by the same police agencies here, have a vital interest in joining with their Puerto Rican brothers and sisters in condemning the compilation of "subversives" lists and demanding that the FBI and other U.S. police agencies get out of Puerto Rico.

# What is the source of crime in our society?

BY DOUG JENNESS

We are publishing two letters in this issue on the court decision acquitting Bernhard Goetz in the shooting of four Black youths in New York (See page 15). The comments of both readers raise some questions about "crime" in our society. This offers an opportunity to present a socialist view on this issue.

Joseph Carroll argues that the main problem is unemployment. Unless Black youths get jobs, "unrest, mugging, and robberies will continue to prevail."

But the flaw in this argument is that it assumes the source of "crime" in our society is unemployed workers

# LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

and the poor, particularly Black youth. The logic of this view is that if joblessness can't be eliminated right away, we have to either accept this problem or repress poor people. In other words, "Since poverty still exists, give me a gun." Or: "Let's get the cops in there and control those poor people, since they breed crime — unfortunately."

Carroll shows the result of this logic. His complaint against Goetz is that he used "excessive force," not that he was acting as a vigilante. He assumes that Goetz should have been carrying a gun, but that in this particular situation, "the display of a gun... would have been adequate." As if threatening someone with a gun isn't an act of violence.

The problem with using abstract categories such as "crime" is that it obscures the all-important fact that different classes in society have different views on the question of crime and of lawbreaking, depending upon which laws are broken.

For example, who were the lawbreakers in the 1985-86 meat-packers strike against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota? Gov. Rudy Perpich, who mobilized the National Guard to herd scabs for the employers; or the unionists, who were attempting to win a better contract by keeping the plant closed?

From the standpoint of working people, the entire capitalist system has been a criminal system from its beginning.

The capitalists will violate any law when necessary. They have unleashed the greatest crimes in history through their wars, and used atomic weapons against the Japanese people. To maintain their rule, they spawned the most "criminal" movement ever to appear — fascism.

Today, their policies breed massive famines. And they hold all of humanity hostage to the threat of universal nuclear destruction.

And this doesn't account for the day-to-day criminal violence against working people due to hazardous working conditions, fatigue, and countless indignities perpetrated by the employers.

Part of the criminality of capitalism, although not separate from or opposed to it, is what is called organized crime. This is the illegal side of business — drugs, prostitution, and gambling. It is those aspects of business that the capitalist class as a whole illegalizes, usually for ideological reasons related to public relations necessary to maintain its rule.

For employers, the criminals are the toilers, particularly those that express any kind of resistance to their exploitation.

For example, there's always a little bit of getting your own back on the job — tools, building materials, etc. — or ripping off some wealth — a robbery of a bank or jewelry store. This is lawbreaking. But it's also a primitive form of rebellion against exploitation. Its limitation is that it is individual, projecting a social war of one against all.

It leads toward ineffective individualism, not toward collective political organization of the class.

There is also all kinds of violence within the working class — assault, murder, robbery, ripping each other off. This results from the demoralization that capitalist rule brings into the working class. It leads to the breakdown of elementary human solidarity.

But the answer to this is not for all of us to arm ourselves and shoot it out inside the working class. Or to get the cops to do it for us. Our response has got to be in the opposite direction.

It's been repeatedly shown that violence in the working class declines when there is a working-class upsurge and increased solidarity. There's no sign that it is greatly affected by the ups and downs of the business cycle, by changes in unemployment levels.

Rather, it's with the rise of politicized, organized, class-struggle action and the self-confidence of the working class that violence inside the working class will diminish.

And it's precisely this kind of working-class solidarity that is necessary for building a revolutionary mass movement that will overturn the political rule of the truly criminal classes in our society — the landlords, industrialists, bankers, and big merchants.



# Protests against ravaging of tropical rain forests

BY PHIL CLARK

In the sylvan peace of tropical jungles in three widely separated areas, combined ecological-economic problems are pushing long-exploited peoples into angry, organized action. This is happening in Brazil, India, and Puerto Rico.

In Brazil, the rubber tappers — *seringueiros* — have

## PROTECTING OUR ENVIRONMENT

seen a slow decline in the numbers of the wild rubber trees along their routes through the jungle.

Others — including Brazil's Indians, who rely on the plants and animals of the rain forest — have also felt the pressures of capitalist development on their lives.

The sudden break-in of road builders, loggers, and cattle ranchers have evoked a quick response from the 500,000 jungle dwellers, led by the militant rubber tappers.

