

Central America treaty deals blow to U.S. war

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan government has scored its biggest diplomatic victory in years against the drive of the U.S. government to militarily overthrow the Sandinista revolution.

On August 7 the presidents of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Honduras, and Guatemala unanimously adopted an accord for ending the military conflicts in Central America.

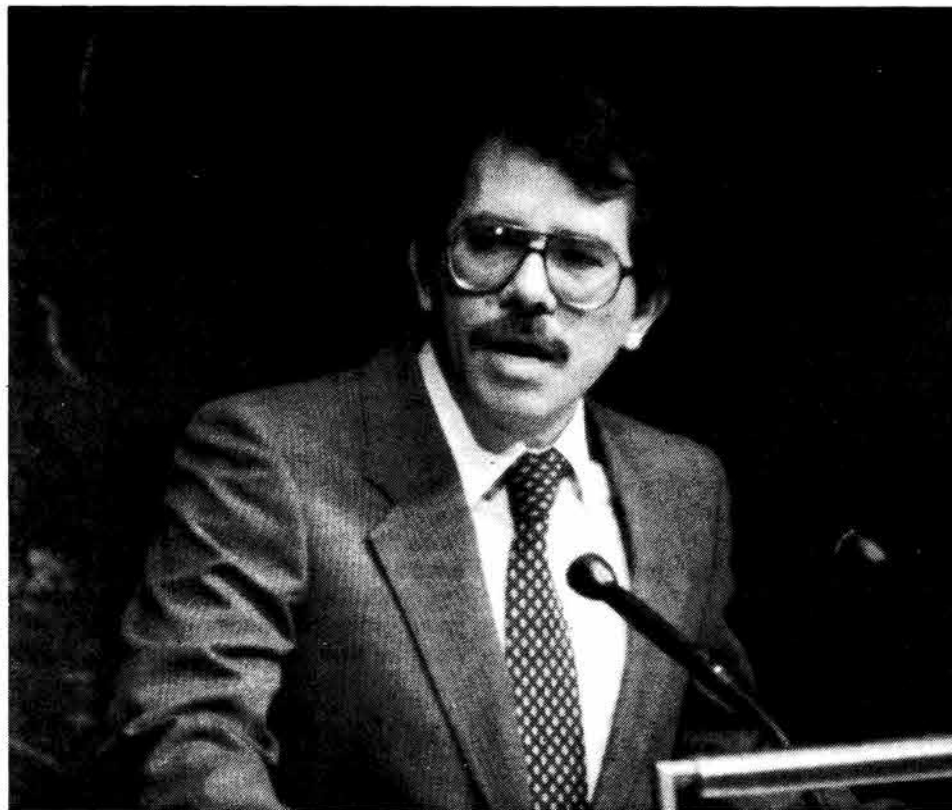
The agreement is a major political setback for the U.S. government's six-year contra war against Nicaragua. It specifically deals a big blow to the prospects of renewing aid to the mercenaries this fall.

The accord stipulates that by November 7, all aid to "irregular" military forces fighting in Central America is to end. All governments in the region are to terminate use of their territory by such forces.

Were these provisions to be implemented, Washington would have to end its lifeline to the contras waging war on Nicaragua. The governments of Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica would have to expel contra bases and support operations from their territory. Totally dependent on this outside support to survive, the contras would be finished.

Having failed to pressure its own allies in the region to reject such an accord, the U.S. government has now been plunged into a crisis over how to proceed. This crisis is being deepened by the Sandinistas' announcement that they will strictly comply with all provisions of the accord, including a cease-fire with the contras and restoration of suspended civil liberties in Nicaragua.

At the same time, the Sandinistas are encouraging the armed workers and peasants



Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega

of Nicaragua to step up their military blows against the contras as long as the accord has not been implemented.

In El Salvador, meanwhile, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) have succeeded in forcing President José Napoleón Duarte to agree to a September 15 meeting to discuss how to implement the accord in that country. Duarte has refused to meet with the FMLN

and FDR since 1985.

The accord and the events surrounding it register the depth of sentiment among workers and peasants in Central America for peace and an end to U.S. intervention. They also register the depth of the Reagan administration's weakness.

Important political space has opened up for Nicaragua to marshal world support for its right to live in peace. Washington is

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Judge bars use of FBI files on socialists

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — In a signal victory for democratic rights, a federal judge has issued an injunction barring the FBI and other government agencies from using illegally obtained information about the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The order, made public August 20 by Judge Thomas Griesa, bars use of information obtained by government informers or by government burglaries of SWP or YSA offices. (The full text of the injunction will be published in the next issue of the *Militant*.)

The order also includes the stipulation that names of members and supporters of the SWP and YSA in the hands of the government shall be presumed to have been illegally obtained since neither organization makes such information public.

Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, declared that the injunction "strengthens the protection of the Bill of Rights against government interference in the affairs of individuals, and of political, trade union, and other organizations."

Leonard Boudin, attorney for the SWP and YSA, hailed the latest ruling as "a momentous decision."

"The court makes clear," Boudin explained, "that when the government spies on its citizens by sending informants into their midst, and burglarizes the offices of lawful political parties, the government may not exploit its ill-gotten gains."

"The court has shown special care," he said, "to protect members of the SWP and YSA by ordering that the identity of members cannot be used by the government in any way. . . . In doing so the court has acted to prevent any further damage to the many individuals whose names may appear in the files and to assure that an individual's political beliefs and activity are not used by the government against the individual."

The injunction was won in a suit by the SWP and YSA against the attorney general, the FBI, and other government agencies. The suit was filed in 1973. In an opinion issued in August 1986, Judge Griesa ruled that the FBI had systematically trampled on the rights of the two organizations and their individual members and supporters.

This included infiltration by informers, illegal surveillance, disruption, and the accumulation of information used to victimize the two organizations.

In the 1986 decision, Judge Griesa ruled that the FBI activity was illegal. He awarded the SWP and YSA damages of \$264,000. He also ruled that the SWP and

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Socialist rally hears fighters from six countries, opens \$150,000 fund drive

BY FRED FELDMAN

OVERLIN, Ohio — An enthusiastic audience heard revolutionary fighters from Britain, Canada, Iceland, New Zealand, Australia, and the United States at a rally here August 14. The rally concluded the six-day Socialist Educational and Active Workers Conference held at Oberlin College. Some 1,000 people attended the conference sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Further coverage on the conference will appear in future issues of the *Militant*.

The rally speakers hailed the role of socialist publications — the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, Pathfinder books and pamphlets, the Marxist journal *New Internationalist*, and its French-language counterpart *Nouvelle Internationale* — in forging links among revolutionary fighters around the world and in providing them with tools for winning more workers and farmers to communism.

The rally opened a drive to raise \$150,000 for the socialist publications with a collection that brought in more than \$80,000 in contributions and pledges.

Mike Alewitz, art director of the Pathfinder mural project, opened the rally by describing the plans to "create a mural the likes of which this country has never seen before. We're going to cover the entire six stories of the Pathfinder building in New York from top to bottom with the revolutionary themes of the books that are published there."

Slides projected on screens in front of

the audience showed initial sketches of the mural.

Among the portraits that will form part of the mural are those of V.I. Lenin, Nelson Mandela, Maurice Bishop, Malcolm X, Augusto César Sandino, Che Guevara, and Fidel Castro. Alewitz said that artists from many countries including Britain, Ireland, Cuba, Nicaragua, Puerto Rico, Korea, and New Zealand will participate.

The centerpiece of the mural will be a web printing press churning out communist literature for fighting workers and farmers around the world.

Rita Lee, one of 37 volunteers who staff the shop in the Pathfinder building that prints the socialist publications, described how they are forging a team capable of meeting the growing demand for revolutionary literature.

Ron Anderson, a leader of the Socialist League of Australia and a representative of Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia, based in Sydney, Australia, described the preparations for publishing *Che*, a 440-page volume of writings by Che Guevara, one of the central leaders of the Cuban revolution. Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia is preparing the book, Anderson reported, in collaboration with Cuba's José Martí foreign languages publishing house and others in Cuba.

Che is scheduled to be available around the world before October 8, the 20th anniversary of Guevara's assassination by CIA-directed Bolivian troops and the date set for international celebrations of his life.

Public meetings to launch the book will be held in the Philippines, India, Sri Lanka, Britain, Iceland, Canada, the United States and many other countries. It's possible, he said, that the book launching in New York might be connected to painting Che's portrait into the Pathfinder mural.

Anderson also spoke of the "decisive importance of the *Militant* for the small forces of the Socialist League in Australia." "As one of the few English-language communist weeklies in the world," he said, "the *Militant* has functioned as the Socialist League's newspaper. Socialist League members write for it, sell subscriptions to

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Help us win 6,000 new readers

BY MALIK MIAH

The *Militant* is launching a major subscription campaign with this issue. Our goal is to win 6,000 new readers as introductory or longterm subscribers by November 24.

Militant supporters are also on a drive to help win 1,500 new subscribers to the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* and sell 2,000 copies of *New Internationalist*, a journal of Marxist politics and theory.

Over the past year nearly 15,000 workers, farmers, and students signed up as subscribers to the *Militant*.

There has also been a rise in the number

of subscribers from other countries, particularly Britain, Canada, New Zealand, Sweden, Iceland, and Australia.

A communist paper appearing every week, the *Militant* is an invaluable tool for working-class fighters. To get the paper into the hands of more working people and students is the fundamental reason for the subscription campaign. Many working people are ready to spend \$4 for 12 issues of the *Militant* (a big discount) to see if they like the paper and want to become longterm subscribers.

Supporters of the *Militant* attending the recent Socialist Educational and Active

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Tens of thousands go on strike in South Korean labor upsurge

BY ERNEST HARSCH

More than 20,000 workers smashed through a blockaded gateway at one of South Korea's largest factory complexes August 17 and briefly occupied the premises.

The next day, as the strikers' numbers swelled to 40,000, they paraded through the streets of Ulsan, the industrial city where the Hyundai complex is located. As cheering supporters joined the march, the crowd grew to some 50,000.

Like the tens of thousands of workers in other parts of South Korea who have downed their tools in recent weeks, those at Hyundai are demanding higher pay, better working conditions, and, above all, the right to form their own recognized trade unions.

Hyundai Motor Co., producer of the Excel subcompact car that is exported to the United States, had shut down a week earlier because of strikes. Then on August 17 Hyundai closed several more of its plants in Ulsan, which produce ships, heavy machinery, precision tools, and electrical and wood products.

This lockout came in response to the workers' decision to form a new union, in opposition to Hyundai's company unions. "It isn't a legal union," a Hyundai spokesperson claimed, maintaining that the plants were closed "to prevent damage" by disgruntled workers.

But the size and militancy of the workers' protest forced the government to promise that it would urge Hyundai to recognize the new union. With that concession, the workers agreed to return to their jobs.

Massive strike wave

The Hyundai conflict is only the most dramatic of the hundreds of strikes, marches, and sit-ins that are sweeping South Korea.

Although not reported by the major news media at the time, the first strikes actually began in June, during the massive street mobilizations against the military dictatorship of Gen. Chun Doo Hwan.

In addition, many workers participated in the demonstrations, which called for direct presidential elections, the release of political prisoners, and other democratic gains. But many workers did not take part, since those who did often faced particularly brutal beatings from the riot police and the loss of their jobs.

After the regime announced an easing of the repression and other major concessions to the democratic rights protesters in late June, workers saw an opportunity to begin pressing their own, long-suppressed grievances more openly.

Bus drivers in Seoul, the capital, walked off their jobs and staged sit-ins, while bus

and taxi strikes spread as well to Kwangju, Chonju, Kunsan, and other cities. Leaders of the bus drivers threatened a national strike if their union was not recognized.

For several days, strikes halted shipments out of Pusan, the country's largest port. A sit-in by 600 fishing boat captains shut down Pusan's central fish market. Textile, garment, and footwear workers — many of them young women — struck across the country.

Coal miners seized control of key rail lines and clashed with police and management personnel in Taebaek and Chongson. Officials of the Ministry of Energy admitted that some 30 mine shafts had been affected by walkouts.

In Seoul, the luxury 1,000-room Lotte Hotel was struck by chefs and other employees.

Besides Hyundai, most other South Korean automakers were also hit by strikes.

As of August 17, workers at nearly 300 companies were on strike. A greater number of strike actions had already been settled since the beginning of the month.

'Like beasts of burden'

All of these strikes are illegal, and strikers could face prison terms. Some government and military officials have threatened greater repressive action if the strike wave continues.

But the conditions of South Korean workers (and the inspiration of the demo-



Textile workers demonstrating in Taejeon. In strikes at over 300 companies, workers are demanding higher pay, better conditions, and right to form their own unions.

cratic rights mobilizations) have led them to walk off their jobs anyway.

Average wages for all South Korean industries are just \$1.75 an hour. There is no effective minimum wage, and employers for a long time benefited from government wage "guidelines" that kept down workers' earnings.

The South Korean workweek is one of the longest in the world, averaging 57 hours.

According to union officials, last year alone more than 23,000 workers were killed or crippled in industrial accidents. In some cases, workers are confined to barracks-like dormitories or crowded shanties known as "chicken coops."

Legislation, police repression, and company goons prevented workers from organizing their own unions. Instead, tooth-

less government or company unions were imposed.

It is conditions such as these that have enabled South Korea's rulers to claim an economic growth rate of 10 or more percent a year and to export significant quantities of automobiles, electronic goods, and other products.

"We are treated like beasts of burden," a worker at a gear-box plant in Kwangju told a correspondent for the Paris daily *Le Monde*. "To improve the workers' conditions, several percentage points of the growth rate will have to be sacrificed."

A young woman worker at a Seoul textile plant responded to the reporter: "What do I expect of the democratization? That they accord me some dignity, that they respect my work."

U.S. gov't set back in Palestinian frame-up

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

LOS ANGELES — While refusing to dismiss deportation charges against the Los Angeles Eight, an immigration judge ruled July 23 that the government had deliberately disobeyed a court order.

The ruling was sparked by the willful failure of Immigration and Naturalization official, Gilbert Reeves, to appear in court.

The judge also ordered the government to search files of the CIA, FBI, and five other government agencies for evidence of wiretapping of the defendants' attorneys' and the defense committee's phones. Lawyers for the eight had offered documents indicating the presence of wiretaps.

The government roundup of the eight — seven Palestinians and one Kenyan — last January provoked a broad protest. All eight were originally charged with violating provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act concerning the distribution of literature promoting the "doctrine of world communism." Currently, two face charges of association with an organization that "ad-

vocates the destruction of property." The remaining six, who do not have legal residence status, face deportation for minor visa violations.

Judge Ingrid Hrycenko agreed to a defense request to appeal her decision not to dismiss charges to the Immigration Appeal Board.

Hrycenko had thrown out all charges last May when the government refused to produce the Immigration Naturalization Service (INS) official who had signed the original charges against the eight. The INS immediately refilled identical charges. But arraignment was delayed last month when Hrycenko agreed to hear defense arguments that the new charges should be dismissed because of government misconduct.

A top INS official from Washington present at this latest hearing condemned the judge's handling of the case in an impromptu news conference after the proceeding. Charging that it seemed as if "the government is on trial," William Joyce

complained that "France can get rid of 3,000 Palestinians, but we can't get rid of eight."

Joyce also said, "Clearly when we brought these charges against them, we didn't know we would have the Weinglasses of the world on the other side." Leonard Weinglass, well known for defending victims of government frame-ups, is one of several attorneys defending the eight.

After the hearing, Mark Rosenbaum, another of the eight's lawyers, said, "While we are disappointed the judge did not dismiss the charges, her analysis of the facts on the violation of the court order" will greatly aid the case on appeal.

In her ruling the judge suggested the government was guilty of "obstruction of justice or egregious misconduct."

Forcing the government to admit wiretapping conversations between the defendants and their lawyers, thus providing documentation of violation of attorney-client privilege, would be a severe blow to the entire prosecution.

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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.

Subscribe today.

If you already have a subscription, by renewing for six months or longer you can receive the current issue of *New International* for \$3.50 (cover price \$6.50). *New International* is a magazine of Marxist politics and theory and this issue features the article, "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop," by Steve Clark.

The Militant

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Coeditors: MARGARET JAYKO and DOUG JENNESS

Circulation Director: MALIK MIAH

Nicaragua Bureau Director: CINDY JAQUITH

Business Manager: JIM WHITE

Editorial Staff: Susan Apstein, Fred Feldman, Ernest Harsch, Arthur Hughes, Sam Manuel, Harvey McArthur (Nicaragua), Roberto Kopec (Nicaragua), Harry Ring, Norton Sandler.

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Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

Puerto Rican rights march gains support

Hartford mayor, Black, labor, and peace groups back Aug. 30 protests

BY SAM MANUEL

At an August 18 news conference, Hartford, Connecticut, Mayor Thirman Milner announced his support for the National March to Demand Justice and Civil Rights for Puerto Rican Political Prisoners to take place in that city on August 30. Actions will also take place in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and in San Francisco.

In a statement to the media Milner explained, "I am here today to express my opposition to any action of repression that denies people basic civil rights. It is everyone's duty to speak out against repression. I would be a hypocrite to speak out against apartheid and not speak out for the civil rights of Puerto Ricans; to condemn the beatings of my brothers and sisters in the South and not speak out in my own town." The mayor encouraged everyone to participate in the march.

The march and rally is being organized by the Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression. Additional endorsers include: the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, the U.S. Peace Council, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), Harlem Fightback, November 29 Committee, and the Alliance of Black Journalists.

The Hartford march will assemble at Park and Zion streets at 10 a.m. and proceed to a rally at Betances Park at Main and Park streets.

Support for independence activists

The actions have been called to show support for 16 fighters for Puerto Rican independence, 11 of whom were arrested in an Aug. 30, 1985, raid in Puerto Rico by over 200 armed agents of the FBI. They have been brought to Hartford for trial.

The defendants, known as the Hartford 16, have been charged with participation in a \$7 million robbery of a Connecticut Wells Fargo depot in 1983, and with being members of a group called the Macheteros — meaning the machete wielders. In response to growing protests, 14 of them have been released on bail. Two others remain imprisoned under the provisions of the 1984 Bail Reform Act that allows the courts to deny bail to anyone deemed "dangerous."

The August 30 actions will support the demand of the 16 that their trial be moved to Puerto Rico to insure their constitutional right to a jury of their peers; and that the Bail Reform Act of 1984 be abolished.

The mayor was joined in the press conference by John Brittain of the National Lawyers Guild and National Conference of

Black Lawyers, and Victoria Barrera and Peter Gosselin for the Hartford Committee Against Repression.

Part of larger offensive

Barrera explained that the arrest of the independence activists is part of a larger offensive against the rights of Puerto Ricans and other oppressed people. She pointed to the actions of Connecticut State Sen. Thomas Scott who has campaigned to make English the official language in the state. "This is a cover for attacking the bilingual and educational rights of Hispanics and the non-English speaking people," she said.