The July-August issue of the *Garden*, organ of 16 U.S. botanical and horticultural societies, described it this way:

"In what may be the first grassroots conservation movement to spring from the Third World, Brazil's rubber harvesters have come out of the shade of tropical trees to protest the threat to their livelihood from deforestation.

"The rubber tappers recently organized under a national council, virtually unheard of in South America where the underclass has little political voice.

Together with rural workers and native Indians, the rubber tappers recently led a march to save the forests."

Their demand: That the government designate "extractive preserves" where tropical forests will be left for the local people to manage.

At stake are the livelihoods and the way of life of the jungle dwellers who work in the rain forests by lightly harvesting wild products, a process that has left the habitat undamaged.

Now the habitats are being destroyed by cattle ranchers and huge government resettlement programs that, at first, seem brilliantly successful.

But the ranchers are making hay while the sun shines — or, more exactly, while the thin layer of fragile rain-forest soil remains viable.

After a few years at most, the leached, exhausted soil gives out and the ranchers, pockets stuffed with profits, leave for new fields to conquer and deplete.

These projects are similar to those of the "turf busters" of the U.S. West who buy and plow thin-soiled prairie land and grow bonanza crops for three or four years until the land is exhausted.

Most of the bankrolling for the Brazilian get-rich-quick schemes comes from the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, and mainly U.S. private banks and corporations.

A report from India is found in the British publication, *Race and Class* (Vol. 28, No. 4, 1987). It says that in 1972 "the Third World's first grassroots ecology movement burst out in the Himalayan foothills.

"By today, at least in India, peasants whose lives are being disrupted by environmental destruction have grown so desperate that they are halting work on such shibboleths of development and national independence as

dams, mines, and military testing ranges."

This struggle began with the Chipko movement of peasants and women of the Himalayan foothills of northern India.

A woman Chipko activist is quoted as saying: "Before there were forests all over the hills around here and plenty of water and fodder for animals. The crops were wonderful. But these hypocrites who talk of 'scientific' plans have swept the jungle clean.

"They have destroyed the water and fodder, they have forced our men to go outside for work, and then they would teach us about forest protection!"

(The word Chipko refers to the nonviolent defense of the trees, embracing them when the axman comes.)

A young Bhil tribal organizer in western India is quoted, speaking at a tribal forest conference with 50 area villages represented:

"Only tribals can save the forests! If this exploitation by the contractors keeps up, we will stop the lumber trucks from going out of the hills.

"If they are planting only commercial trees, we will tear up their nurseries.

"Deforestation is leading to drought all over, and misery for us. Put the forests under our control and help us get the knowledge and resources for scientific forestry, and we can stop it!"

Particularly ruinous are the monocultural plantations (all of one tree — such as teak or eucalyptus. Funding for these devastating enterprises comes from the World Bank and other financial groups.

Phil Clark is the former editor of *Horticulture* magazine and a founder of *Green Flag*, a Chicago-based organization that links the struggle for environmental protection with the fight for social justice.

## LETTERS

### Goetz I

There are two grievous faults with the court decision that exonerated Bernhard Goetz in the shooting of four Black youths.

First, I believe Goetz used excessive force in defending himself against an apparent attack, which never occurred. I am sure that the display of a gun by Goetz would have been adequate to call a halt to the fracas. Also, if it were a Black man shooting four white, mischievous youths, he would have been railroaded to jail, without delay.

The second, more serious fault is that the jury failed to point to the role and responsibility of society and the government to show that the reason for this behavior by many Black youths is because they are unable to acquire the means of living an American standard of life. With more than 25 percent of Black youths unemployed, how are they supposed to exist? In the past, work programs helped to alleviate some of this hardship, but Reagan and company has put an end to this in favor of military spending.

Unless legislation is passed to provide jobs for all unemployed, at union wages, conditions of unrest, muggings, and robberies will continue to prevail.

Joseph Carroll  
Newark, New Jersey

### Goetz II

I am a white male, 34 years of age, and at present am confined in prison for violating the law. I happened upon one of your issues, June 26.

As a lawbreaker, I am afraid I have to side with Goetz. Strange? Not really. You see, I fully accept the fact that if I mug, rob, rape, or break and enter that these people have the right to use deadly force against me. It is called the risk factor. If I myself caught someone harming me or my family, I would kill them with no regrets.