A statement issued by the Hartford Coalition for Justice in Central America said, "Why should those concerned with Central America be concerned with Puerto Rico? We have only to remember the invasion of Grenada and the large U.S. military maneuvers on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques to realize that Puerto Rico might well play a critical role in an invasion of Central America."

Others at the press conference included Rafael Anglada López, a member of the legal defense team for the 16, and Yvonne Melendez and Elías Castro Ramos, two of the defendants. Melendez stated, "The violations of civil and human rights we were subjected to were gross violations. We hope that through our struggle nobody else's rights will be violated in the future."

The committee also announced that among the speakers at the rally will be New York State Assemblyman Jose Rivera, and District 1199 Vice-president Dennis Rivera. Puerto Rican singer Roy Brown will perform.

Support from 15 cities

According to Esperanza Martel of the New York office of the Committee Against Repression, 20 busloads of participants have been organized from New York City to go to Hartford. Three of the buses will be filled by members of the Hospital and Health Care Employees Union District 1199. Other buses are being organized by community and religious organizations.

Support for the action is being organized in 15 cities in the Northeast.

The trial is not expected to begin until sometime next year. Extensive pretrial hearings have uncovered widespread violations of the constitutional rights of the defendants by the FBI and other police authorities.

Martel reported that charges of possible collaboration between the FBI and police authorities in Puerto Rico to frame up



Militant/Susan Apstein

March in 1986 to demand freedom for Puerto Rican independence fighters, held on first anniversary of Hartford 16 arrests.

the independence activists have been strengthened by recent revelations in Puerto Rico.

According to a report in the Puerto Rican weekly *Claridad*, the internal security police of Puerto Rico maintain files on over 50,000 people on the island whom it has classified as "separatist" and "subversive."

Martel explained that in the files are also the names of the 16 defendants, their family members, lawyers, and many of the coordinators of their defense committee, both in Puerto Rico and the United States.

Martel emphasized that some of those on the list have not been active in politics in Puerto Rico. "Our names could only have been provided by a government agency in the United States like the FBI," she explained.

International support

The case of the 16 has also continued to gain international support. Many of their supporters along with representatives of

prominent Puerto Rican independence organizations gave testimony to the recent hearings of the United Nations Decolonization Committee.

One of those who testified was María Dolores Fernos of the Committee of Friends and Relatives of those arrested on Aug. 30, 1985. She explained that as a result of the actions of the FBI, "The Constitution of Puerto Rico approved in 1952 had no legal or juridical value." She called upon the United Nations and the international community to take steps to end the violation of the rights of the people of Puerto Rico.

In its final resolution the UN Decolonization Committee "reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence."

For more information on the August 30 march and rallies contact the Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression, 577 Columbus Ave., New York, N.Y. 10024 or call (212) 927-9065.

W.Va. rally for contras flounders

BY MAGGIE MCGRAW

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — Although it had been heavily promoted by the Charleston-area media, only 45 people turned out for a pro-Oliver North rally in Hurricane on August 1. Hurricane is only 30 minutes from Charleston, the largest population center in southern West Virginia.

The rally was organized by the American Freedom Coalition, which is made up of the National Right to Life, National Conservative Political Action Committee, Christian Broadcasting Network, Coalition for Religious Freedom, and CAUSA USA, political wing of the Unification Church.

Their goals were to show public approval for North's role in the Iran-contra arms transfer, for continued aid to the Nicaraguan contras, and to raise funds for North's legal defense. Hundreds of T-shirts proclaiming "I'm a 'North' American," printed to raise funds for North, went unsold.

Antiwar activists from Marshall University in nearby Huntington organized a counterprotest. They carried signs reading, "North guilty of war crimes" and hired a plane to fly overhead pulling a banner reading, "Stop North and the Secret Team."

The Huntington group, which included Vietnam-era veterans, was successful in using the media coverage of the two rallies to continue the public debate over U.S. foreign policy.

The same day, more than 30 people from across West Virginia met at a conference organized by Witness for Peace activists and sponsored by Central America solidarity groups in Charleston and Beckley.

Almost everyone attending had visited

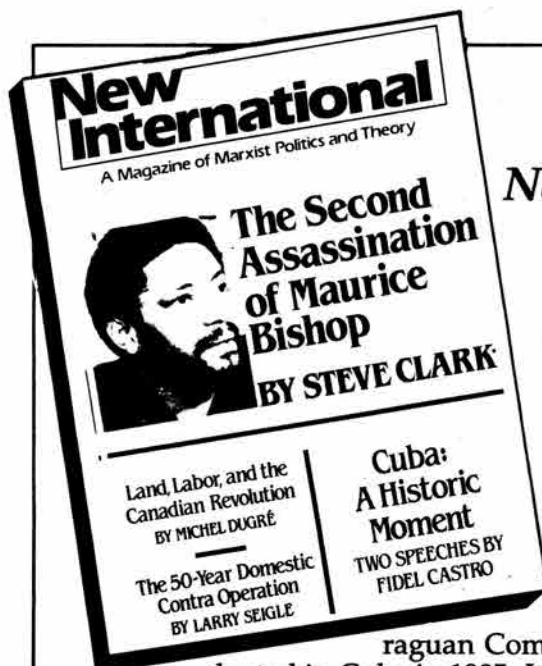
Nicaragua. Many had recently returned from tours organized by Witness for Peace, the United Methodist Church, or from construction or harvest brigades.

Experiences were shared about educational activities in the state. Two areas have sister-city projects. Activists in one rural town grew sorghum in a public park to raise funds to send school materials to Nicaragua. One group has rented a booth at the state fair to distribute material about Nicaragua. More delegations and a construction brigade are planned for the winter. A successful letters-to-the-editor campaign has been organized.

The conference discussed how to educate and mobilize against contra aid in the face of the public debate growing out of the recent congressional hearings and the murder of U.S. engineer Benjamin Linder by the contras.

The conference decided to participate in the September 15-26 national "Days of Decision" and the Emergency Campaign to Stop Contra Aid called by Witness for Peace, Nicaragua Network, and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). These campaigns target the next three months for increased lobbying and public actions aimed at pressuring Congress to vote no on contra aid.

The conference decided to organize a statewide march and rally in Charleston on September 26. The event will focus on three issues: No to contra aid; no West Virginia National Guard troops to Central America; and money for jobs and social services, not war. The conference also supported the national Benjamin Linder Peace Tour and began to make plans for the October 4-8 West Virginia leg of that tour.



Just out!
New International
"Revolution
is the Birth
of Light"

Interview with
Tomás Borge

This interview with Nicaraguan Commander Tomás Borge was conducted in Cuba in 1985. In it Borge talks about the "deep interrelation between art and revolution," Nicaraguan culture, and the achievements of the revolution.

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Rally hears socialists from six countries

Continued from front page
it, and the *Militant* wins new recruits to our organization."

Aiding Icelandic fighters

Sara Johansdottir, one of the leaders of the Militant Socialist Organization of Iceland, described how the *Militant* and other English-language socialist publications are used there and elsewhere in Europe despite language barriers. "On the historical experiences of the working class," she said, "the Pathfinder books are unique, and there is nothing like *New International* or the *Militant* in other languages to tell the truth and answer the capitalist propaganda we are bombarded with. Access to this literature is a matter of life and death politically for communist workers in these countries."

She described a recent sales tour of Sweden by representatives of Pathfinder from Britain. "Lots of books and pamphlets were distributed to bookstores in three main cities — especially books on Cuba and Central America. And now they are planning a similar tour in the Netherlands."

In Iceland, Johansdottir said, orders for the *Militant* and Pathfinder books have multiplied recently. Revolutionary activists translate articles from the *Militant* for coworkers and some have even been published in the country's main labor newspaper.

Johansdottir said she and her colleagues recently published a collection of documents of the South African freedom struggle in Icelandic — making revolutionary documents like the Freedom Charter available in that language for the first time.

Peter Cook, a representative of Pathfinder London, which distributes socialist books and publications to three continents, described the growing response to the *Militant* among working-class fighters in Britain.

U.S. coal miners in England

"When U.S. coal miners came to England in June," he said, "supporters of the British newspaper *Socialist Action* used the occasion to expand the readership there for Pathfinder publications and the *Militant*. During the week-long trip, 47 miners, rail workers, and their family members got new subscriptions to the *Militant*."

Seventeen copies of the current issue of *New International*, containing an article by Steve Clark on "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop," were sold to a July 14 meeting in London. The meeting of 100 featured George Louison, former minister of agriculture in the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada and today a leader of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement.

This is not the first time that communist publications from North America have helped win forces to communism in England, Cook stated. "In the 1930s, the *Militant* and *New International* played a decisive role in helping win and educate communist militants in Britain."

Currently, Cook reported, Pathfinder London distributes copies of the *Militant* to subscribers in 34 countries in Europe, Africa, and the Middle East.

Cook concluded, "We recently issued a complimentary subscription to a republican prisoner in occupied Northern Ireland's H-Block prison — a 21-year-old man serving a life sentence. In a letter he told us that he had seen a lot of Pathfinder literature in the H-Block and was now reading *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* by Frederick Engels. He asked for more literature."

"He wrote, 'The struggle goes on in jail. Most of the lads are into education. As they say, Jail makes better revolutionaries.'"

The next speaker was Philip Jordan of the Socialist Action League in New Zealand. He has traveled widely in the Pacific region to report on anti-imperialist struggles in Fiji, New Caledonia, Tahiti, and elsewhere for the New Zealand communist newspaper *Socialist Action*.

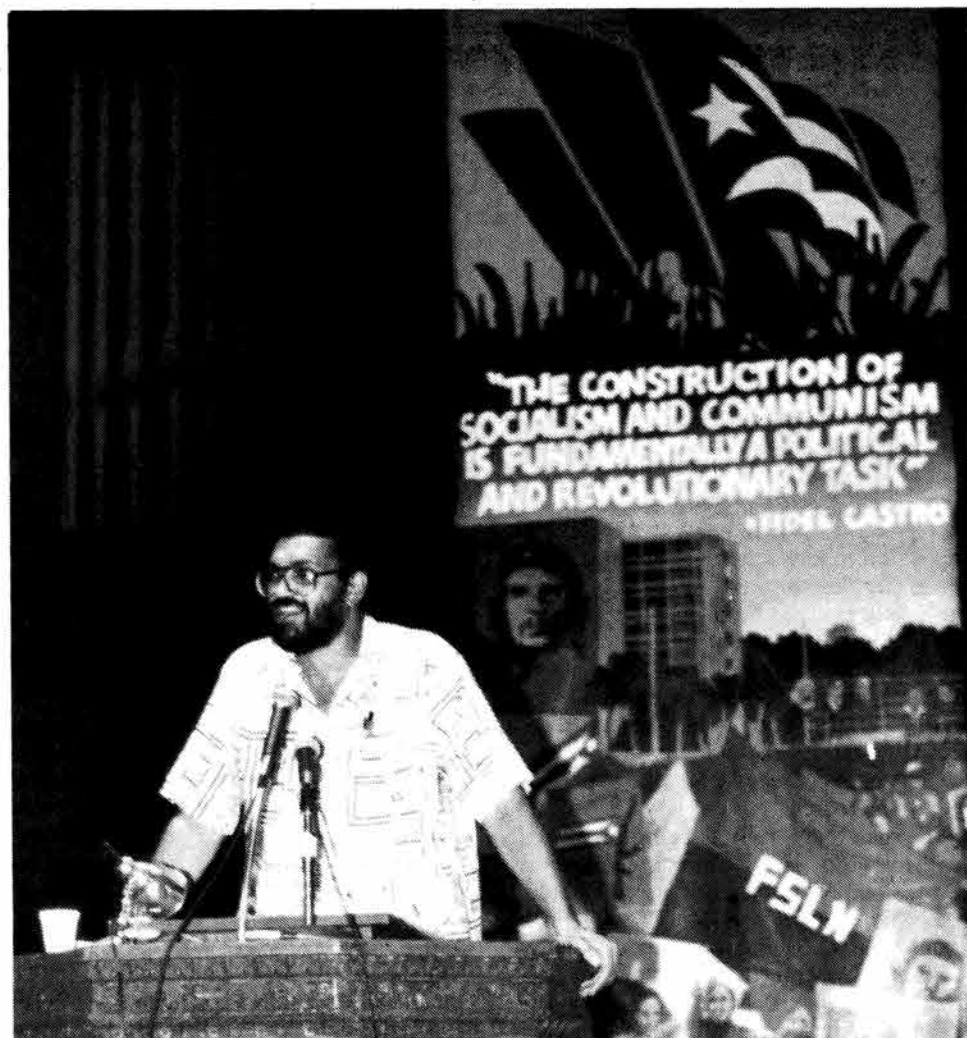
Jordan stressed the importance of *Nouvelle Internationale*, the French-language journal of Marxist politics and theory published in Montreal, Quebec. He denounced the obstacles that the French rulers have put up to distributing revolutionary literature among the increasingly rebellious indigenous peoples of French-occupied New Caledonia and Tahiti. "But nothing can stop good ideas from getting around," he said, citing the many ways that fighters in the French colonies have succeeded in obtaining the socialist publications.

'Nouvelle Internationale' in Haiti

Jordan described how Haitians inside and outside Haiti have been quickly buying up copies of *Nouvelle Internationale* and other socialist publications as the struggle in that country has intensified.

"*Nouvelle Internationale* is circulated first and foremost in Quebec," he said, "but its circulation is expanding around the world. It has a small but growing readership in France. And in Africa, the largest number go to Burkina Faso, where a popular revolution continues to advance."

Michel DuBois of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) of Canada stressed the role of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in publicizing the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against U.S. government spying and disruption.



Militant/Holbrook Mahn
Socialist Workers Party leader Malik Miah speaking at socialist publications fund rally.

This struggle has particular importance in Canada today, he said, because "the federal and Quebec governments and police are using the same dirty tricks to frame up the 200,000-member Confederation of National Trade Unions and to smash a militant strike by hotel workers at Manoir Richelieu." (See story on page 7 of this issue.)

DuBois also discussed the value of using the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to get out the truth about the fight of Mexican-born socialist Héctor Marroquín for the right to live in the United States. He pointed out that, as in the United States, the Canadian rulers are waging "a big campaign against the rights of immigrants in our country."

'Perspectiva Mundial' in Canada

He said that the RWL plans an effort to further increase the readership of *Perspectiva Mundial* among the growing number of refugees and immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean now living and working in Canada.

James Winfield, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance in the United States, told the rally about some of his experiences on the recent Martin Luther King, Jr. Peace Brigade to Nicaragua organized by the

University of Georgia Black Students Association and hosted by the Sandinista Youth of Nicaragua. He noted that many of the thousands now participating in brigades to Nicaragua, following the example of the murdered volunteer worker Ben Linder, welcome the *Militant* and Pathfinder publications.

The rally was chaired by Wendy Lyons, a meat-packer who was recently part of a delegation of revolutionary trade unionists from the United States who attended the Fifth Trade Union Conference on Unity and Solidarity of the Caribbean Workers held in Trinidad and Tobago. She was also part of Pathfinder's representation at the First Caribbean People's International Bookfair and Bookfair Festival, which also took place there.

Malik Miah, speaking for the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party, appealed for contributions and pledges to the Fall Socialist Publications Fund.

The participation of many supporters and members of the Young Socialist Alliance added to the spirited atmosphere of the rally. Speakers were frequently interrupted by chants in support of the revolutionary struggles in Nicaragua, Cuba, South Africa, Ireland, and elsewhere in the world.

Fall Socialist Publications Fund launched

BY MALIK MIAH

OBERLIN, Ohio — Some 400 enthusiastic supporters of the *Militant* dug deep and pledged and contributed more than \$80,000 to kick off the Fall Socialist Publications Fund at a rally held here August 13. (See accompanying story.)

The \$150,000 Fall Socialist Publications Fund provides essential resources making it possible for the *Militant* to publish as well as other socialist publications. This includes the Spanish-language monthly magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*, the magazines of Marxist theory and politics *New International* and *Nouvelle Internationale*, and books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder.

These publications are tools used by revolutionaries around the world — from New Zealand and Australia to Britain and Iceland, as well as the United States.

Most of the pledges came from industrial workers from around the country. A number of garment and textile workers, meat packers and oil workers made pledges of several hundred dollars. Others also gave what they could.

All contributions are needed and should be sent to the Fall Socialist Publi-

cations Fund, 410 West Street, New York, New York, 10014. (Make checks payable to: Socialist Publications Fund.) The drive ends on November 26.

Many supporters of the *Militant* are also members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party. In addition to giving big contributions to the fall fund drive, they are on a campaign to increase weekly contributions to help build a revolutionary working-class party in the United States. These contributions currently average a little over \$9 per member to the SWP nationally.

"Our goal," explained SWP National Organization Secretary Craig Gannon, "is to get this back up to \$11 per week by November 1. Making this campaign is essential to deepening our activity among working people and strengthening the party."

Gannon also told participants at the six-day Socialist Educational and Active Workers Conference here that 131 SWP members are now contributing over \$50 per week to the party. When the conference began there were less than 100 members in this Over \$50 Club. The goal is to reach 150 members by the beginning of November.

N.Y. meeting on Nicaragua brigades: 'Keep spirit of Ben Linder alive'

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

NEW YORK — "I'm a carpenter. Could they use my help in Nicaragua?" asked one young woman. Another woman added, "And I'm a computer typesetter. Do they do that in Nicaragua? Could I help out?"

"Sure," replied Louis Project of TECNICA to both women. "All you have to do is fill out an application and give us a resumé. We send a delegation down to Managua every month to go over the people who have volunteered with the Nicaraguans and to match your skills with a project."

This exchange took place at a special forum, "Which way to Nicaragua?" held here August 4. The meeting brought together, for the first time, representatives of 10 New York area solidarity groups that regularly organize trips to Nicaragua for people interested in donating their time and talents to helping that country. Nearly 50 people attended the meeting.

TECNICA is a technical support project that specializes in helping skilled workers and professionals from the United States, Canada, and Europe put their skills to work in Nicaragua. Project was joined in the forum by representatives of artistic, religious, educational, civil rights, architect, and construction groups.

The theme of the meeting was "to keep

the spirit of Ben Linder alive." Linder, a young U.S. engineer, was murdered by the U.S.-backed contras in April while he was working on a hydroelectric project in northern Nicaragua.

Theresa Delgadillo, a staff person for the Benjamin Linder Peace Tour, was one of the speakers at the meeting. She explained that Linder's family and coworkers are touring the United States to tell the truth about Ben's murder, the revolutionary process taking place in Nicaragua that Ben had decided to be part of, and to encourage others to step forward to take Ben's place.

Delgadillo distributed a "Visit Nicaragua!" leaflet put out by the Benjamin Linder Peace Tour that lists information on some of the organizations that arrange travel to Nicaragua as part of their work to end the U.S. contra war.

"There are more than 80 such organizations," Delgadillo said, "and according to the latest statistics compiled by the Nicaragua Network, over 80,000 people from the U.S. have traveled to Nicaragua since the triumph of the revolution in 1979."