A prisoner  
London, Ohio

### 'Workers get cake'

After reading the June 19 *Militant* article, "Workers get cake for 12-hour days, 7-day weeks" by Richard Gaeta, a presser at Good Lad, I was not only astonished but

appalled at the treatment of Good Lad employees by their medieval Mary Queen of Scots descendant, employers.

Are we back in the dark ages? A cake for several 12-hour, 7-day week shifts? It's 1987, not 1950, when a paycheck would go further. I mean get with it!

D. Henning  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### Plant-gate sales

I noticed the demise of the plant-gate sales column in the last two *Militants*.

Too bad for Pittsburgh. We've geared up these sales for the first time in the two years I've been here.

We're focusing on United Steelworkers and United Mine Workers union sites. This week we sold 1, 3, and 6 papers at 3 steel mills and 3, 5, and 13 at portals of mines organized by the United Mine Workers. A total of 31. More than we sold at those locations in the last year, I'm sure.

At the mine where we sold the most, miners face some especially harsh attacks by their company.

Michael Pennock  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

### Every kitchen table

I started reading the *Militant* a couple months ago. I have been amazed to discover that it carries news and background information on the current issues that I do not find in any mainstream news coverage.

The *Militant* is the only place I have seen any mention of the recent Sandinista capture of a contra base, the congressional vote to restrict travel to Nicaragua, and a well-informed, honest article on the history of and situation in Panamanian politics.

Every time I pick it up, I wish that a few million others in this nation were doing the same. So I ask myself, why aren't more people reading it?

I think the *Militant* never reaches a lot of people because of its name. The word "militant" connotes violence to most people and violent revolution to many. I think the word turns most people off; it did me when I first saw the cover.

I don't have any suggestions

(yet) as to what I would change the name to. But I hope you will consider the idea. I would love to see this publication on every kitchen table from here to Florida.

Matt Mero  
Seattle, Washington

### Mexico

You have a very interesting paper that seems to cover a lot of conflicts taking place all over the world, and especially in Central America, with the problem in Nicaragua.

But for once, I would like to see your newspaper write about a problem that is right under the noses of the American people, and that's the southern borders of the United States and the friendly nation of Mexico.

Maybe it's time to send one of your journalists into Mexico to write about how U.S. imperialism and capitalist domination has affected Mexico and its people.