For a copy of the "Visit Nicaragua!" leaflet or more information on the tour, contact the Benjamin Linder Peace Tour, 2025 I St. N.W., Suite 208A, Washington, D.C., 20006, (202) 331-7675.

Life in the USA: education of a Cuban defector

BY HARRY RING

Some dim-witted U.S. officials at the Pan American games in Indianapolis must have thought it would be a political coup. They organized a big press conference for

AS I SEE IT

Roberto "Tony" Urrutia, a world-class weight lifter who defected from Cuba in 1980.

The hitch was that they apparently neglected to ask Urrutia what he would say.

Certainly they must have been surprised when he discussed why he defected and said bluntly, "I think I made a big mistake."

For other Cuban athletes who might be considering following in his footsteps, Urrutia had a simple, terse message: "Don't do it."

Urrutia had defected from the Cuban team seven years ago in Mexico where they were training for the 1980 Olympics. He left behind family and career.

In three previous world championship contests and two Pan American games, he had emerged unbeaten. It was assumed that at the Olympic Games his weight-lifting prowess would bring three gold medals.

But Urrutia blew the chance for that. He tied some bedsheets together and made it out of the hotel.

He came to Miami. He's remarried, has a job, and last year became a U.S. citizen. And he's a top member of the U.S. weight-lifting team in Indianapolis.

Why then does he feel his defection was a big mistake?

He explained to reporters that his decision had not been a political one.

"It was one of those days," he said, "when you feel you don't want to do anything." He recalls he wasn't

feeling well that day but his coach insisted that he practice. So he split.

What followed was definitely a learning experience. People who leave Cuba for the United States, he said, will often tell you, "We've got jeans, we've got this, we've got that. We own the world."

But like a lot of his compatriots, Urrutia found this was not quite the case, certainly not for recent Cuban immigrants.

In Miami, he found himself without food or lodging. For three months he lived in an abandoned car.

He met the woman who's now his wife. "If my wife didn't help me," he said, "I'd be a dead man."

Speaking no English, Urrutia looked for work in the Cuban community. But, he said, "They all want to pay you \$3 an hour. Ain't no way you're going to live on that."

Finally he got work. His first job was at a convenience store.

Currently he's employed at a supermarket. He had been working in the refrigerated orange juice room. But when the boss found he had an Olympic-class athlete, he promoted him to driving a truck.

While Urrutia realizes his defection was a mistake, he gave no indication that he wants to return to Cuba. After seven years he seems to feel that, for better or worse, this is now his home.

The organizers of his press conference are very likely people who are doing well and probably assumed that Urrutia, a star athlete, was too. And, of course, they took it for granted that he would wave the Stars and Stripes.

Instead he turned out to be like so many other immigrant workers here — someone who's been messed over by the system and doesn't like it.

(In television appearances since his press conference,

Urrutia has expressed the expected thankful-to-be-here line. This hardly negates his initial, more candid statements.)

Most recent Cuban immigrants, some 125,000, came on the 1980 Mariel boatlift. Most of them were people who, for various reasons, had not been integrated into Cuba's revolutionary process.

Some of them had buckled under the relentless pressure that U.S. imperialism directs against revolutionary Cuba.

Some of them weren't politically motivated. They just wanted at those blue jeans. Some yielded to family pressures to leave. And the odds are that there were a few like Urrutia, just having a bad day.

Urrutia arrived here independently of the Mariel immigrants. But his experience gives you an idea of what so many of them have been subjected to.

Regardless of the various, badly mistaken considerations that brought them here, they have found themselves in a racist, capitalist society that gives all working people a bad time, and double the recipe for immigrant workers.

People who have the opportunity to talk with those from Mariel find that very often their experiences, and reactions, are much the same as Urrutia's.

In a number of cities they form an important component of the working class. And, like other immigrant workers, their experience makes them candidates for a serious fightback against what the rulers of this country are imposing on working people.

The Urrutia press conference was a two-medal event.

It was a blow to those who try to promote defections from Cuba. And it illuminated an important reality for those in this country who are looking for new recruits in the fight against capitalist exploitation and oppression.

Tony Urrutia insists that he's not "political," and it may very well be that he will simply stick to his barbells. But others, for sure, will be joining the struggle.

Nicaragua's international bookfair a big success

BY SETH GALINSKY

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The promotion of books is "a law of revolutions in the Americas," said Minister of Culture Ernesto Cardenal as he opened Nicaragua's First International Bookfair here.

The July 20-26 fair attracted 350 publishing houses from 45 countries. They came from the Latin American continent, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic. They also came from Western Europe, the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Angola, Vietnam, Iran, North Korea, India, and China. More than 30 publishers participated from the United States.

The success of the fair dealt a further blow to the U.S. government's efforts to isolate Nicaragua internationally and culturally. It also introduced many new visitors to the literary accomplishments of the Sandinista revolution.

When Nicaraguan workers and peasants overthrew the Somoza dictatorship in 1979, a massive literacy campaign and publishing effort was one of the first steps of the new revolutionary government. The results could be seen at the bookfair, which drew tens of thousands of Nicaraguans.

Those who came to browse and buy included students and youth, workers, soldiers, policemen and women, and government employees. They left with their arms full of textbooks, political literature, novels, and poetry.

Effect of contra war

Many of the books were not normally available in Nicaragua. This is because the U.S.-run contra war forces the Nicaraguan government to spend about half its budget on defense. Few funds remain to pay the cost of importing books. Material resources inside the country for printing books are also scarce, due to the U.S. embargo on trade with Nicaragua.

Thus the fair was a big opportunity for Nicaraguans to obtain literature they desperately need on a wide variety of subjects.

The bookfair stalls of IMELSA, Nicaragua's national book distributor, were packed everyday with people buying everything from medical and agronomy textbooks, to novels and poetry, to the works of Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, and V.I. Lenin.

IMELSA sold 3 million books in 1986 in this country of less than 3.5 million people. It expects to sell 4.2 million books this year.

The stalls of Nicaragua's small but growing publishing industry also attracted many readers. The Nueva Nicaragua publishing house featured a new collection by the Nicaraguan poet Gioconda Belli called

De la costilla de Eva (From Eve's Rib) and a book of essays by Sergio Ramírez, the country's vice-president and a prominent writer, titled *Armas del futuro* (Weapons of the Future).

Editorial Vanguardia, the publishing house of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, did a brisk business in its new titles. Among them were a translation of Winnie Mandela's *Part of My Soul Went With Him*, and *Carlos para todos* (Carlos for Everyone), a cartoon history of Carlos Fonseca's life by Rius.

Vanguardia also had two new books on the Atlantic Coast. One was *El desafío indígena en Nicaragua* (The Indigenous Challenge in Nicaragua), a study by Jorge Jenkins of Nicaraguan Indians and the evolution of Sandinista policy toward them. The other was *Memorias del Atlántico* (Memories of the Atlantic), a book by Sofía Montenegro on the origins of each of the six racial groups on the Coast.

There were many other Nicaraguan stalls, ranging from the farm workers union to the Christian base communities to the Ministry of the Interior (MINT). In addition to its own pamphlets, magazines, and films, the MINT displayed collections published around the world of speeches and interviews by Interior Minister Tomás Borge and Vice-minister Luis Carrión.

Poetry readings, political discussion

A wide variety of poetry readings, concerts, seminars, and literary criticism panels also took place. Among those participating were U.S. novelist Alice Walker; Uruguayan novelist Eduardo Galeano; Salvadoran writer Claribel Alegria; Roberto Fernández Retamar, head of Cuba's Casa de las Americas; exiled Chilean author Marta Harnecker; and exiled South African poet Dennis Brutus.

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega and Interior Minister Borge both held meetings with hundreds of participants in the fair to answer their questions about the Sandinista revolution. The discussions ranged from the contra war and how to build effective opposition to it, to why the newspaper *La Prensa* was closed down, to the conditions in Nicaraguan prisons, gay rights, and the Atlantic Coast.

U.S. publishers

The delegation of U.S. publishers was one of the largest at the fair. It included South End Press, Pathfinder, Orbis Books, Curbstone Press, and Liberation Distributors, as well as some feminist and gay rights bookstores.

The Pathfinder stall attracted considerable

interest. Among the Spanish titles, the single most popular Pathfinder book was a collection of speeches by Nelson Mandela, *Habla Nelson Mandela*. Readers also bought copies of the socialist magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*, and Spanish editions of a speech by Tomás Borge on women's liberation, a pamphlet on abortion, and speeches by Fidel Castro and slain Grenadian leader Maurice Bishop.

Hundreds of activists from the United States and Europe working in Nicaragua as volunteers also visited the Pathfinder booth. Many bought copies of the *Militant*, and some picked up the theoretical magazine *New International* or its French-language counterpart *Nouvelle Internationale*.

There was special interest in Pathfinder's collections of speeches by Sandinista leaders and by Fidel Castro. Activists also bought copies of *Woman's Evolution*; *Cosmetics*, *Fashions*, and *the Exploitation of Women*, and works by Leon Trotsky.

One young man from San Diego working here on a brigade bought three volumes of Castro speeches. "Being here in Nicaragua has made me decide to start reading Castro," he said.

Several authors published by Pathfinder also visited the booth, including Tomás Borge and Marta Harnecker, whose book *Fidel Castro's Political Strategy* was recently released by Pathfinder. Cartoonist Rius came by and autographed copies of the Pathfinder edition of his *Cuba for Beginners*.

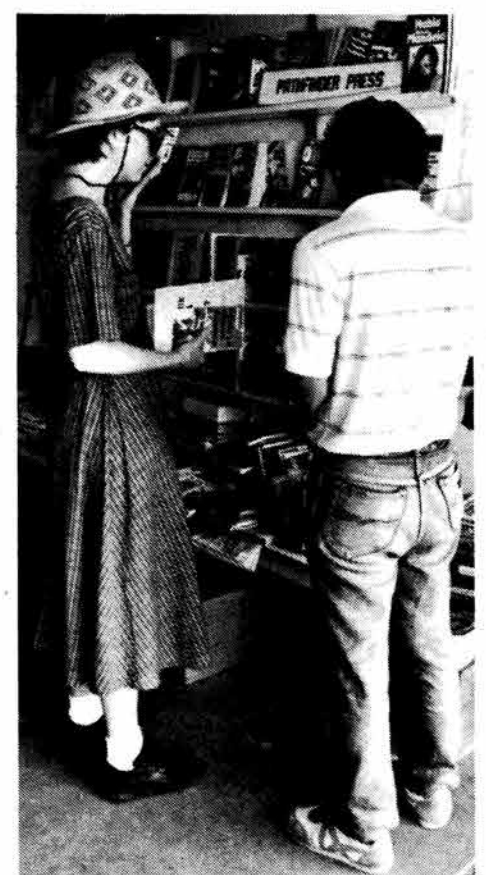
The United States Information Service (USIS), a U.S. government agency, also set up a booth. Its display featured technical books, popular novels, and anticommunist literature against the Nicaraguan and Cuban revolutions and Marxism.

The Nicaraguan Ministry of Culture pointedly did not prohibit any of the titles in the USIS booth and in fact encouraged Nicaraguans to visit and judge its contents for themselves, which thousands did.

As Minister of Culture Cardenal told the press, "No one is censored here. This freedom is a product of the revolution."

President Ortega stopped by the USIS booth and was offered a free book. Perusing the display, he reached out for a Spanish-language copy of *The Color Purple*.

Tomás Borge also visited the booth and asked what they had on Nicaragua. "I want to read about how I've betrayed the revolution," he quipped. While he was leafing through one book, it accidentally fell to the ground. "Some day," Borge told the U.S.



Militant/Roberto Kopeck
Pathfinder booth at Managua bookfair attracted considerable interest.

attendant, "your empire will fall just like this book did."

'Flood me with books'

An important aspect of the fair was the donation by participating publishers of two copies of each of their books to Nicaragua's national library.

To house some of these donations, a "Benjamin Linder Room" was dedicated in Nicaragua's national library, named after the U.S. engineer murdered by Washington's contras in April.

Nicaragua hopes the donation of books from abroad will be a permanent aspect of solidarity with their country. During the fair, some of the West European publishers decided to launch a "Let's Help Nicaragua Read" campaign. The goal is to help get more Nicaraguan books published without the Nicaraguan government having to pay prohibitive printing and importing costs.

The Ministry of Culture also announced that it will host a second international bookfair in 1989. Publishers don't have to wait until then to send books to Nicaragua, stressed Ileana Rodríguez, head of Nicaragua's national library. "Please," she said, "flood me with books."

St. Louis supporters expand contact with miners

BY ELLEN HAYWOOD

ST. LOUIS — With the *Militant* as our calling card, supporters

members of the mine workers' union. We seek out discussions on the industry and what miners

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

of the socialist weekly from the St. Louis, Missouri, area are expanding contact with union coal miners in southern Illinois. This region has one of the larger concentrations of United Mine Workers of America members in the country.

Our goal is to use the *Militant* to meet and discuss politics with

opinions are on issues affecting them in the coalfields, as well as their views on national and international politics.

In the last two months, *Militant* sales teams have visited three different mine portals three to four times each. As miners drive in and out of work, we show them the

Militant. The response, in general, is open, serious, and friendly. We regularly sell around 10 papers per sale. We've also sold two introductory subscriptions.

Following sales to the afternoon shift, we sometimes stop in at a local tavern for discussions with miners over a beer or two. We end up talking about the situation miners face, the U.S.-organized contra war against Nicaragua, and many other topics.

Discussions have been quite interesting. There have been a lot of layoffs in mines organized by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) in southern Illinois. At the same time, miners tell us,

there is speedup and overtime for the remaining working miners.

Moreover, there are nonunion mines operating in the region for the first time in decades. This, combined with the government crisis in Washington and the upcoming coal contract negotiations, has spurred a number of miners to do some hard thinking. Many are open to what the *Militant* is saying about these and other issues.

The coal companies are not too enthusiastic about supporters of the *Militant* selling to miners. But because of the UMWA's strength, they have to put up with us. Most miners think we have the right to

sell our paper and in one incident, so far, helped to defend that right.

A security guard at one mine called the police, hoping to scare us away. He tried to whip up miners against us. But a miner driving out from work stopped, bought a copy of the *Militant*, turned off his truck engine, and waited to see if the cop would try to force us to leave. The cop finally acknowledged our legal rights and left.

With these initial experiences, supporters of the *Militant* in the St. Louis area are looking forward to deepening our sales effort and continuing the political discussions we have with miners in southern Illinois.

Central America treaty deals blow to U.S. war

Continued from front page
more isolated than ever in its refusal to negotiate an end to the contra war.

Background to accord

Ever since the war began in 1981, the Sandinistas have explained that it is a mercenary war financed and directed by the U.S. government. Washington, on the other hand, has insisted that it is a "civil war" waged by a broad-based movement of "freedom fighters" with whom the Sandinistas should negotiate. Washington has further claimed, falsely, that the Sandinistas are a military threat to neighboring Central American countries.

These lies have been used to justify continued U.S. government efforts to militarily overthrow the Sandinistas, while scuttling all attempts at direct U.S. negotiations with Nicaragua or among the Central American countries.

In 1984 the Nicaraguan government agreed to sign an accord drawn up by the Contadora Group, made up of the governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela. Washington succeeded in pressuring the other Central American governments not to sign. Contadora retreated on the negotiations process.

That same year, U.S. officials entered briefly into direct talks with Nicaraguan officials in Manzanillo, Mexico. But then the U.S. government abruptly called off the talks.

But as the Sandinistas started dealing decisive military blows to the contras beginning in 1985, it became increasingly clear that the mercenaries did not represent the aspirations of the Nicaraguan masses and that they could not defeat them militarily.

The fact that the contra war is a creation of the U.S. government itself became more evident internationally, with the World Court ruling in 1986 that the U.S. government must cease its aggression against Nicaragua.

In Central America itself, the political price other regimes were paying for providing haven to the contras rose. This is especially true in Honduras, where the majority of the contras, plus thousands of U.S. troops, have been based. Protests against the contra and U.S. troop presence by Honduran peasants and trade unions have increased steadily.

In the face of mounting hatred for the contras throughout the region, and the growing attraction of the Sandinista revolution, the other Central American regimes have begun to have their doubts about how closely to toe Washington's line.

Finally, early this spring, Costa Rican President Oscar Arias publicly broke with Washington on the issue of contra aid. He announced a "peace plan" that included ending the U.S. aid, explaining that while he and the White House agreed on the desirability of getting rid of the Sandinist-led government, "the contras cannot do the job."

Washington managed to prevent a meeting in late June where the five Central American presidents would have discussed Arias' plan. But this victory was short-lived. Arias refused to drop his opposition to contra aid and the presidents' meeting took place August 6-7.

Reagan's 'peace plan'

In a final, feeble gesture, Reagan and House Democratic leader James Wright



Reagan with contra leaders Alfonso Robelo, Aristides Sánchez, and María Azucena.

proposed a "peace plan" on the eve of the August 6-7 meeting, hoping to block an accord and maybe even blow up the meeting altogether.

The bipartisan plan demanded that the Sandinistas establish a cease-fire, negotiate with the contras, and restore suspended civil liberties immediately. In return, Reagan would postpone his appeal to Congress for more aid to the contras until September 30.

Not a single Central American president wanted to touch the plan. The August 6-7 meeting went ahead as planned, culminating in the unanimous accord. There is no mention in the accord of Sandinista negotiations with the contras.

Nicaragua's assessment

In a statement upon his return to Nicaragua, President Daniel Ortega called the accord an "extremely important step." But, he warned, the accord by itself "does not mean that peace has arrived in Central America."

"U.S. aggression continues in the area," he explained, and until it stops, "our people must continue fighting the aggressors."

"We must maintain in first place our defensive capacity," he said. "We cannot lower our guard." He called for strengthening the army, reserves, and militias, whose victories have led to the big opening Nicaragua enjoys today.

Simultaneously, Ortega explained, the Nicaraguan government will carry out its "enormous responsibility" to use the accord as an instrument to achieve peace, thus "isolating the prowar positions of the United States."

The Sandinistas have already begun doing this. In an interview with the *New York Times* published August 14, Nicaraguan Vice-President Sergio Ramírez explained that his government was fully prepared to restore civil liberties suspended by Nicaragua's state of emergency, as the accord mandates.

Ramírez indicated that during the cease-fire, the Nicaraguan government would even accept the contras getting nonmilitary aid such as food from "a humanitarian organization like the Red Cross."

All these steps, he emphasized, hinge on compliance with the accord by the other Central American governments, and especially by Washington. If Reagan "does not

end aid to the counterrevolution," he explained, "he is sinking the agreement."

'The state of emergency will end'

"If we assume that the United States stops supporting counterrevolution, that the counterrevolution accepts a cease-fire, that the counterrevolution begins the process of giving up arms, that the Government of Honduras closes the contra bases and prohibits use of Honduran territory for contra operations, then parallel with that, the state of emergency will end," Ramírez explained.

"Full constitutional freedoms will be restored," he continued. "La Prensa will reopen, the Catholic radio station will reopen, there will be no prior censorship of the press, there will be no restrictions on political party activity, the people's tribunals [which try contras] will be closed and all counterrevolutionary prisoners will be freed."

"I hope it happens," Ramírez stressed.

President Ortega, meanwhile, held meetings with Catholic Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo and with the heads of 11 opposition parties, to discuss with them their nominations for a national reconciliation commission, as stipulated in the accord.

Ortega then made a public trip to Cuba, to discuss the accord and its implementation with Fidel Castro. The Cuban government has consistently supported efforts for a negotiated settlement.

Farm worker activist backs Marroquín

BY RUTH NEBBIA

SURPRISE, Ariz. — "It was only about a month ago / that I was told the story / of a humble comrade that crossed the border / in search of work," recited Matilde Martínez. Martínez's poem spoke about Héctor Marroquín's fight to win legal immigrant status in the United States. Marroquín's story is the same as those of many others who come to this country in search of work.

"We crossed the border / and arrived with illusions / but they treat us badly / those damned politicians," Martínez continued, frequently interrupted by laughter and applause.

Martínez was chairing a meeting sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund and the Centro Adelante Campesino (For-

ward Farm Worker Center). The meeting, held last month, drew 40 people, mostly immigrant farm workers.

Martínez has worked as a farm worker for many years and for the past 10 years she has been helping to organize farm workers in the Surprise-El Mirage area. She has been blacklisted from the fields in this area.

Martínez described how the bosses try to break the farm workers' unions. But, she said, "workers don't give up, they have the fighting spirit."

She attacked the politicians who defend the bosses during strikes.

The participants at the meeting listened with interest as Marroquín told his story about his 10-year battle with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

Canadian government launches attack on democratic rights

BY BEVERLY BERNARDO

MONTREAL — For more than two weeks in July the Canadian government illegally detained 174 Sikhs from India seeking refugee status. They were kept in a military barracks in Halifax, Nova Scotia, on Canada's Atlantic coast.

Held incommunicado in virtual concentration camp conditions, they were branded as suspected terrorists and investigated by the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), Canada's political police.

On June 5, in midnight raids, the Quebec Provincial Police (QPP) rounded up and arrested three leaders of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) on trumped-up criminal charges. The CSN, with its over 200,000 members, is one of Quebec's three major union federations. The "evidence" the cops are using comes from the testimony of Marc Boivin, a CSIS undercover cop who was a CSN staff official at the time of the arrests.

Within days of the arrests, the QPP raided the CSN headquarters in Montreal and Quebec City. It occupied the buildings and carted out boxes of union files for its "investigation." The QPP arrested a fourth CSN staff organizer a week later.

The attacks against the Sikhs and the CSN are part of the most far-reaching offensive against democratic and trade union rights in Canada since World War II.

The brutal treatment of the Sikhs is part of a campaign by Canada's ruling rich to convince working people in Canada that people fleeing from repressive regimes and severe economic hardship "steal Canadian jobs" and are not "genuine refugees." The government's actions against the Sikhs were designed to whip up support for Bill C-55, a proposed new repressive immigration law that would severely limit the right of refugees to asylum in Canada. Similar campaigns have been recently waged against Tamil, Turkish, Brazilian, Salvadoran, and Chilean refugees entering Canada.

Union-busting frame-up

The CSIS, in league with the Quebec government and provincial cops, is intensifying its war against the CSN. Four CSN officials have now been charged with carrying out bomb attacks or conspiring to do so against hotels owned by Raymond Malenfant, who has become a symbol for the employers' drive against the labor movement.

The cops have publicly accused CSN President Gerald Larose of conspiring with one of those arrested to blow up the Manoir Richelieu — the flagship hotel in the Malenfant chain, which includes hotels in the northeastern United States.

In 1985 Malenfant fired the Manoir Richelieu's 250 unionized workers after purchasing the hotel from the provincial government. However, the workers, who are CSN members, have refused to give up the fight to win back their jobs. In October 1986 the Quebec cops murdered CSN supporter Gaston Harvey while he was participating in a solidarity picket line at the Manoir Richelieu. The cops were never charged. But as a result of the killing, the Manoir Richelieu struggle has become a focus for the struggle of the entire Quebec labor movement.

Rights of all at stake

The attack against the Sikhs and the elaborate government-cop operation against the CSN is part of a much broader offensive against the democratic rights of all working people.

- In the past year and a half, more than 2,000 strikers from one end of the country to the other have been arrested for defending their picket lines against cops, scabs, and court injunctions. In the first weeks of July, several hundred letter carriers were injured, some seriously enough to be hospitalized, as a result of picket-line battles with cops.

- On the Pacific Coast, the Social Credit government in British Columbia has

passed bills 19 and 20 — laws which virtually gut the right to negotiate, strike, and picket in that province. After a one-day protest strike against the laws by 300,000 unionized B.C. workers, the provincial government was unsuccessful in its efforts to ban all future protests against the laws. It tried to do this on the grounds that such actions would constitute "sedition."

- In June the federal Conservative Party government introduced a new Emergencies Act to replace the War Measures Act, which was used during World War II to jail opponents of the war.

This new act would give the government further powers to abolish civil liberties under a broad list of emergencies that could include strikes.

- Recent revelations show that the CSIS is carrying out covert spying and disruptive activity against individuals and organizations that oppose federal government policies. The CSIS has in its possession at least 30,000 files on individuals and is infiltrating organizations in Canada such as those campaigning against the dictatorship in El Salvador.



Militant/Will Reissner
Members of the CSN, a major Quebec union federation, participating in 1983 demonstration. CSN leaders have been arrested as part of recent crackdown on democratic rights.

South African mine workers' strike challenges bosses, apartheid regime

BY ERNEST HARSCH

"This is the big one," South African mine workers' leader Cyril Ramaphosa declared August 9, as hundreds of thousands of miners started walking off their jobs.

The strike had been in the offing for weeks, as both the mine owners and the apartheid regime braced for the largest labor action ever in the crucial mining industry. Up to the last minute they had been wishfully predicting a low turnout. But when the strike deadline came, Black miners downed their tools in record numbers, surpassing not only the authorities' predictions, but also the initial expectations of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) itself.

According to union leaders, at least 340,000 workers at scores of gold and coal mines are on strike — about two-thirds of all Black miners in those industries. This figure is supported by the estimates of the Labour Monitoring Group, a university-based research body that surveyed strike participation at 59 mines.

The strikers include not only the NUM's own 261,000 members, but also many nonunion miners who struck in solidarity or are fighting for the same demands for higher pay and other gains.

Initially, officials of the Chamber of Mines — the main mine owners' coordinating body — hoped that the strike would wind down after a few days, since the mine workers do not have a strike fund and their

low pay has left them with few savings. But as we go to press, nearly two weeks after the start of the strike, it is as solid as ever.

"We are digging in for a long, long strike," Ramaphosa emphasized.

One key factor in the miners' determination is the support they are receiving from the rest of the labor movement and Black population.

The 700,000-member Congress of South African Trade Unions, of which the NUM is a leading affiliate, has threatened to call a general strike if the authorities attempt to crush the miners' action by force. The 2-million-member United Democratic Front, a coalition of anti-apartheid organizations, has also pledged its support, as has the outlawed African National Congress (ANC).

Police attacks

Although some miners have gone home to other parts of South Africa or other countries in the region, most have remained in the mining compounds, holding rallies, singing freedom songs, and chanting slogans.

In some cases, the mine owners have unleashed their own security forces or right-wing vigilantes against the strikers, or have called in the South African Police.

At the Matla coal mine east of Johannesburg, for example, security guards fired rubber bullets into a crowd of strikers, in-

cluding six. The workers then began chanting "Viva ANC!"

At the Ergo gold-processing plant, 23 miners were arrested when police moved in to break up a sit-in.

At an NUM meeting in Klerksdorp police arrested 86 unionists, including the entire local leadership. Union official Marcel Golding called this "an attempt to break the strike and undermine legitimate trade union activities."

Altogether, some 240 miners have been injured by police action and 200 arrested.

Talks were held between the NUM and the management of the Anglo American Corp., the largest of the mining companies, to discuss ways to reduce violence in the mines. The NUM proposed demobilization of the mine security forces, a pledge by the company not to call in the police, and free access to the mines by journalists.

Union leaders broke off the talks when they learned of yet another attack on strikers at an Anglo American mine in the Orange Free State. Anglo American, Ramaphosa charged at a news conference, was using "repression and misinformation to smash our struggle for a living wage."

Miners' demands

Black mine workers in South Africa earn an average of just \$170 a month. The vast bulk of them are migrant workers from neighboring countries or South Africa's Bantustans (rural reservations), with no right to live with their families in the urban centers.

The NUM is demanding a 30 percent wage increase. The Chamber of Mines has rejected this, and unilaterally handed down wage increases of between 15 percent and 23.4 percent.

The NUM is also pressing for danger pay and increases in death benefits. Each year, scores of Black miners are killed in accidents on the job.

The stakes in the strike are high. "If we win this strike," Ramaphosa pointed out, "it is going to be a significant motivation for all other workers to continue with their own struggle for a living wage."

The fight of the mine workers can also provide a spur to the broader struggle to bring down the hated apartheid system.

Stressing the political implications of the workers' actions, Ramaphosa stated, "We cannot remove ourselves as a trade union from the struggles that are taking place in the entire society. We are part and parcel of the liberation movement in our country."



Miners' union is demanding a "living wage."

Land ownership remains central question in

100,000 peasant families have received land titles since 1979, 60,000 families

We are not birds to live from the air, nor fish to live from the sea.

We are men and we live from the land.

Bernardino Díaz Ochoa,
Sandinista peasant leader murdered
by Somoza dictatorship in 1971.

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The struggle of the rural poor for land was one of the driving forces of the 1979 revolution that overthrew the Somoza dynasty here. A sweeping redistribution of land was desperately needed to free the peasantry from subjugation to rich landlords, cement a fighting alliance between wage workers and peasants, and begin to develop agriculture.

With the 1979 revolution, the rural toilers ceased to be the objects of history and became its subjects. Allied with the urban workers, they established a revolutionary government that began carrying through a transformation of relations in the countryside, where most of Nicaragua's population lives.

Today, relations on the land — who owns it and how production is organized — remain a central question for the Sandinista revolution. And it has considerable bearing on the fight to defend the country from Washington's contras.

While 100,000 peasant families have received land titles in the last eight years, at least 60,000 more families still need land.

This article will review the struggle of peasants and farm workers for land since 1979 and the current proposals for resolving this demand. It will cover the land question in Nicaragua's Pacific and central regions, but not the Atlantic Coast, which has its own distinct features.

Landlords steal peasants' land

Prior to the 1979 revolution, a small number of wealthy landlords owned 36 percent of all the farmland in Nicaragua. Through fraud and violence, they had stolen the land of tens of thousands of poor peasants to set up coffee, cotton, and sugar plantations and cattle ranches.

Stripped of their land, many poor peasants worked on the big estates as sharecroppers or tenant farmers. They often had to perform unpaid labor in exchange for a small plot of land to live on. Other peasants were forced to go deep into the mountains and forests to seek new land to farm.

Tens of thousands were forced to become farm workers, sometimes even working the very same land that had once belonged to them.

Thus, the demand of the peasants and farm workers for the return of stolen property — their land — was central to the anti-Somoza uprising of the late 1970s. It was

succinctly expressed in the slogan of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), "Land to those who work it!"

Land distribution begins

With the overthrow of the capitalist government, the FSLN-led revolutionary government expropriated all the properties of Somoza and his cronies. This came to 2.75 million acres of farmland — 20 percent of the nation's total — and included many of the more modern and mechanized farms.

Additional land had been seized at the time of the final insurrection by peasants and farm workers, who took over farms abandoned by Somoza supporters and began to work the land themselves.

When the revolutionary government took power, agricultural production was at a standstill. Nicaragua faced the enormous task of feeding the population and rebuilding the economy. Thus, after expropriating the Somozaist properties, the government encouraged other landowners — including capitalist farmers — to keep their land and begin producing to revive the food and export crops vital to the nation's economy.

The government itself initially concentrated on reorganizing the confiscated land into state farms, which were seen at the time as the backbone of new economic development in the countryside. Minister of Agriculture Jaime Wheelock said that it took more than a year just to inventory and set up new administrations on all the old Somozaist farms.

Many landless peasants grew impatient. Some took over land on their own and organized cooperatives. Others pressed the government to take land from the state farms or private estates and give it to poor families.

On July 19, 1981, the second anniversary of the revolution, the government decreed the first agrarian reform law. It began distributing land to the peasants in October 1981.

The law provided that the government could expropriate landowners with properties of more than 865 or 1,730 acres (depending on the part of the country), if they were left idle, used inefficiently, had been abandoned, or if the owner rented the land to peasants. Landowners who kept their land in production — and were not renting it or sharecropping it out — could not be expropriated, regardless of the size of their holdings.

Cooperative farms

The first distribution gave land almost exclusively to peasants who agreed to organize themselves in cooperatives.

The FSLN and the government saw cooperatives as "the Sandinista [method] for the revolutionary transformation of the new society," as FSLN leader Víctor Tirado told peasants at the first official land distribution ceremony in October 1981. "Only in a few cases will we give out land to be worked individually," he said.

There are two main types of farm organizations called cooperatives in Nicaragua. Sandinista Agricultural Cooperatives (CAS) are collective farms where the peasants own and work the land together. When they sell their crop, they use part of the proceeds to pay their expenses, and divide the rest among the members.

Credit and Service Cooperatives (CCS) are associations of farmers who own and work their land individually, but join together for financing, technical assistance, and marketing. Each keeps the income from the sale of his or her crops. Many of the CCS members are better-off or even rich farmers who employ wage laborers.

Land for individual farmers

The distribution of land to peasants willing to join a cooperative did not provide an answer for the tens of thousands of landless peasants who wanted to farm individually, or to the many squatters without legal titles to their land.

The failure to respond to the land demands of these peasants was costly in the first years of the revolution. As Washington began to organize contra bands to pen-

etrate the country beginning in 1981, the lag in deepening the agrarian reform made it easier for the mercenaries to trick some peasants into joining them.

Through pressure and propaganda, they sought to build a base among landless peasants who did not see themselves benefiting from the revolution, and among better-off peasants who feared the government would take their land and force them to join a producers' cooperative or state farm.

Over time, the government realized that deepening land distribution and entitlement was key to pushing back the contras. In 1983 it began guaranteeing land ownership for the squatters, and 33,396 such families had received title to nearly 2.5 million acres by the end of 1985.

In 1985 the government started responding in a big way to landless peasants who wanted to farm individually. In that year, 246,847 acres went to 6,204 individual farmers, six times as many landless families as had benefitted in all the previous years of land reform. This continued in 1986, when 4,500 landless families received 191,428 acres to farm individually.

The FSLN daily *Barricada* called this change "a radical break with the tendency in previous years to give land almost exclusively to cooperatives."

Vice-minister of Agrarian Reform Alonso Porras told an international seminar on cooperatives held here in June 1987 that "we had difficulties during the first years of the agrarian reform [because] there were compañeros who made it a condition that peasants seeking land had to organize in cooperatives. This is very dangerous because no cooperative can work unless its members identify with that form of labor."

Porras said that later, as the negative results of such practices were seen, "the FSLN National Directorate declared that this could not be permitted, and that the peasant should freely choose his form of land use and organization."

More peasants demand land

Thousands of peasants organized demonstrations in 1985 and early 1986 to de-

mand more distribution of land. They singled out large private farms they thought should be taken over and given to the peasants.

The protests came in part because many peasants had been forced off their land by the contras. But thousands were simply farmers whose demand for land had never been met.

In his year-end message Dec. 31, 1985, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega pledged that "the Nicaraguan government and the Sandinista Front will continue to distribute land and arms to the peasant until there is not a single landless peasant in this country."

A few days later, the government decreed a new agrarian reform law. It essentially removed all the size restrictions on land expropriations, giving the government the authority to take over any farm that was abandoned, underutilized, or where the owner made peasants work as renter sharecroppers, or tenant farmers.

The new law continued to guarantee private ownership to those landowners who worked their properties "efficiently," but said that even those holdings could be affected by a provision allowing the nationalization of any property "for reasons of public necessity or the interests of society."

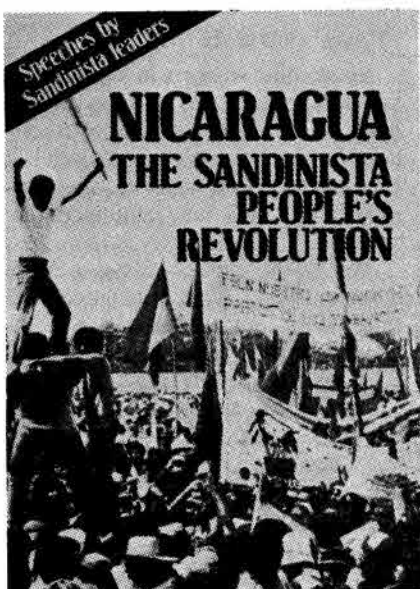
UNAG supports peasants' demands

In April 1986, the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG) held its first national congress here.

Founded in 1981, UNAG now has 127,000 members. About 70,000 are poor peasants who work their own land with family labor, and 50,000 are farmers, who in addition to family labor, hire some wage workers. Some 7,000 members are capitalist landowners who depend exclusively on wage labor.

Addressing the UNAG delegates for the FSLN National Directorate was Luis Carrión, who told the congress that the land question was "the most important" issue facing the countryside.

He explained the current thinking c



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



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
Women demonstrating for land in Rivas. In 1985-86 thousands of peasants participated in protests demanding land. They pointed out large farms that could be taken over.

Nicaragua

still need land

FSLN on cooperative vs. individual methods of working land. "We are completely convinced that cooperatives are the only viable way that tens of thousands of small producers can gradually pull themselves out of poverty and backwardness," he said.

"Only in the framework of cooperative organization," he continued, "can small farmers hope to acquire the vehicles, storage buildings, marketing possibilities, technical aid, and solidarity they need to produce."

"However," Carrión added, "the FSLN categorically rejects the use of coercion or force in the formation of cooperatives. These must arise as the product of the free will of the peasantry. Both the government and the FSLN should promote cooperativization, basically through persuasion. We must reiterate that no producer should suffer discrimination or a different treatment solely because he's not in a co-op."

Carrión appealed to large landowners — sometimes called "patriotic producers" — at the meeting to donate land to poor peasants. "No one can call themselves patriotic simply because they haven't left the country or because they've decided to join UNAG," he said. Noting that some UNAG members had given up land, he said, "We call on UNAG to push this policy forward and respond to the just demands of the peasants without land."

Carrión also noted that UNAG has in its membership "all kinds of producers without distinction" and said this should continue. "However," he stressed, "within its broad character, UNAG must have as its principal priority the small producers, the poor peasants."

After some discussion and debate, the UNAG delegates adopted resolutions calling for UNAG to "support, lead, and organize the just demands of the peasants for land."

544,891 acres to peasants

Alonso Porras, vice-minister for agrarian reform, described results of last year's land program and the plans for 1987 in a recent interview with the *Militant*. UNAG President Daniel Núñez and Edgardo García, secretary general of the Association of Rural Workers, were also interviewed.