R.Z.  
Gilroy, California

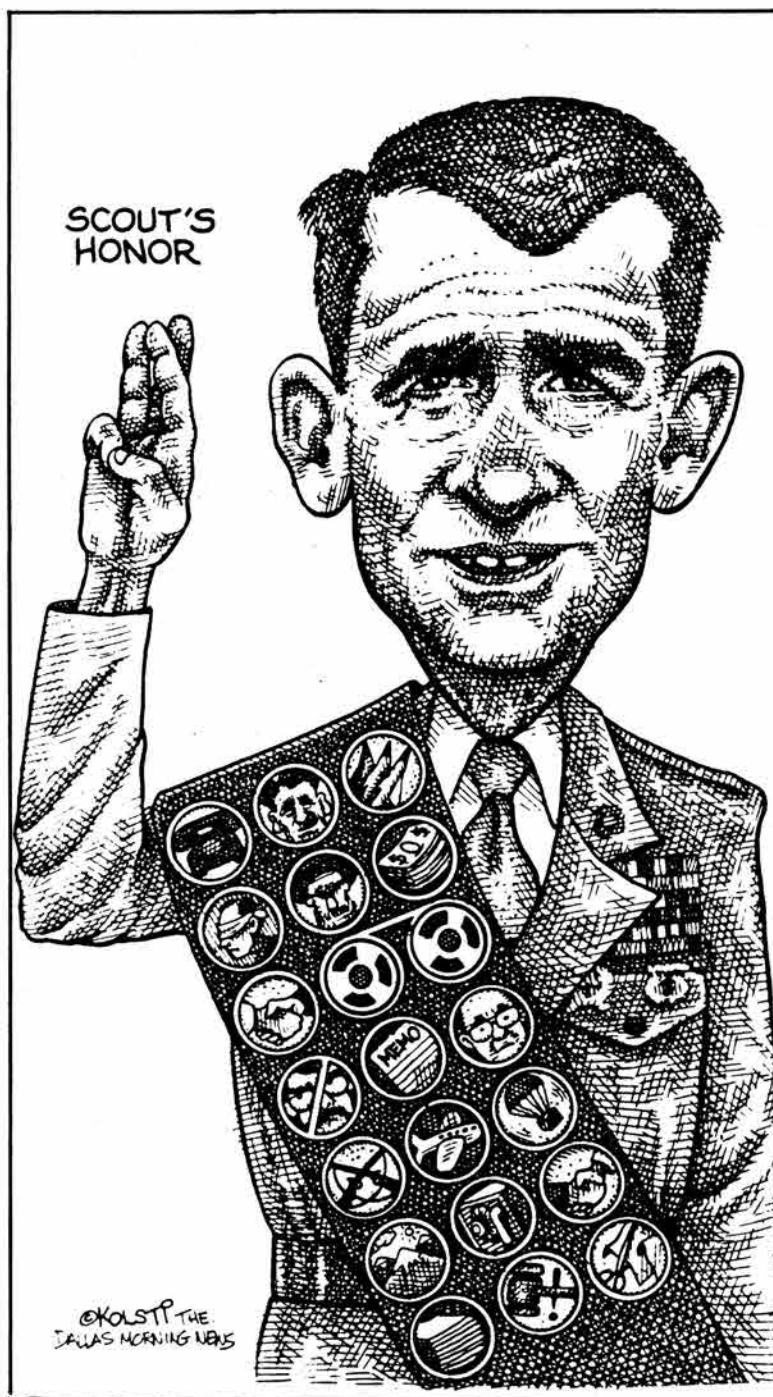
### Irish solidarity

A reception for Sinn Féin leader Martha McClelland brought together more than 50 activists from the Irish and Puerto Rican movements at a community center on Manhattan's Upper West Side July 12. Sinn Féin is a revolutionary nationalist party that works for a united, independent Ireland free of British domination.

Rafael Anglada López, an attorney for the 16 Puerto Rican independence fighters on trial in Hartford, Connecticut, spoke in solidarity with the Irish nationalist movement, pointing out the influence of Irish nationalism on Puerto Rican independence leader Pedro Albizu Campos.

McClelland vividly described the British occupation of northeast Ireland, which involves more than 30,000 troops and paramilitary police.

Discussing the country's dismal economic situation, she explained that Ireland can be viewed as a Third World country: the south of Ireland has the highest per capita foreign debt of any country in the world, including Mexico and Brazil. Since the early 1980s the lack of jobs has forced the emigration of thousands of Irish youth to the United States



McClelland urged the Irish movement to seek broader support in this country and called on activists to join the August 30 demonstration in support of the Hartford 16.

Marc Lichtman  
New York, New York

### Good paper

Good newspaper. You don't cut corners on your opinions or ideas. You always report on important issues, and I get a personal experience from the issues instead of just entertainment.

M.L.  
Atlanta, Georgia

### Correction

The speaker in the photograph on page 3 of the July 17 *Militant* is incorrectly identified. He is Don White of the Los Angeles chapter of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

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.



## Colo. miners fighting for a contract Company tries to do away with union rights on job

BY MARY GREY

OAK CREEK, Colo. — The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) won contracts at a number of Western mines in May after hard-fought strikes. But, Colorado Yampa Coal Co. (CYCC) has refused to sign a contract.

Some 45 members of UMWA Local 1344 have been on strike since April 22.

Miners here told the *Militant* that CYCC is trying to get them to accept a union-busting scheme. The company will pay them \$18 an hour if the UMWA members agree to give up all rights to bid on jobs, and to do away with job classifications and seniority.