"With the new [1986 agrarian reform] law, we were able to incorporate into the agrarian reform process a large area of land that had been idle or underutilized but that couldn't be touched before," Porras explained. During 1986, the government expropriated 220 properties totaling 230,000 acres. By comparison, during 1984 and 1985 combined, only 114 properties totaling 175,000 acres had been confiscated.

Actual distribution in 1986 amounted to 353,000 acres to 11,505 families in CAS collectives and CCS cooperatives, and 191,000 acres to 4,500 individual farmers. Of this acreage, 230,000 was expropriated from big landlords and 216,000 came from state farms. A smaller amount was purchased from landlords or taken from cooperatives that had more land than they could use efficiently.

From 1981 to the end of 1986, the government gave out some 2.28 million acres to 62,582 landless families. An additional 35,000 families received title to 2.5 million acres they had been working as squatters. Of the land given out, some 1.75 million acres went to 50,869 families organized in cooperatives.

Porras has noted that while the government thought a majority of those receiving land during 1986 would choose to do so individually, in fact, nearly three-quarters chose to organize cooperatives. "This showed us that we had underestimated the level of development of the Nicaraguan peasant," he commented.

The 1986 distribution prioritized those regions where there were the most demonstrations organized by landless peasants.

Porras stressed that the peasant demonstrations "had been supported by the revolution and the Sandinista Front. We think that the process of agrarian reform should



Peasants receiving land titles in ceremony in Matagalpa region in 1986. U.S.-backed contras tried to trick landless peasants into supporting them. Distribution of land has been central to revolution's ability to push back mercenaries in much of the country.

not be a bureaucratic and institutional process in which the state appears to be paternalistically giving land to peasants... but that the access to land should be the result of the mobilization of the peasantry demanding land, a political action of the masses."

Policy toward landlords

After the 1979 expropriation of the properties of Somoza and his close supporters, only 16 percent of Nicaragua's farmland remained in private landholdings of more than 865 acres each.

Since then, the revolutionary government has confiscated some properties that were abandoned or whose owners actively supported the U.S.-backed contras. The government has also purchased some land, especially when it was needed to resettle peasants driven from their farms by the war. In some cases, when peasant pressure was strong and the landlord refused to sell, the government confiscated the land.

In all, this has led to a slow decline in the amount of land held by capitalist landlords. They still have a disproportionate weight in the economy, however, since these big properties include some of the more modern, capitalist farm operations. In 1984, for instance, when these landlords held 13 percent of the land, they controlled 55 percent of the key cotton, coffee, and sugar export crops and 23 percent of domestic grain and rice production.

Today, big capitalist landholdings still account for 10 percent of Nicaragua's farmland.

The *Militant* asked Porras to explain the government's policy toward the landlords, noting that Nicaragua's new constitution provides that "the agrarian reform will abolish the *latifundio*, rentism, inefficient production, and the exploitation of peasants."

Porras stated that "we have been using a meaning of 'latifundio' that is not strictly linked to the size of the property."

"For us, the *latifundio* is a backward form of exploitation of the land and of the peasants," he said. "[It means] extensive, backward systems of production, with exploitation of peasants, including through semifeudal forms such as sharecropping and tenant farming."

"Rentism is closely linked to the problem of latifundios," he continued. "Here, there are many landowners whose income from the land does not come from their own labor and efforts, but from renting the land to people who do not have land. Thus, they live by exploiting others who do not have land. This is unacceptable in this country. We are not going to permit there to be landlords who live by renting land to others."

"However," he said, "there are large landowners who have properties of more

than 865 acres but who use modern methods of exploiting the land. Insofar as they produce efficiently, they are supporting the revolution."

UNAG President Daniel Núñez told the *Militant* that the constitution "has to be interpreted in light of the reality of our country."

"If you take the article [on abolishing latifundios] literally, there would not now be producers who have 7,000 or 8,000 acres of land, who have latifundios. But we are aware that in five or 10 years we cannot transform the legacy of 400 years of underdevelopment."

"Tenant farming, sharecropping, and rentism must be abolished in this country," he said. "They are immoral and against the principles of the revolution."

"What we think the producers should do is the following," Núñez continued. "If they want to hire wage workers, they have to improve the conditions of life and health care, invest their profits in social transformations on their estate or productive enterprise. If the property is worked efficiently, and if the farm workers have good food, health care, and wages according to the law, then we consider this a contribution to the development of the country," he concluded.

A small layer of capitalist landlords collaborated with the FSLN in the struggle to overthrow Somoza and today are members of UNAG. In addition, UNAG has won some capitalist landowners from COSEP, the right-wing employers' association loyal to the U.S. government. This is part of the "national unity" policy promoted by the FSLN to help maintain production and strengthen defense against the U.S.-organized contra war.

Núñez said some of the COSEP capitalists are "recalcitrant ultrarightists. There are others [who are] less rightist. There are those we could call less politicized, others who are for national unity."

"Sectors of the cotton, coffee, and rice producers who were affiliated to COSEP have joined our organization to support and add their grain of sand to the sum total of the national unity we want to build."

Alternatives to land distribution

Porras told the *Militant* that during 1987, the government plans to give 430,000 acres of land to 14,000 landless peasant families. However, this covers less than 25 percent of the landless peasants in Nicaragua today.

"We calculate that there are some 60,000 [landless] peasant families, which is still a lot," Porras explained. "We have been drastically reducing the landlord sector, and we can't touch those that remain now, because they are efficient producers."

"Insofar as we have been reducing the

latifundio, and the landlord sector that remains cannot be touched," he said, "we are exhausting the land fund available to answer peasant demands."

"Really, we are reaching a time when the agrarian reform has to present other options than the simple distribution of land."

Porras said the government is initiating "programs that channel the demands of these peasant families, their needs, in the direction of them becoming permanent farm workers."

"This means a new policy to qualitatively improve the conditions of life and opportunities for farm workers... to make wage labor as attractive as having direct access to the land."

Núñez also told the *Militant* he thought it was a "viable alternative" for landless peasants to become farm workers, as long as they received a decent wage and the social services they were entitled to.

Up to now, very few peasants have opted to become farm workers, because the conditions are generally worse than owning one's own land. In fact, many farm workers have left their jobs to get title to land so as to improve the standard of living of their families.

Many more farm workers are still applying for land titles, and there are varying opinions on whether the revolution should continue to honor their demand.

Núñez told the *Militant*, "We shouldn't give an inch of land to farm workers."

Farm workers "are our brothers who increase production of coffee, sugar, and cotton," he said. "In addition, insofar as a farm worker advances in his class consciousness, the revolution advances. I think that to advance to a new society the working class must be strengthened. It must be strengthened ideologically. A farm worker who starts asking for land is an ideological weakness."

The *Militant* also asked Edgardo García, secretary general of the Association of Rural Workers (ATC), how he saw the question of farm workers seeking land today. As an underground organization of the rural poor in the anti-Somoza struggle, the ATC led both farm workers and peasants in land takeovers and putting forward land as a central demand of the revolution.

García confirmed that today, small farmers who have their own land have a significantly higher income than farm workers. The ATC is on a campaign this year to raise farm workers' wages and improve housing and social services to help correct this imbalance, he said.

García stressed the importance of farm workers for Nicaragua's economy as a whole since they produce most of the rice and the key export crops of coffee, cotton, and sugar.

"We do not share the idea that every

Continued on Page 13

Farmers in Trinidad oppose land grab by big business

BY SAM MANUEL

PORT OF SPAIN, Trinidad and Tobago — Since the beginning of the year, working farm families here have faced an intensified campaign to drive them off the land. This is being spearheaded by private and state-run land development companies.

I had an opportunity to learn more about this from Ragoonath Kamrajh and Nazim Ali, president general and first vice-president, respectively, of the National Food-Crop Farmers' Association (NFFA). I spoke with them at the Fifth Conference of Caribbean Trade Unions held here in July.

Just the day before my discussion with them, farmers from various sectors of agriculture announced the formation of the National Federation of Farmers' Associations (NFOFA).

Kamrajh explained, "NFFA represents the food-crop farmers. But there are many others: pig and poultry farmers, rice farmers, cane growers, and fishermen. What we have succeeded in doing is uniting all these under one umbrella."

Fight for land tenure

"One of the biggest problems we face," Ali noted, "is the lack of land security. We do not own the land nor do we have tenure. There are 42,000 family farmers in the country involved in small-scale farming. Eighty percent of them have only one to three acres of land. Few of them own their land. Some are tenants. Still others are squatters."

Explaining their importance, Ali said, "The small farmers are the ones who make a real contribution to agriculture. They stay on the land and produce year after year. But the big landlords, as soon as the profits in agriculture drop a little and there are other investment opportunities, like during the oil boom, they go into other businesses and just abandon agriculture."

Kamrajh added, "In this period, with the decline of the oil economy, there is a mad scramble for the land."

In their drive for land, neither the private nor state-run land development companies aim to establish large-scale modernized farms. They want to build more hotels, clubs, and resorts.

Ali noted, "They are taking land out of production while at the same time the import bill of the country for food alone in

1986 was \$1 billion. If the farmers were given land to produce, we could cut this bill in half, thereby saving the country much of its foreign currency exchange."

State-run farmlands are also being taken out of production. Kamrajh pointed to the example of tenant cane farmers on an estate managed by the state-owned Caroni company. With the drop in the world price of sugar, the government announced a program to diversify the sugarcane lands. Under this program, many of the estates operated by Caroni were shut down. One of those, Garden Village, is targeted for housing construction.

Ali explained, "It is our position that no agricultural soil should be taken away for any other purpose than food production. In fact, cane lands diversified by companies like Caroni should be made available to the small food-crop farmers."

High interest rates, debts

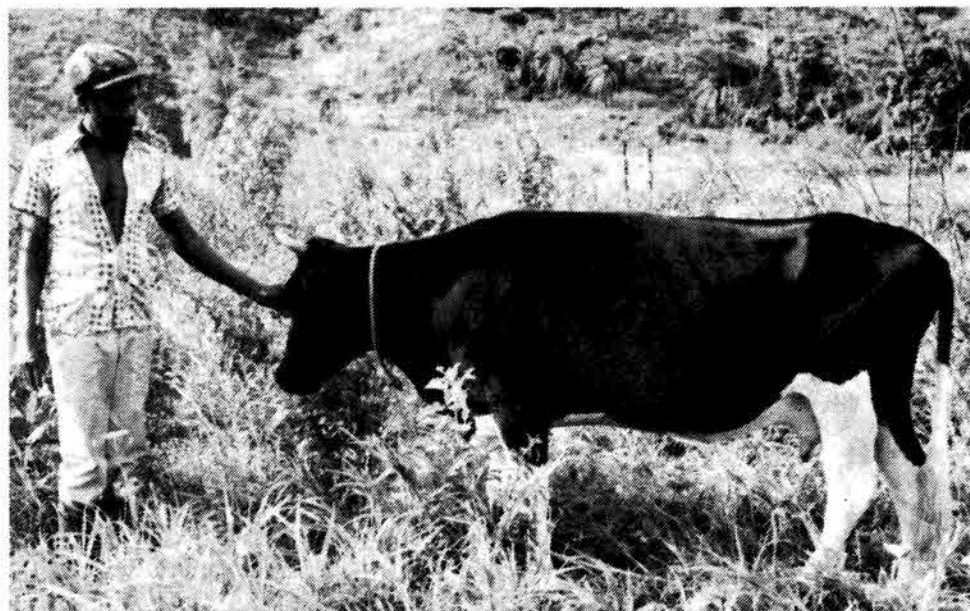
The high interest rates and cost of production coupled with the low prices farmers receive for their goods also contribute to the conditions forcing farmers off the land. Kamrajh cited the example of copra farmers.

"How can these farmers pay back the loans?" he asked. "In many cases, the ADB [Agricultural Development Bank] has put farmers' land up for sale. But the farmers are being eaten up by the cost of production, which is the result of government policies. We demand, therefore, that the loans be frozen and the debts canceled," Kamrajh said.

Although Trinidad is an oil-producing country, agriculture has always been a key component of the economy. Yet farming remains very underdeveloped. Small farmers, especially, suffer from a lack of water supplies, irrigation systems, and inadequate roads.

Ali further explained, "Even when the farmers have good production, there is no provision made by the government for distribution and marketing. The farmers' market in town is already inadequate for the amount of goods produced by farmers today."

Kamrajh added, "In fact, the government is trying to put marketing and distribution in the hands of private enterprise. This would simply amount to having the



Militant/Sam Manuel

Farmer in Garden Village, Trinidad. Farmers have formed new organization to fight land takeovers by big development firms which build hotels and resorts on fertile land.

big landlords control it. We, the small farmers, would get squeezed even more."

Trinidad and Tobago is also a victim of the lack of development of agro-industry. For example, Kamrajh observed, "We import guava nectar in a can from West Germany, and peaches and all sorts of juices from Canada, at very high prices. But all this fruit comes from here. They buy it cheaply and sell it back at exorbitant prices."

Farm workers exploited

Many of the farmers driven off their land become farm workers. Often they are contracted out to work on farms in Canada and the United States through the farm labor program of the Ministry of Agriculture of Trinidad and Tobago. Ali worked for five years in Canada under that program.

Describing the conditions, Ali said, "We were paid subminimum wages. From that, you also had to pay social security, which the Canadian government said is recoverable, but it is always with great difficulty and often never returned. The workers were housed in barracks. When you went to the fields, if it rained for two hours, you were not paid for that time even though you had to stay there."

British miners fight back

BY CLIVE TURNBULL

ROTHERHAM, England — On July 21 some 15,000 miners returned to their jobs ending a strike in the South Yorkshire coalfields.

The strike had been provoked when six workers at the Frickley mine were fired for violating the new disciplinary code the British Coal Board is trying to enforce in this country's government-owned mining industry.

The 900 members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) at Frickley immediately walked off the job demanding reinstatement of the six. They sent pickets to nearby mines. Over the next few days, all miners in South Yorkshire went on strike against the disciplinary code.

Under pressure from Yorkshire NUM President Jack Taylor, the Frickley miners were eventually persuaded to remove the pickets and return to work pending the outcome of a national NUM ballot on the disciplinary code.

The code was an important topic of discussion at the NUM's annual conference in early July. The July issue of the union's paper, the *Miner*, reports that the NUM's National Executive Committee is balloting the membership "seeking authority to call various forms of industrial action in the event of British Coal refusing to withdraw their savage new disciplinary code and discuss the questions involved with our Union."

Under the code, miners can be arbitrarily fired or suspended for participating in various types of union activity that the board does not approve of. They can also be fired for incidents that take place miles away from work, for example, an argument at a soccer match or in a bar.

NUM national President Arthur Scargill told the conference the code, "Is a blatant interference with civil liberties and human rights and in my view is a tactic which goes back to the 1920s and '30s when people were dismissed for trade union activities."

"In addition," he continued, "there is a 20 percent deduction from the wages, for what they called 'compulsory savings.' It had nothing to do with saving money for the workers. If you ran away, money would be taken from this fund to which all the workers contributed to pay for your so-called breach of contract."

In the national election this year, the capitalist People's National Movement (PNM), which had ruled the country for the last 30 years, was defeated by an opposition coalition of capitalist parties, the National Alliance for Reconstruction. The NAR won 33 of the 36 seats in parliament.

I asked Kamrajh and Ali whether farmers expected any change from the new government. "We voted for change, but we only changed the head," commented Ali. It's not like Grenada when you had Maurice Bishop take over from 'Uncle Gairy.' Because Bishop worked with the people, Grenada made great advances in a short time. His murder was a great loss to the Caribbean. You cannot replace his kind easily."

Kamrajh summed up, "The same PNM people are still running the country. We, the working-class people, must form our own political party. The NFFA will continue to fight whatever party is in power."

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Interview with leaders of Haitian union

Discuss efforts to organize workers since fall of Duvalier dictatorship

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — "We're building a union, and it's workers' rights we're interested in. We don't take stands on political issues," said Nicolas Nerva, general secretary of the Federation of Unionized Workers (FOS). In an interview here July 27, Nerva and two other FOS leaders, Marcellin Schiller and André François, spoke at length about their union and its perspectives.

FOS was first organized in January 1984, two years before the dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier fled Haiti on Feb. 7, 1986. It began with nine unions, including taxi and truck drivers, dockworkers, and workers at the big government-run cement plant and HASCO sugar mill. Workers at these plants had first organized unions during the 1946 upsurge of workers' and peasants' struggle in Haiti, Schiller said. Although the Duvalier dictatorship broke up the unions in the early 1960s, many union members remained in the plants and helped provide FOS with a core of initial supporters.

"FOS was one of the groups that said no to Duvalier," François said. "We were never recognized by the government until after the dictator left. Duvalier also sent some Tontons Macoutes thugs into the plants to infiltrate our union."

Today FOS has 62 affiliates, most of which are peasant associations. Nerva said they had signed some contracts and won improvements in working conditions since the dictatorship was ousted. FOS is affiliated to the Inter-American Regional Organization of Labor (ORIT), and has close ties to the AFL-CIO.

When asked about conditions for workers in U.S.- and other foreign-owned sweatshops in the big free-trade zone here, François replied, "FOS is not concentrating on those plants. We concentrate on heavy industry, including the electric power company, sugar mills, and dockworkers."

The HASCO sugar mill in Port-au-Prince is their strongest local. "When the government tried to shut down HASCO earlier this year, FOS organized a big demonstration and made them keep it open," François said. "We face a new problem there, however. The administration is try-

ing to organize a company union to get rid of FOS."

"The bosses have closed a lot of factories since February 7, [1986]," Nerva said. "They use this now as a threat to keep other workers from organizing unions. They also say that unions are communist."

FOS joined other union federations in a joint May Day rally this year. This was the first time in decades that there had been such a rally. Previously, the Duvalier dictatorship had held small rallies, which it claimed showed workers' support for the regime.

François cited FOS's demands at the rally: reopen the closed factories, write a new labor code, raise the minimum wage to \$6 a day, reinstate workers fired without reason, make the bosses sign union contracts, and take steps to end the uncontrolled imports that are ruining the market for Haitian peasants.

FOS has also participated in some of the recent antijunta protests.

When the junta "dissolved CATH [Autonomous Confederation of Haitian Workers] and arrested their leaders on June 22, we held a general assembly of all the unions to protest," Nerva said. FOS supported the general strike that began on June 29 "since it had just demands such as freedom for CATH leaders."

Later on, when strike organizers raised the demand for the ouster of the ruling military junta, FOS did not endorse the actions. However, many of its members, including the important drivers' union, respected the strike.

Nerva said that the union couldn't take a position on whether the junta should go or not. "That's a political question, and it's always been a problem in Haiti when people confuse a union with a political party. We followed the strike but didn't take a stand for or against it."

Asked about the recent massacre of peasants by landlords' thugs and the Tontons Macoutes in Jean Rabel, Nerva replied, "We can't take a stand yet. It's a complex, difficult situation. There are a lot of Macoutes there, and it's a political thing."

FOS called for a yes vote in a national referendum on Haiti's new constitution earlier this year.

U.S. coal-union officer speaks at British miners' conference

John Banovic represented the United Mine Workers of America at the annual conference of Britain's coal union in Rothesay, England, in early July. Banovic is the UMW's secretary-treasurer. A summary of his remarks at the meeting were carried in the July issue of the *Miner*, published by Britain's National Union of Mineworkers.

Banovic told the British miners to resist "American-style speed-up" in the industry.

"And brothers, I urge you to be vigilant about new industry practices, some of which are being imported from overseas,

which aim to undermine you and destroy your union."

He said huge multinational corporations were trampling the world over in search of profits. For workers, this had resulted in demands "for concession after concession."

Banovic appealed for British unions to join the UMW in boycotting the Shell Oil Co. "because of its heavy involvement in the South African economy." Shell, he said, exports 6 million tons of South African slave-labor coal on the world market each year.

British miners condemn Washington's aggression against Nicaragua

A unanimous resolution was adopted at the NUM's national conference supporting the Nicaraguan people and condemning Washington's funding of the contra mercenaries trying to topple the Sandinista government.

In motivating the resolution, George Bolton, president of the Scottish Area NUM, took note of how the Nicaraguan people have fought to improve health care and eradicate illiteracy since the revolution.

Bolton said the Thatcher government must be compelled to recognize the World Court's 1986 ruling condemning Washington's aggression against Nicaragua.

Noting that the resolution was very timely, NUM General Secretary Peter

Healthfield said Nicaragua, "Provides a striking example of what an organized working class can achieve." He urged every NUM area to affiliate to Britain's Nicaragua solidarity campaign.

The conference also heard a report from NUM member Steve Brunt on his fact-finding trip to South Africa. Brunt said he had witnessed South African miners working up to 14 hours underground at a time in intolerable heat. "We owe it to them to continue our support," Brunt said.

Copies of Brunt's report: "A South African Experience" can be obtained by writing the NUM National Office, St. James House, Vicar Lane, Sheffield, England. S1 2EX. They cost \$3.75 a piece plus 75 cents for postage and handling.



Militant/Harvey McArthur
Demonstration outside CATH union federation headquarters when it reopened in July. FOS federation supported general strike that began June 29 after ruling junta dissolved CATH.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Shultz: continued U.S. embargo of Panama aid

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, in an August 6 news conference in Washington, affirmed that the Reagan administration would maintain its freeze on aid to Panama.

The aid, which includes \$6 million in military aid and \$20 million in economic assistance this year, was halted in early July. At the time, U.S. officials gave as their reason damage done to the U.S. embassy in Panama City following a mass anti-imperialist demonstration.

Since then, Panama has paid Washington \$106,000 to cover the damages. Shultz ignored this in his announcement of the continued embargo, concentrating instead on Washington's demand that the Panamanian military hand power over to a "civilian" regime — that is, one composed of the bourgeois opposition forces aligned with Washington.

Since early June, Washington has been waging a campaign of destabilization against the Panamanian government of Gen. Manuel Noriega. His government has been pressing for U.S. compliance with the Panama Canal treaties, which oblige Washington to hand sovereignty over the canal back to Panama in 1999.

The very day of Shultz' news conference, a bipartisan coalition of senators introduced legislation aimed at blocking any further U.S. aid to Panama while Noriega remains in power. Cosponsors ranged from right-wing Republicans like Jesse Helms to liberal Democrats like Edward Kennedy.

Angola appeals for emergency food aid

Citing the danger of "near famine conditions" in its cities, the government of Angola is appealing for \$116 million in international emergency food assistance.

However, a spokesperson for the U.S. State Department, Charles Redman, stated August 14 that the U.S. government is unlikely to increase the amount of food aid it is now providing to Angola, which averages about \$10 million to \$11 million a year and is distributed through UNICEF, the United Nations children's fund.

Meanwhile, the White House has pro-

vided another \$15 million this year to the South African-backed terrorist bands, known as the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), seeking to bring down the Angolan government.

It is this terrorist campaign by UNITA and its backers in Washington and Pretoria that is primarily responsible for Angola's severe food shortages.

An Angolan government report, prepared in cooperation with the United Nations, says that the food crisis stems "from a combination of the prolonged destabilization campaign and military aggression waged by South Africa, of the resultant disruption of the rural economy, the transport sector, and government services."

In addition, because of the sharp drop in world oil prices, (oil exports are Angola's main source of foreign exchange) Angola cannot afford to import the consumer items farmers want in exchange for their produce.

The report estimated that some 690,000 people have been displaced in the rural areas, rising by 100,000 in the last six months alone, especially where UNITA has been most active. The number of women and children who have lost limbs due to antipersonnel mines planted by UNITA has risen above 10,000.

UNICEF places Angola's child death rate at the highest in the world. The Angolan government report says that 45 percent of Angola's children suffer from some kind of malnutrition.

Israeli police attack demonstrators

A demonstration of about 50 students outside the U.S. consulate in East Jerusalem was broken up by police using tear gas and clubs August 13. Six of the protesters, including two U.S. citizens of Palestinian descent, were arrested.

The protesters had denounced the continued Israeli occupation of the West Bank, as well as police action the day before against students participating in a program sponsored by Bir Zeit University in the West Bank. The annual summer program involves some 80 foreign students — including from Belgium, the Netherlands, and the United States — and about 35 Palestinian youths in joint work projects in Palestinian refugee camps.

The rapid march of American culture — California business and civic honchos are broadening their cultural horizons with a Stanford University course that includes writings of Marx, Lenin, Freud,



Harry Ring

Melville, Hemingway, and others. Twenty-eight books in all, taught in two weeks by four profs. Tuition, \$4,900.

Get some can-do folks in there — The government-owned Nigeria Airways is reportedly inefficient and unprofitable. So the International Monetary Fund wants it privatized. A neat idea. Our first thought was, People Express. But, since they're gone, maybe Delta, which is currently offering refunds to passengers fearful for their lives.

How's the dollar doing? — In less than a year, the presidents of 10 big Japanese companies have died in office of various diseases. Associates say they "died in action" trying to cope with the rapid rise of the yen and consequent economic dislocation.

How to straighten up and fly right — To cope with the problem of delayed departures, Eastern Airlines has authorized flight attendants to pass out a round of free drinks on every takeoff delayed more than two hours.

Good news for distillers — In case you think that free-drink offer is chicken feed, Eastern estimates that in the remaining five months of the year, it will cost them \$100,000. By our guestimate, that means they anticipate some 1,000 two-hour delays.

Hardly enough to keep afloat — When Peter Holm barricaded himself in the home of ex-spouse Joan Collins of Dynasty to

dramatize his support plea, our initial reaction was he should get the bum's rush. But we learned all he wants is \$80,000 a month — \$16,500 to rent a pad, \$12,000 for clothing and accessories, plus, we assume, mad money.

Anyway, praise the Lord — Not being overly familiar with either the Bible or the law, we were puzzled by the T-shirt being pushed by current PTL chief Jerry Falwell. It says, "Almost heaven — chapter 11." Our question being, is that Genesis or the bankruptcy code?

To guard against crooks — Why waste big bucks on an alarm system that won't deter burglars.

Check out the "Alarm Imposter," a bogus alarm that assertedly offers a "visual deterrent." \$27.50.

Fashion tip — Critics are lauding French clothing designer Christian Lacroix. "A sense of whimsy," says one. "A shy peasant charm," adds another. Not to mention bargain basement prices. Blouses begin at \$1,000 and suits at \$6,000. Evening dresses, \$10,000 to \$50,000.

Co-opting the Revolution — The Beatles are suing Nike for \$15 million for using their recording of the song "Revolution" in a running shoe commercial. The group said they don't "endorse or peddle sneakers or pantyhose."

CALENDAR

CALIFORNIA

San Diego

Women in Central America and the Caribbean. Sisters in Struggle. Speakers: Bev Leigh, participant in the Second Annual Teachers' Committee School Construction Brigade in Matagalpa, Nicaragua; Judy White, recently attended a meeting of women trade union leaders in Trinidad and Tobago. Video showing of *Women in Nicaragua*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Aug. 29, 7:30 p.m. 2803 B St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

Oakland

Oakland (East Bay) Socialist Summer School.

How to Transform the Unions

Sat., Aug. 29. Class 1: "How Capitalist Exploitation Works and Why We Need Unions," 1-3 p.m.; Class 2: "How Our Unions Were Built: Lessons for Today's Militants," 3:30-5:30 p.m. Followed by party celebrating completion of San Francisco mayoralty petitioning drive.

Sun., Aug. 30. Class 3: "Winning Labor's Allies," 10:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.; Class 4: "The Labor Bureaucracy and the Aristocrats of Labor," 2-4 p.m.

All classes translated to Spanish and held at

3808 E 14th St. Donation: each single class, \$1. Sponsors: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (415) 261-3014 or 658-8898.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Malcolm X and the Struggle for Justice Today. Film: *El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz*. Speaker: Mark Emanation, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Boston, member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Local 1. Sat., Aug. 22, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

Upsurge of Popular Protest in El Salvador. Eyewitness report and slideshow from participants in the labor-student delegation recently returned from El Salvador. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Aug. 29, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

Austin

The Central American Peace Plan. Speaker: Fred Halstead, author of *The 1985-86 Meat-*

Packers' Strike in Austin, Minnesota and Out Now!, a history of the movement against the Vietnam War. Sat., Aug. 22, 7:30 p.m. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum.

Eyes on the Prize: A Participant's Account of the Civil Rights Movement. A class by Fred Halstead. Sun., Aug. 23, 12 noon. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$1. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore.

Barbecue. Sun. Aug. 23, 4 p.m. 311 W Oakland. For more information on this or above events, call (507) 433-3461.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter. Film, followed by discussion about working women during World War II. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Aug. 28, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

The Committee in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala Invites You to a Party. Guatemalan food, music provided by a DJ. Sat., Aug. 29, 9 p.m. Casa de las Americas, 104 W. 14th St. For more information call (212) 279-2704.

PENNSYLVANIA

Avonmore

Old Fashioned Labor Rally for Striking Members of the United Mine Workers of America Locals 2456 and 6986. Sat., Aug. 22, 9:30 a.m. at the Italian Club. UMW President Richard Trumka will speak at the rally.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Sioux Falls

Labor Solidarity Rally. Hosted by United Food and Commercial Workers Union locals 304A and 1142 on strike against John Morrell packinghouses in Sioux Falls and Sioux City. Sat., Aug. 29 and Sun. Aug. 30. Free camping facilities provided. Take County Road 121 off of I-90 (Exit 402). Site of rally is just east of Petersons Camp Grounds. Rally begins 12 noon Saturday. For more information call (605) 338-3811.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Issues in the "Baby M" Case. Speakers: Ellen Brickley, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun. Aug. 23, 6 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Judge bars use of FBI files on Socialist Workers

Continued from front page

YSA had good grounds for an injunction against use of the illegally obtained material in government files — more than a million pages amassed by the FBI alone.

The SWP and YSA proposed an injunction barring the government from using any of the illegal files.

In response, Attorney General Edwin Meese argued that to grant the injunction would risk the "self-preservation" of the nation. Ten federal police agencies submitted supporting affidavits.

Griesa rejected the attorney general's claims, ruling that "any use or dissemination of this material would be tainted with illegality because the information is not lawfully in the hands of the Government."

Griesa emphasized: "Since the FBI had no legal right to engage in the informant activity during the stated time and no legal right to make the surreptitious entries, it obviously had no right to obtain the information and documents procured through these activities."

The injunction significantly strengthens the 1986 decision in the case.

In the earlier decision, Griesa limited his ruling on the illegality of FBI informers to the 1974-76 time period, due to the two-year statute of limitations for recovering damages. The attorney general argued that, as a result, any injunction could cover only the files generated by informers during that two-year time period.

But in the injunction, Griesa expanded

his original ruling, declaring, "the court makes the finding that the informant activity for the entire period 1960-1976 was unconstitutional." He noted that by 1960 the FBI had been investigating the SWP for nearly 20 years and, as of then, "had enough information to know that it had no legitimate basis for infiltrating the SWP and YSA..."

Griesa emphasized a key point in his original decision:

"...the FBI was using informants not to obtain any information necessary for the prosecution of crimes or for the protection of national security, but to obtain private information about political meetings, demonstrations and other lawful events and their participants."

Attorney General Meese had argued in court papers that if an injunction were to be issued, the federal police agencies have to have the right to use the information in the sealed files in "emergency" situations, either by obtaining an exemption from any federal judge anywhere in the country, or, in cases of extreme urgency, by using the information and notifying a court later.

Flatly rejecting this demand, Griesa ruled that "no reason has been shown for allowing the Government to make an 'emergency' departure from the injunction at its own discretion..."

At *Militant* press time, there was still no comment from the Justice Department on the injunction. The attorney general has 60 days to file a notice of appeal.

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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.

VIRGINIA: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 6538, Churchland Station. Zip: 23707.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3165 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7690 or 77-7021.

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.

Land question is big challenge in Nicaragua

Continued from Page 9

worker should be given land," García said. "But, naturally, [a farm worker] lives in a peasant milieu and perfectly well could join together with other peasants and ask for land. In that case, we as an organization take the stand that those without land should receive it."

García said he thought this should be done even if it left some big farms short of workers. "If a state farm is in crisis as a productive unit, it would be better for it to function as a peasant enterprise," he said. This has already been done with some state

farms, he added.

In addition to encouraging peasants to become farm workers, Porras also projected increasing the number of families working on land that has already been distributed.

"The number of families that are still demanding land requires that the land be worked more intensively so there will be enough for everyone. [This means] irrigation, mechanization, and [choosing] crops that are highly intensive, demand a large amount of labor, and are very profitable."

"There is a third element that is very im-

portant," he added. "That is the fact that the military victories have allowed us to gain control over large quantities of productive land that had been abandoned because of the war. We calculate that there are some 700,000 acres in this situation, including productive areas with investments in infrastructure, coffee plantations, etc. So our policy this year is to mobilize the peasant families that are demanding land to recover these abandoned lands."

Porras also reported that the Ministry of Agriculture will focus efforts on a major campaign to improve the organization and

functioning of the cooperatives.

Porras called this process "a new stage in the process of agrarian reform."

How the next stage of the Sandinista revolution will unfold in the countryside remains to be seen. The first eight years of the revolution have demonstrated how central the demand for land is to the defeat of the U.S. contra war and the consolidation of workers' and peasants' power.

Peasants and farm workers themselves have demonstrated a deepening class understanding as they have pressed their struggle for land. And their government and the Sandinista leadership has shown its ability to change policies when these have proven out of step with the interests and needs of the rural poor.

As has been true for eight years, the future of the revolution in the countryside will ultimately be determined by the consciousness, organization, and leadership of the rural toilers themselves, as well as the course of the contra war.

Since 1986, there have been no large mobilizations of peasants demanding land. However, smaller groups in different parts of the country continue to press their demands.

The May 2 issue of *Barricada* reported. "The focuses of pressure by landless peasants are not only in rural zones, in assemblies of those demanding land, or in the cramped alleyways of the towns where the [displaced] peasants have built their shacks, but also by some groups of peasants who have organized to go to the offices of agrarian reform to demand a response to their demands."

In one such case, 20 armed peasants went to the Ministry of Agrarian Reform office to demand legal title to 800 acres of land. The government had given them the land — and guns to defend it — four months earlier. However, just as they had begun planting, the former landlord showed up and told them to get off his land.

"We are fighting for the land because we are a large family, and we are very poor," peasant leader Felipe González told *Barricada*. "Besides, we've been waiting a long time, and nothing has been resolved in our case."

Campaign opens to win 6,000 new readers

Continued from front page

Workers Conference at Oberlin College in Ohio were especially confident about winning new readers this fall. Many had just completed successful renewal campaigns to get new subscribers in their areas to extend their subscriptions.

During a sales workshop at the conference, speaker after speaker pointed to the value of big Saturday mobilizations, utilizing sales teams, literature tables, and door-to-door canvassing in working-class communities and at college dormitories as the way to sell subscriptions.

Several supporters stressed the importance of organizing regional sales teams out of the major cities where most supporters currently live.

Unlike the last two subscription campaigns, few national sales teams will be organized over the drive. Instead, supporters will be organizing one-week or two-week teams locally. Some of these teams may be over long weekends when one or two worker or student supporters, including members of the Young Socialist Alliance, will team up to go to a farm community or a plant gate or a college campus to sell.

Plant-gate sales

During the subscription campaign, efforts to significantly increase the number of *Militant* sales to workers at their worksites will continue. This is a year-round activity of many supporters.

These plant-gate sales — usually at shift changes — are connected to getting the *Militant* to workers, particularly in important industries such as meat-packing, steel, oil, auto, garment, and coal mining.

All supporters of the *Militant* are urged to join these weekly teams. You will not only have an opportunity to sell papers, but also get a chance to discuss politics with other workers.

'New International' campaign

The campaign to sell 2,000 copies of the new issue of *New International* complements the *Militant* subscription campaign. Articles, interviews, and speeches in the magazine are more in-depth than most articles the *Militant* has space to run. But they touch on the same questions.

Like the *Militant*, the *New International* is written for working people. The magazine is readable and very important for activists interested in and open to revolutionary communist politics.

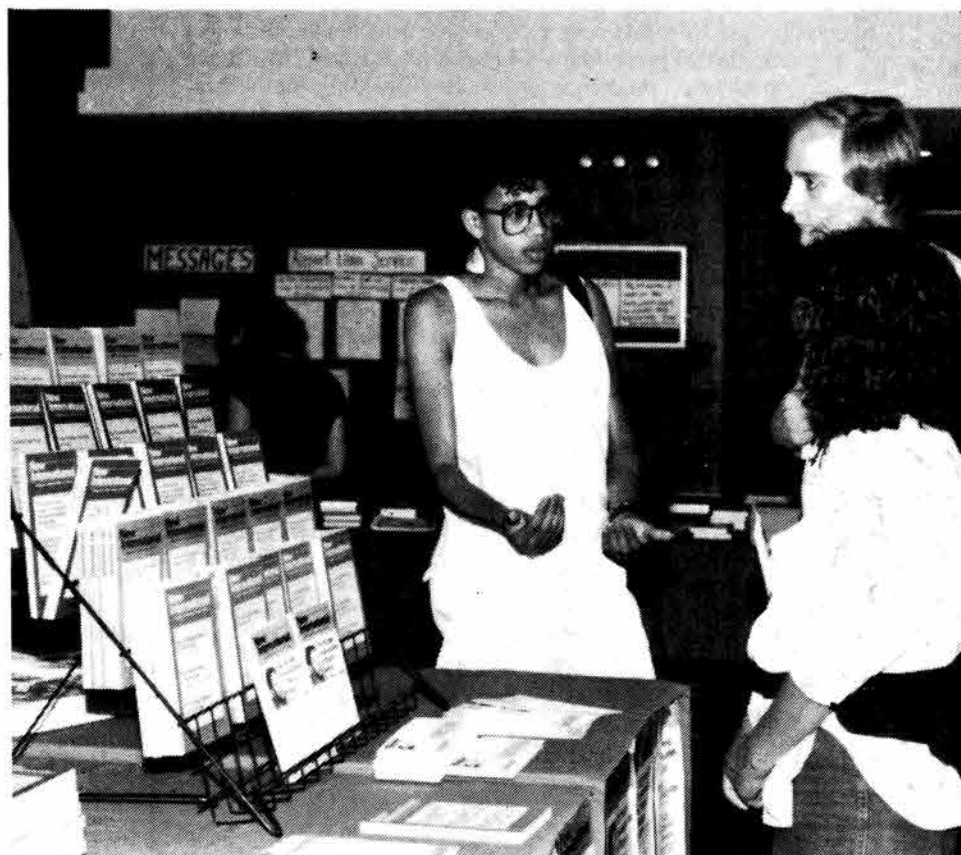
The current issue includes articles on "Land, Labor, and the Canadian Revolution" and "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop," as well as "Cuba: A Historic Moment," two speeches by Fidel Castro. The objective of the sales campaign is to get this issue into the hands of workers on the job, antiwar and solidarity activists, fighters for Black and women's rights, and farm activists.