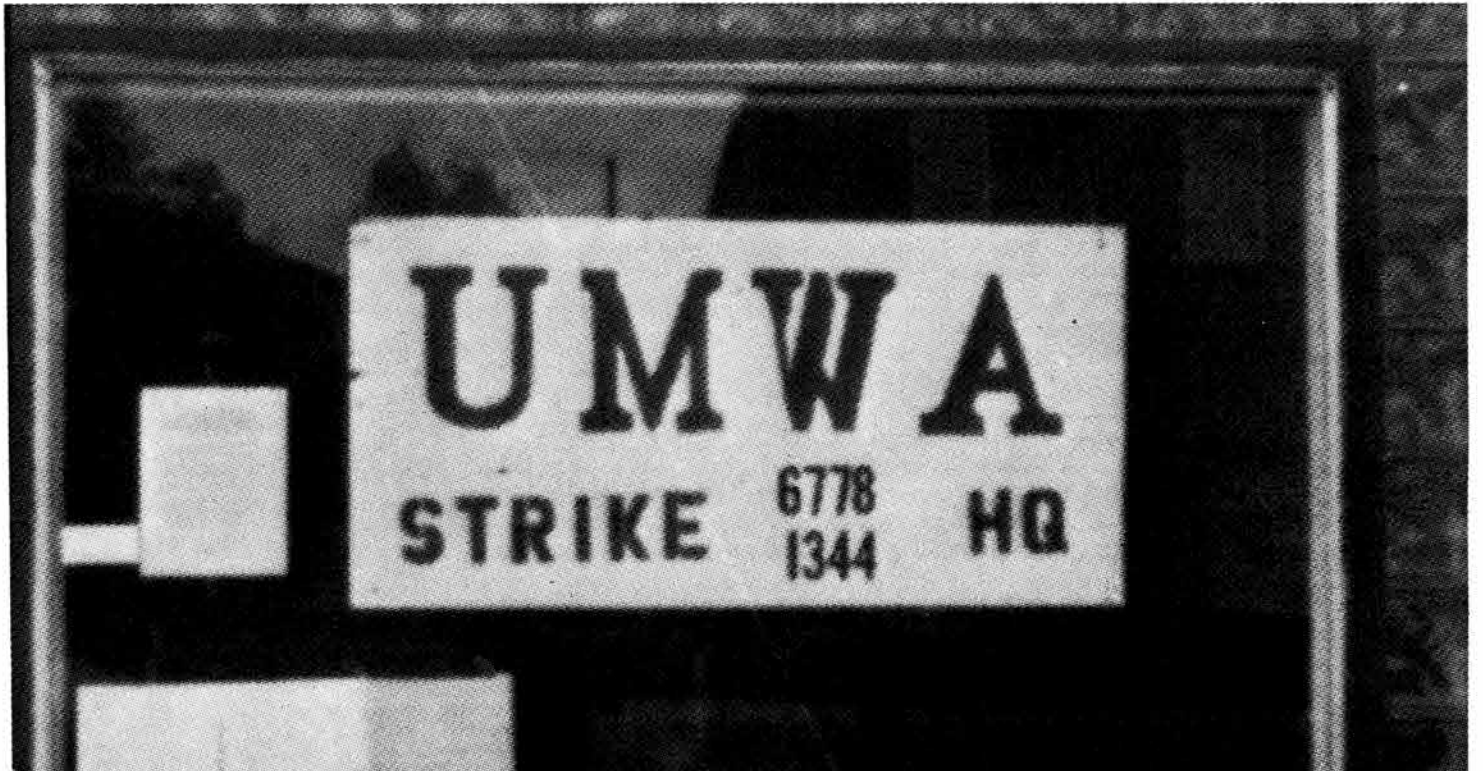
Jerry Nelson, a member of both the strike committee and the negotiating committee, explained that the company's aim is to eliminate jobs and, if possible, do away with the union. He said being paid \$18 an hour means nothing if an electrician can be forced to drive a truck and vice versa.

Nelson said that the Yampa mine has been a union operation since it opened in the 1950s. In past negotiations, CYCC would sign basically the same contract agreed to at Peabody Coal and Pittsburg & Midway mines in the West. This time it was different. Though the union agreed to continue working under the old contract while negotiations continued, the company rejected a contract extension.

"We're up against the *Steamboat Pilot* (a local newspaper), the judge, and the sheriff," Nelson said. The sheriff has been helping to herd 11 scabs into the mine.

The company has bought full-page ads in local papers slandering the UMWA. "Children have been brought to witness the spectacle of their parents shouting obscenities at our employees who chose not to strike," an ad in the *Hayden Valley Press* complained. A judge has limited the number of pickets the union can have to six.

In spite of these attacks, UMWA Local



United Mine Workers offices in Hayden, Colorado. Area miners are helping Local 1344 fight union-busting attack, and seven UMWA locals are sponsoring July 25 "UMWA unity rally."

1344 clearly is winning community support. Virtually every storefront window in Oak Creek, with the exception of the police station, prominently displays a "We support UMWA" sign. Wives of the strikers, members of the Communications Workers of America, and UMWA members from other locals are participating in the picket lines. Rail workers are refusing to drive coal trains to the mine.

Miners explain that this is UMWA country and they intend to keep it that way. Seven UMWA locals in the area joined together to sponsor a "UMWA unity rally" on July 25.

Messages of support can be sent to UMWA Local 1344, Oak Creek, Colo., 80467.