Goals have been taken by supporters of the *Militant*, which we will begin publishing next week. A scoreboard will regularly appear in the paper.

We also anticipate that supporters of *New International* in other countries will be making extra efforts to sell this issue of the magazine and that a sizable number of copies will be sold in their countries.

'Perspectiva Mundial' drive

Supporters of the *Militant* also plan to help expand the circulation of the Spanish-



Copies of *New International* on display at socialist conference in Ohio. *Militant* supporters have taken goal of selling 2,000 copies of *New International* this fall.

language monthly magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*. *PM*'s goal is 1,500 new subscribers.

In the last year, *PM*'s paid subscription base has grown significantly — going from 363 in July 1986 to 2,623 in July 1987.

In both the fall 1986 and spring 1987 subscription campaigns supporters of *PM* sold way over their goals. Prospects are good to repeat that performance this fall.

One objective of the fall campaign is to win as many *PM* subscribers as possible to become *Militant* readers. It should be automatic to ask new *PM* readers to buy *Militant* subscriptions — most will be eager to buy a communist weekly, even if it is at first difficult to read.

Cover price

Readers will note that beginning with this issue the price of the *Militant* has increased from \$.75 to \$1.00. The introductory and other subscription rates have also gone up. (See page 2 ad for details.)

The reason will come as no surprise. Prices for postage, printing, shipping, and other costs have escalated since the *Militant*'s last cover price increase in 1981.

Even with this increase, however, the new price will still not cover the cost of producing the *Militant*.

Those able to do so are encouraged to contribute to the Fall Socialist Publications Fund. (See page 4 article.)

If you are interested in taking a goal for the *Militant* subscription, *New International* single issue, and *Perspectiva Mundial* subscription campaigns clip and mail in the coupon below.

- ☐ Send me a bundle of ____ *Militants* per issue.
- ☐ Send me a bundle of ____ *Perspectiva Mundials* per issue.
- ☐ Send me a bundle of ____ *New Internationals*.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ Phone _____

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
Aug. 26, 1977

On August 10 U.S. negotiators announced agreement on a new Panama Canal treaty with representatives of the Panamanian government of Brig. Gen. Omar Torrijos.

Already, some right-wing demagogues such as U.S. Rep. John Murphy are denouncing Carter for the "surrender of American-owned property in Panama to a revolutionary despot."

Now the treaty must be approved by a two-thirds vote of the U.S. Senate and a majority of Panama's voters in a national plebiscite. What are its terms?

- The United States has agreed to up its annual payments for use of the Canal Zone from \$2.3 million per year to an annual rate of \$50-70 million, depending on toll revenues, through the end of the treaty in the year 2000.

- The United States also agreed to close down 11 of its 14 military bases in Panama. But Washington will be able to maintain 9,300 troops in Panama until the year 2000.

- At the end of the 23-year pact, control of the Canal Zone will pass to Panama. Some 65 percent will be transferred right away. By 1990 Panama will play the dominant role in the administration of the canal.

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interests of the Working People
Aug. 27, 1982 Price 10c

PARIS, Aug. 19 — The shift of power in Algeria Aug. 5-7 from the Provisional Government to the Political Bureau headed by Ben Bella closed a critical phase in the

great crisis through which the Algerian revolution is now passing. To the most elemental question — in which direction has the revolution moved since the Evian cease-fire agreement [with France], to the right or to the left? — we now have the answer. The direction is to the left. The effort to establish a form of government that would prove most amenable to French neo-colonialism ended in failure. The revolution is pushing on in search of a form of power that will fit its own needs and not those of the imperialist power across the Mediterranean.

The situation is strikingly similar to that in Cuba immediately following the collapse of the Batista regime.

The principal real power in Algeria today consists of the armed peasantry organized in the National Liberation Army (ALN) and headed largely by former students; that is, petty-bourgeois intellectuals who have emerged from the difficult years of underground struggle as national heroes.

As in Cuba in the analogous period, this force is divided into variegated groupings and factions, some of which arose under circumstances giving them a local coloration and some of which contain opposing class forces that were united in struggle against French imperialism until the moment of victory. Besides the problem of sorting out class interests, which cut across the factional formations, the liberating army faces another difficult problem — its ranks have been swollen by the adherence of late-comers, some of them of unhealthy political character who joined out of opportunist reasons when victory was in sight.

The immediate problem appears to be the obvious one of constituting an effective government capable of pulling the nation together and of administering public affairs. But the solution to this problem is bound up with the much more fundamental question of what kind of state should be set up — a capitalist state or a workers' state.

Debate on contra war deepens

The signing of a preliminary peace agreement by the heads of state of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Costa Rica on August 7 has dealt a huge blow to the U.S. rulers' war against Nicaragua.

It has intensified and broadened the debate in this country over aid to the contras. This offers big openings to all those fighting against U.S. intervention in Central America and the contra war.

The pact reflects the deepening opposition throughout Central America to U.S. domination and military intervention, and the international isolation of the contras and their U.S. backers as they pursue an undeclared, illegal, and ever more unpopular war against Nicaragua.

The signing of the pact sparked differences of opinion extending to the top levels of the administration and in both political parties. One sign of the disarray among the warmakers was the resignation of Philip Habib, the top diplomat President Reagan had assigned to Central American peace negotiations as a cover for pursuing the contra war.

The action by the Central American heads of state also disrupted an agreement reached on the eve of their meeting by Reagan and Democratic Speaker of the House Jim Wright on a bipartisan offensive against Nicaragua.

The administration had hoped the agreement with Wright would torpedo the Central America talks and head off the debate among both Republicans and Democrats in Congress over continuing contra aid. The signing of the pact in Guatemala City, however, has deepened the controversy on Capitol Hill.

In the face of this setback, the Reagan administration is continuing its efforts to win Congressional backing for renewed and increased military aid to the contras.

In an interview in the August 19 *New York Times*, an unnamed top official cynically portrayed long-term U.S. aid to the contras as vital to implementation of the pact, which he claimed to support. The terms of the pact, however, call for an end to such aid within 90 days.

Among U.S. working people, the response will be to further deepen opposition to the contra war, and to increase interest in finding out more about Nicaragua.

The broadening discussion is a good time for opponents of the U.S. war to step up their activities. Hundreds of thousands of working people will be more receptive than ever before to the facts about the Nicaraguan revolution and the brutal war that Washington has engineered against the workers and farmers of that country.

The Ben Linder Peace Tour has organized meetings for family members and coworkers of the volunteer worker murdered by the contras. These have taken place in cities and towns, union halls, farm communities, and schools in 48 states. In addition to exposing the murderous nature of Washington's mercenaries, the tour has broadened support for organizing brigades of U.S. workers, farmers, and youth to work in Nicaragua, like Ben Linder did.

Such brigades have already enabled thousands of people from this country to see the truth about Nicaragua for themselves. Many of these brigadistas, who have contributed their time and skills to helping the Nicaraguan people, have come back as determined fighters against the war. Their eyewitness testimony contributes to undermining the U.S. government's lie campaigns against Nicaragua.

The "Days of Decision" — antiwar actions to be held in cities around the country on or around September 15 and 29 — are another opportunity for getting out the truth about the contra war and the Nicaraguan revolution.

These actions will demand that Congress end all funding of the contras and that all U.S. military maneuvers in Central America and arms aid to the Central American governments be stopped. The "Days of Decision" were called by a coalition of groups including the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), Nicaragua Network, the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy, Witness for Peace, SANE, Pledge of Resistance, Inter-religious Task Force on Central America, and many other groups.

So far actions have been scheduled in Washington, D.C.; San Jose, California; Charleston, West Virginia; Cleveland; Detroit; Boston; and other cities.

Actions like these — large or small — contribute to drawing new forces into the fight and keeping the pressure on the administration and Congress to end the dirty war against Nicaragua.

Escalating risk in Persian Gulf

As of this writing, the U.S. naval assault ship, *Guadalcanal*, is conducting exercises in the Persian Gulf, as part of the escorting of reflagged Kuwaiti oil tankers through the mine-strewn Strait of Hormuz.

The *Guadalcanal* is one of 24 U.S. warships in or en route to the region. In addition, British and French warships and minesweepers are now in the area.

Added tension came when Iraqi President Saddam Hussein declared that he reserved the right to strike at Iranian oil tankers and battleships as a means of crippling Iran's economy.

To justify its policy of putting Kuwaiti oil tankers under the U.S. flag and escorting them through the mined area, Washington has made the demagogic claim that it is protecting "freedom of the seas."

In fact, this operation is aimed at provoking an incident for which Iran would be declared responsible, opening the way for possible U.S. "retaliation."

Iran is now winning the seven-year war that the Iraqi regime began when it invaded Iran in 1980. Washington greatly fears an Iranian victory.

In a letter to the August 16 *New York Times*, Richard Thomas, described by the paper as "a research associate with an oil consulting organization," warned that the failure to back the administration's belligerent course in the gulf would be "a major foreign policy disaster that could dwarf the downfall of the Shah."

True enough, for U.S. imperialist interests the victory of the Iranian people over the murderous, U.S.-imposed shah was a "disaster." The fall of the Iraqi regime, now heavily dependent on support from Washington and its allies, would be another setback.

This would inspire wider opposition to the emirates, monarchies, and other repressive regimes that Washington is seeking to prop up in the gulf region.

Washington's provocation has run into trouble, however. The deaths of 37 sailors on the USS *Stark* in May, when the ship was struck by an Iraqi missile in the gulf, alerted many U.S. working people to the dangers of Washington's war moves in the region. Their opposition to the sacrifice of more lives has made it much more difficult for Washington to set up a credible incident. And the people of Iran have not been intimidated.

Even the U.S.-dominated regimes in the region are increasingly fearful of the outcome of the U.S. gamble.

A dispatch from Kuwait in the August 16 *Washington Post* reported that politicians and journalists in the region "fear that the U.S. presence is an exercise in 'gunboat diplomacy' that is heightening tensions — and dangers — rather than dissipating them."

Those interviewed noted that the mining of gulf waters has expanded since the U.S. buildup, and that all the attendant risks had grown.

"We are not convinced that the current state of affairs is in our best interest," said one unnamed diplomat in the area.

An editorial in the August 16 *New York Times* declared that "American sailors and ships in growing numbers are at risk in the Persian Gulf." The editorial stated, "It was a mistake for the Administration to put American flags on Kuwaiti tankers."

Did the *Times* suggest rectifying the mistake by getting the ships out of the gulf? Not on your life.

Instead, the paper recommended, push in even deeper. It proposed:

- "Invoke the War Powers Act."
- "Press hard on Western European allies and the gulf states for unity and joint action."
- "Stress through every channel a readiness and capacity to respond to military attacks."

The purpose of these bellicose proposals? "The administration needs a plausible policy to build domestic support in Congress and diplomatic support abroad."

The course proposed by the *Times* cannot reverse the growing criticism of the military adventure in the Persian Gulf among U.S. working people. They do not share the U.S. rulers' basic interest in dominating the Persian Gulf, pushing back the Iranian revolution, propping up the Iraqi rulers, or keeping the emirs and kings on their thrones.

There is but one way to prevent the risk of many more lives — U.S., Iranian, and those of other nations — being lost in the Persian Gulf. That is for U.S. ships and other imperialist military forces to get out of the region now.

'The revolution is the birth of light'

BY DOUG JENNESS

In the most recent issue of the *New International*, a Marxist magazine published in New York, there's a particularly good interview with Sandinista leader Tomás Borge. Many readers, however, may overlook it because it's relatively short and tucked into the back pages of the issue.

But it deserves serious attention and I strongly urge readers who have bought the current issue of the magazine not to miss this interview. The interview was

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

first published in *El Caimán Barbudo* (The Bearded Alligator), a Cuban literary magazine, and appears for the first time in English in *New International*.

Although Borge takes up several issues, the most interesting is the approach of the Nicaraguan revolution to art and culture. In this area, like so many others, the Sandinistas are providing a bright beacon for workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world.

What is striking about Borge's comments is that he assumes the freedom of artistic expression that the Sandinista government is committed to defend. He doesn't even take this question up; artistic freedom is considered incontestable.

What he deals with is the connection between art and revolution and what he says shows an impressive respect for human dignity and creativity.

Borge states that art can play a significant role in helping to advance revolutionary change.

He notes that the music of one of Nicaragua's foremost composers and singers, Carlos Mejía Godoy, "was a detachment of combat engineers in the consciousness of Nicaragua, a detachment of agitation, without thereby losing its character as art, its roots, the color of our skin. I think that in our Latin American reality, music is destined to open the floodgates of the revolution. However, the aesthetic counterrevolutionaries — that is, the dull and tasteless, the bureaucrats — deny this possibility. They deny the right of artists to be creators of art."

Borge observes that Marx appreciated French novelist Honoré de Balzac's realism and realism in general, but he "did not say that realism was the only valid form of aesthetic expression. Without a doubt, if Marx had said that, he would no longer have been a Marxist. I sincerely believe that you cannot create something only in green or, to put it another way, you cannot create something only in red. This would be wanton aggression against art."

Artistic expression is warped under capitalism, Borge noted, because "profits lay siege to art." But art shouldn't be surrendered "to the demands of the slogan of the day" either. "It is reality itself that determines the form, the theme, and the artist's personality. Of course, the artist's social perspective is not separate from his traditions or culture. You cannot and should not separate artistic creation from the class struggle, but it is a crime to place it in the service of art dealers and bureaucrats."

In the light of this approach, readers may be surprised by Borge's statement that "socialist realism" was necessary in the Soviet Union. "Socialist realism" was the formulation used by the Stalinist bureaucracy to impose conformity and mediocrity in the arts.

But Borge's overall framework is clearly not that of "socialist realism." He doesn't see this as the "correct" form for all artists in all countries or for revolutionary artists. He says it was necessary in the same way that "in other contexts symbolism and surrealism" were needed.

He emphasized that in Latin America the peoples have their own great artists. "It is these peoples who, with flaming torches, seek the art they need, require, and demand."

In one question the interviewer noted that the enemies of Nicaragua criticize the Ministry of the Interior (MINT), headed by Borge, as a repressive apparatus filled with torturers.

Borge responded by pointing out that the MINT gives serious attention to the cultural development of its members. Yes, it is "a repressive body," he said. "We repress the counterrevolution and bad taste, which is exactly the same thing. . . . We gave [our members] these guidelines . . . that they should shoot down boredom without a trace of pity and that they treat the skin of the prisoners with more respect than their own skin."

Borge affirmed that it would be "an unforgivable error for the revolutionary police to become torturers. . . . Respect for the integrity of every human being is sacred and inviolable."

It is no wonder that millions of working people around the world, robbed not only of the fruits of their labor, but much of their dignity as human beings, are so uplifted by the Nicaraguan revolution. As Borge puts it, "The revolution is the birth of light."

Packing local debates proposal for more stewards

BY BOB GREEN

An important discussion that I think will be of interest to other unionists recently took place in a large Chicago meat-packing local. Some 5,000 workers in 98 plants here are members of Local 100-A of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) union.

A proposal was made to change the union bylaws so that stewards would be elected instead of being appointed as they are now. The proposal also included a provision

UNION TALK

to have one steward elected for every 50 workers. Many of the plants organized by Local 100-A have no stewards.

The proposal was put forward by a group called Kinfolk, led by Black women at the Oscar Mayer plant, the largest one organized by the local.

Kinfolk was started several years ago in response to the company's attempt to cut wages. Last year Kinfolk members tried to rally the workers against another concessionary pact proposed by Oscar Mayer.

After the workers rejected that offer, most were laid off. Six weeks later the company came back with another takeback contract. When it too was rejected, the company locked out the union.

Kinfolk played a prominent role in organizing daily picketing at the plant. The company tried to keep the facility running with scabs.

After six weeks, the company caved in, dropping their demand for a wage cut. It was one of the only times in recent years that our union has been able to successfully resist demands for major concessions.

Kinfolk members then put forward the proposal to increase the number of stewards. After several months of

wrangling, the union officials called a special meeting last May to vote on the proposal.

The officials submitted a proposal of their own. It called for amending the local's bylaws so they would be in line with those of the UFCW International.

Kinfolk's literature described the rough working conditions in the meat-packing industry. They said it is important for workers to have responsible stewards who can help them stand up to the bosses' demands.

The local executive board distributed a leaflet opposing the proposals. The officials said more stewards "would greatly increase Union cost and would cause a great division among employees in the work-place."

Red-baiting the drive for more stewards, the officials said a publication of the "U.S. Marxist-Leninist Organization" was supporting the amendment "to undermine the Collective Bargaining rights of the Local 100-A Members."

Most of my coworkers at Vienna Sausage Manufacturing thought we should have the right to elect stewards. Some were a little skeptical, however.

It became clear to me that most workers basically view the union as a source of benefits. They had never been part of a union that functioned as an effective fighting organization that could stand up to the bosses.

Between 300 and 400 workers attended the May meeting. During the limited time allotted for discussion, Kinfolk supporters criticized the union leaders for their high salaries (some as high as \$100,000 a year) and for opposing the right of the membership to elect their own stewards.

The discussion unfortunately ignored the broader fight in the meat-packing industry and how building a strong union is essential to resisting the employers' takeback demands.

The vote on stewards ended in a tie. The officials' proposed bylaw change was voted down.

Both items were put on the agenda for the next business meeting, which won't take place until October.

Kinfolk members were pleased with the bylaw vote. They thought a larger turnout would have led to the proposal on stewards being passed.

Others I spoke with were mostly dissatisfied with the meeting. They saw it as a squabble between two factions that accomplished little.

Over the next few days, workers at Vienna talked a good deal about the meeting. Several thought the Oscar Mayer workers were trying to take over our local. Others thought the Kinfolk proposals represented an attack on the union, which they seemed to identify with the executive board.