### Ill. miners seek union recognition

BY BOB ALLEN

OAKLAND, Ill. — On July 12, members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) struck the Miracle Mine here seeking union recognition.

Last October, Energy Resources began construction on the Miracle Mine located outside Oakland near the Indiana border. At first, the owner publicly expressed disinterest in whether or not the workers were UMWA members.

That is until eight of the 12 workers doing the mine construction signed UMWA cards. Since then, he has refused to bargain with the union.

This follows a recent trend of nonunion mines opening in Illinois. Until the 1980s all major mines in the state were union operations. Then Shell Oil and Kerr-McGee sunk large mines and are determined to keep them nonunion. While these non-union mines are running at full capacity, union miners have suffered extensive layoffs and many mines in the state have been shut down.

If the strike is won, the union will represent the mine construction workers. But with 250 miners projected to be hired once the construction is completed, the UMWA will be in a strong position to win a contract for the entire operation.

The UMWA International and districts 6 and 12 in Illinois are encouraging union members from across the state to help out on the picket line. One group of un-

employed miners have set up camp near the picket line for days at a time.

The company is trying to defeat the strike by operating with management and scabs. The union has been building up the picket lines. On the second day, union members convinced six of the seven scabs not to come back the next day. But more are expected to try to cross the picket line.

On the third day of the strike, my UMWA local, along with other miners' union members, participated on the picket line and discussed the issues with the strikers.

Conditions described to us were subject to both jokes and outrage. In violation of federal and state law, some shifts work without a hoist operator. This is the only means of mechanical transportation out of the slope, which is now more than 500 feet deep. Government inspectors refuse to enforce this or any of the other safety laws.

Workers are being paid a flat weekly rate with no extra pay for overtime. Recently, management has been forcing them to put in 12-hour days.

Solidarity is strong on the picket line and there is a sense of the importance of this strike for the union. The UMWA has the opportunity to draw the line against non-union coal companies operating in the state and strengthen our position for the 1988 national contract fight.

Bob Allen is a member of UMWA Local 2295 in Albers, Illinois.

## TWA ordered to reinstate 1,500 flight attendants

BY MARCIA HALVERSON

CLEVELAND — The United States Court of Appeals has ordered Trans World Airlines (TWA) to reinstate 1,500 former strikers who are members of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA).

After taking over the reins at TWA in 1985, corporate raider Carl Icahn demanded that most unions at the airline take a 15 percent pay cut. But he told the IFFA membership, which is 85 percent female, that we had to take a 44 percent wage and benefit cut.

He said the additional cut was necessary since "you girls aren't breadwinners" and that we were only working for "second [family] incomes."

IFFA went on strike to resist Icahn's demands. Icahn hired replacement workers. The six-week strike ended in May 1986 when IFFA made an "unconditional offer" to return to work in order to save our jobs.

This had become necessary since the Federal Aviation Association (FAA) had given TWA permission to reduce its training time for flight attendants from five weeks to only 18 days and the Immigration

and Naturalization Service had issued "easy visas" to flight attendants from Europe to come into the United States to work on TWA planes.

A few details may help explain the issues at stake in the unanimous decision by the United States Court of Appeals on May 26 of this year.

The court ruled that TWA had violated the Railway Labor Act by hiring 463 trainees after the union had announced it was willing to return to work. The decision upheld the union's contention that TWA was trying to change its long-standing employment practices so it could recognize trainees who had never worked for the airline prior to May 17, 1986, as regular, full-time "employees."

That was TWA's way of trying to prevent union members from being able to return to work.

The second part of the decision concerned some 1,000 union members who crossed the picket lines during the strike. TWA tried to give them "permanent replacement" status as a way of cutting across seniority. The judges said this discriminated against union members "on the basis of the degree of their union activity" and was TWA's way of trying to induce "members of the work force to abandon the strike." The ruling also noted TWA's attempt to create "long-term division among the work force."

TWA can appeal the decision to the Supreme Court.

IFFA members consider this an important victory. It comes more than a year after the strike's end. Flight attendants talk about how difficult the waiting has been. Many union members have had to declare bankruptcy, and many have lost their homes and cars.

More than 3,000 strikers, however, were not affected by the decision. For them the waiting goes on. IFFA has a bad-faith bargaining lawsuit against TWA that is in the early stages. The most junior flight attendant covered by the current decision started work at TWA in August 1966.

Marcia Halverson is an IFFA member.



TWA flight attendants during 1986 strike.