I have drawn several conclusions from this experience so far. First, the fight Oscar Mayer workers waged last year had a big impact on them, giving them a different view of what the union is than others in the local who have not gone through that type of struggle. The Oscar Mayer workers got a glimpse of the potential power of the ranks and how mobilizing that power can lead to the transformation of the union.

The demand for elected stewards flowed out of that fight. It was not something many workers at the other plants were concerned about.

The experience also shows that the union won't be changed by challenging the officials head-on. No matter how basic a demand may appear, the officials can easily turn a head-on assault around, making it seem like you are attacking the union.

Bob Green works at Vienna Sausage and is a member of Local 100-A.

LETTERS

A contradiction?

I read the *Militant* with special interest for news of strikes and all efforts to improve the conditions of working people. I saw myself as a working woman for half a century until I was dropped for reaching age 69.

There's no point in mentioning that I don't agree with you on every issue. I suppose any disagreement would put me among the Bad Guys, either as a dupe of imperialism or a petty exploiter.

Yet I wonder whether even a Good Guy might not see the paradoxes between Doug Jenness' "Does China have too many people?" and Phil Clark's "Stakes in fight against environmental destruction," juxtaposed on pages 14 and 15 of the July 10 issue.

Jenness says the people of China "can increase both food and industrial production even more [than the spectacular gains in the 1950s through 1970s]." Clark states: "Realization of the finite supply of nature's largesse is raising questions about human stewardship of the earth and all its myriad treasures."

Yes, I read the whole article. It seems the workers are to take over and continue increasing production without harmful effects. Infinitely?

Elizabeth Lansing
Sanford, North Carolina

Iran

I am enjoying my subscription, however, I feel that we must look more critically at Iran.

This is a country that is as potentially dangerous to socialists as it is to certain capitalist countries. The enemy of my enemy may be my enemy also.

G.F.
Billerica, Massachusetts

A new low

Miami's ultrarightist opponents of the Cuban revolution stooped to a new low recently when they railroaded 19 mentally handicapped teenagers out of town.

The Cuban youths, aged 14-18, stopped here en route to the International Special Olympics in Indiana — where for a week the whole world supposedly forgets national origin and politics in the interests of cheering on the

courageous handicapped athletes.

No such sentimentality for the "freedom-loving" fanatics here, who on a tip from a local radio station raced to the hotel where the Cuban athletes were staying. The mob of 30 jeered anyone who appeared at a hotel window, screaming for the Cuban teenagers to defect or get out of Miami. The thugs were joined by the city manager, the mayor of Miami, and two commissioners. Commissioner Joe Carollo charged the team's stay in the city was part of a plot by Fidel Castro.

With a decoy in front of the hotel, the 19 youths were whisked out of the hotel at 4 a.m. through a backdoor, some of them in tears.

Incredibly, the *Miami Herald* reported all this routinely. Except for a column some four days later, no editorial comment was offered on this despicable behavior. But many readers obviously felt differently. One of the letters printed in protest wryly noted, "Once again democracy is safe. A group of mentally handicapped teenagers has been shouted out of town by our local Fascists. One can scarcely contain one's pride."

Nancy Cole
Miami, Florida

Fidel's speeches

I always look forward to getting the *Militant*. I especially value your articles on Nicaragua and Cuba. Keep printing excerpts of Fidel's speeches.

J.M.
Amherst, Massachusetts

Excellent paper

You have an excellent paper. I have enclosed two subscription forms. One is for myself, another is for a comrade in prison. The subscription is for 12 weeks. Please advise me when it is time to renew and I will pay to renew both subscriptions.

J.W.
St. Louis, Missouri

Torture

Among other things, the contragate hearings have taught us that what people don't say is just as important as what they do say. In a recent newspaper article describing the torture of Palestinian chil-

dren by Israeli soldiers, Israeli army spokesperson Raanan Gissin provides us with a telling example of this lesson.

In attempting to deny the reported tortures, Gissin says, "There is no policy whatsoever which advocates torturing or ill-treating prisoners." What he pointedly does not say makes it clear that there is no policy against torturing prisoners. He then actually admits the existence of torture ("exceptions" to use his euphemism), but ends with another nonstatement: "On a practical level, you don't need [torture] to get confessions from children." In other words, Gissin contends without saying so that you *do* need torture to get confessions from adults.

Steven Patt
Cupertino, California

Haiti coverage

Your detailed coverage of the antigovernment protests in Haiti, which have been glossed over and ignored by commercial newspapers, is especially appreciated.

J.C.
Chicago, Illinois

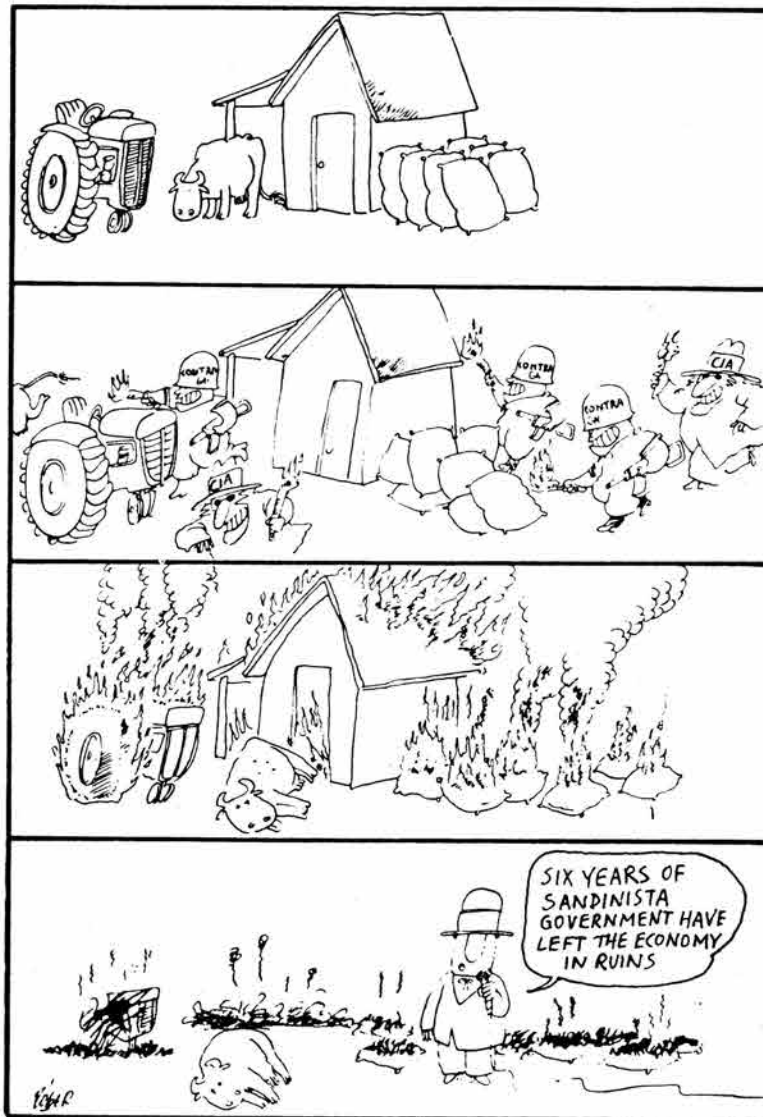
The 'Militant'

I am a 19-year-old man of African ancestry. I'm in this country against my own will. However, leaving it would be ludicrous since my ancestors invested so much with no return. I'm here to collect what they never received.

With regard to a comment in a letter in the July 31 *Militant*, "Every kitchen table," I don't agree that changing the *Militant's* name will attract more viable readers.

If a reader isn't willing to attain his freedom from the injustices putting capitalistic interests before the welfare of the people, by any means necessary, then that person doesn't really want freedom. Fulfillment of freedom has no limits.

Besides, I've noticed that whenever someone deviates from the regular, planned course of this government, they're labeled irresponsible, or a "subversive," regardless of what they are demonstrating against. So when attaining my freedom, since the government



Barricada/Róger

is going to label me as a "subversive" radical anyway, why renounce the word "militant"?

Johnny Moore, Jr.
St. Louis, Missouri

Colonial peoples

A big lie is being perpetrated and disseminated by President Reagan, his cohorts of the Iran-contra affair, and some congressmen. It is the charge that colonial peoples, worldwide, are not fighting for their own emancipation from their indigenous and foreign exploiters, who keep them in a state of poverty and unemployment. Instead, Reagan and company say that colonial people are merely the tools of Russian communism.

The majority of Americans do not believe or accept this lie. We know that in our fight for independence from England we received

aid and support from monarchist France, Prussia, and Poland.

Similarly, colonial peoples today accept aid and support from any source to help free themselves and prevent a return of the oligarchy to power.

We should be aiding them. Instead, Reagan and company do the bidding of big business and furnish millions of taxpayer dollars, in weapons, to the oligarchies and contras, to protect or regain their investments.

Joe Carroll
Newark, New Jersey

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.

Strike solid at Maine paper mill

Union members reject givebacks

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — Workers in this small town are making a name for themselves in the labor movement. Some 1,200 have been on strike here since June 16 against International Paper, the area's largest employer.

Members of United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) Locals 14 and 246 voted by a 98 percent majority to reject management's takeback demands, which included elimination of doubletime pay for Sunday work and a reduction in vacation time. The company also wanted to force the workers to perform several different jobs. This would lead to the loss of 550 jobs at the Jay mill.

Members of the paperworkers union are also on strike at International Paper's (IP) mills in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, and De Pere, Wisconsin. Union members have been locked out since March at the company's plant in Mobile, Alabama.

Contracts expire in September at IP mills in Corinth, New York, and Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

The possibility of shutting down the entire IP operation has helped give the Maine unionists confidence that the company can be beaten.

"It was now or never for us," a paperworker said. "If we didn't go out, we'd have nothing left."

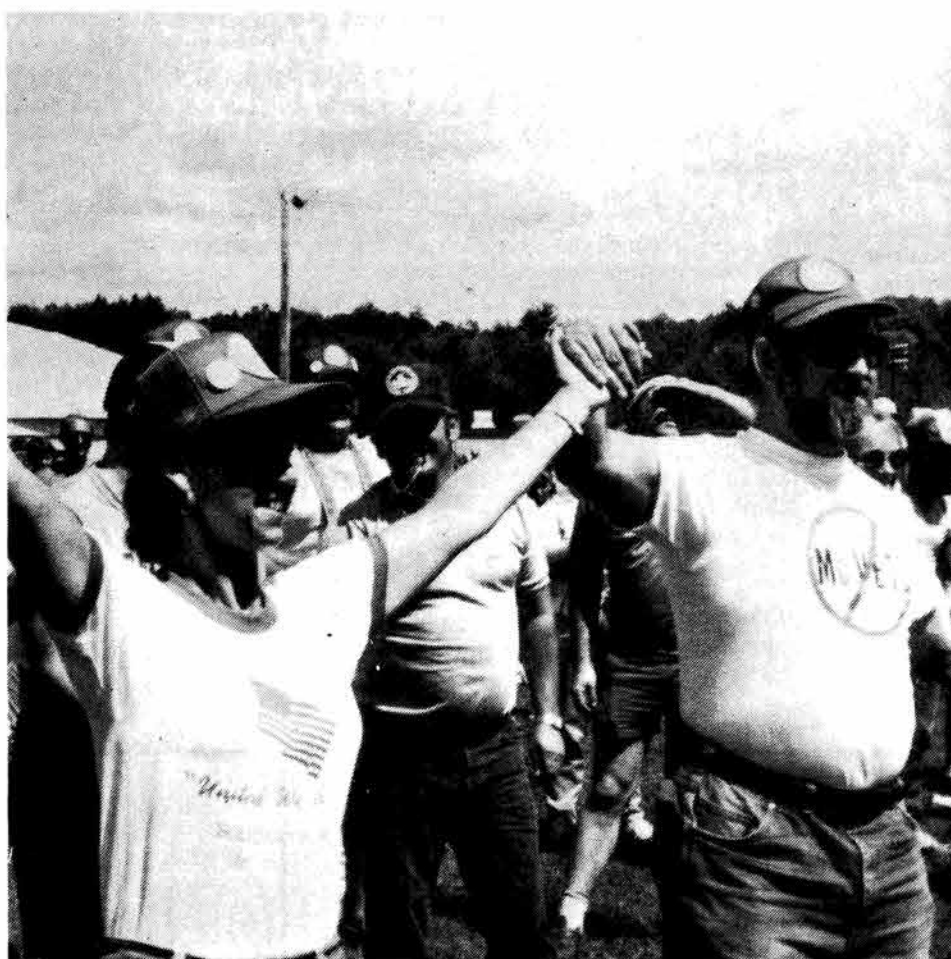
A picket at the company's main gate said the strike is "more than a Jay issue or an IP issue or a paperworkers' issue."

"This is about unions everywhere," a middle-aged woman added.

"I think we surprised 'em, they didn't think these little people in Maine would stand up," another said.

IP has obtained a court order limiting pickets at the plant's two gates and the bridge leading to the mill road to 12.

The company is trying to maintain pro-



Some 8,700 attended August 1 rally for paperworkers on strike at International Paper Co. Crowd held hands and chanted, "Scabs out, union in!"

duction with scabs on two 12-hour shifts. Some of the scabs are being housed in trailers set up behind the company's gates.

The unionists were inspired by the July 23 solidarity parade in which 8,700 marched here to show support for the strike. Many of the IP workers plan to return the gesture by participating in the August 22 demonstration at the Lock Haven mill. Others are planning to take a long bus ride to talk to workers at the Pine Bluff plant.

Local 14 operates a "nerve center" that

includes a job bank, food bank, and media committee room. Shop stewards and picket captains are making an effort to keep members informed through a series of phone calls. Union meetings take place every Wednesday at the Jay municipal center.

A worker with 22 years at the mill explained that his grandfather worked at the Jay plant when it first opened in 1906. "There's a lot of us with parents and grandparents who worked here," he said. "So it's not like your fighting for yourself. I'm fighting for my sons, my daughter, I'm fighting for my history."

Wednesday night meetings discuss strike activity

JAY, Maine — Every Wednesday night, some 1,000 people jam into the gymnasium in the Jay municipal building for meetings of Paperworkers Local 14. Not only strikers attend but also their spouses, boyfriends, and girlfriends, as well as Local 14 retirees.

The meeting I attended on August 5 began with labor songs sung by Louise Packer.

Local 14 president William Meserve, who has worked at International Paper's mill here for 29 years, chaired the meeting. He had just returned from a discussion in Memphis, Tennessee, with officials from 200 locals with connections to IP. Meserve reported that the officials were enthusiastic about a proposal to assess each member \$10 a month to support the IP strikers.

Meserve reported on negotiations with IP. The company, he said to an ovation, has reversed itself and now agrees that the question of permanent replacement workers is subject to negotiation. The crowd chanted, "Scabs out, union in!"

Meserve said the company has reduced the number of jobs it wants to eliminate, but he said their overall proposal "is a giant step backward."

"We're not going to stop and wait on them," Meserve said. The stakes in the IP battle are not just "the locals on strike or the 200 in Memphis but the salvation of the UPIU [United Paperworkers International Union] as a whole," he added.

Union members were urged to attend the August 22 rally in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, sponsored by IP strikers. They were also urged to travel to Pine Bluff, Arkansas, to talk to workers at the IP plant whose contract expires on September 1.

"They want to meet with us," stated Meserve. "Not just the business agents and international vice presidents. They want to talk one on one among the rank and file. This will be a good education for all of us," he said.

One question that kept popping up concerned picketing. Why aren't more workers involved? Everyone who raised this question was listened to with respect. Nobody was cut off. A measure to fine union members who don't picket was proposed for discussion at the next meeting.

Meserve outlined the strategy the striking local is following. "We can't win it here," he said, "we can only lose it here."

"We have to do it across the country. The biggest thing is to make sure that Pine Bluff is with us," Meserve emphasized.

Maine AFL-CIO field organizer Peter Kellman gave a report on the 8,700-person demonstration in support of the strike that was held the previous weekend.

Meserve introduced a line of guests, almost all of them from unions. They gave their names, their affiliations, brief greetings, and delivered donations. The locals giving donations included sister UPIU locals, the Maine Firefighters, shipyard workers from Bath, Maine, and others.

The crowd stood and cheered each speaker. A total of \$4,200 was donated. The previous week, the union received \$34,000 in donations.

The hour and 45 minute meeting concluded with Louise Packer singing "Solidarity Forever." No one left early. People filed out of the hall into their cars and pickups. They honked their horns at each other as a gesture of solidarity. It was the biggest traffic jam of the week in Jay. — J.H.

Conference in South Pacific opposes U.S.-backed war in Central America

The following article is reprinted from the August 7 issue of *Socialist Action*, published biweekly in Auckland, New Zealand.

BY PATRICIA NEALE

WELLINGTON, New Zealand — "This conference takes place at a critical time in the history of the struggles of the Central American peoples, when, despite the contragate crisis, the threat of an escalation of Washington's dirty war in the region has never been more serious."

These words were part of a message of support sent to the South Pacific Conference for Peace and Justice in Central America by the Australian solidarity group, Resource and Action Committee for Latin America (RACLA).

The conference took place here over the weekend of July 18-19.

"Conferences like this," the RACLA message declared, "can deepen awareness of the stakes for humanity of that liberation struggle on the other side of the world, and help open a trench here in the international battle to halt imperialist intervention."

A number of other Australian-based solidarity groups also sent greetings, as did several Australian trade unions. Support for the conference was also extended by Clarence Marae, first secretary to the prime

minister of Vanuatu, Walter Lini.

A message from Rakeshva Maharaj, secretary of the Fiji Anti-Nuclear Group (FANG), said that FANG "wholeheartedly endorses the aims and objectives of the conference. . . .

"The military coup in Fiji is the first ever in the South Pacific and it must be stressed that the coup toppled a democratically elected antinuclear government. Under the current emergency regulations everyone is suspect unless proven otherwise. In fact, if the interim government has its own way, this region will see the beginning of apartheid."

The conference was organized to help increase awareness about the U.S. government's war against Nicaragua and its growing military involvement in other countries in Central America and the Caribbean where people are waging struggles against poverty, oppression, and imperialist exploitation.

It also sought to deepen ties between the liberation struggles in Central America and struggles in this region for a nuclear-free and independent Pacific.

More than 370 people attended the conference. They came from many parts of New Zealand — from Whangarei in the north to Invercargill in the south. Overwhelmingly, the conference participants

were young. A significant number were trade unionists.

Participation from throughout the region marked the conference as a truly Pacific-wide event.

This included Fijians active in the campaign for democracy in Fiji; Kanaks from New Caledonia fighting for independence from French colonial rule; and Filipinos who are part of the fight for social justice in the Philippines.

Three Australians representing solidarity groups and trade unions traveled to the conference.

The highlight of the gathering was the participation by representatives of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador.

But above all, what marked the conference as a significant political event was the enthusiasm and seriousness of the participants.

This mood reflected the growing determination of many antiwar and solidarity activists to help defend the Nicaraguan revolution against Washington's attempts to destroy it.

The conference helped lay the basis for building a broad antiwar movement that can play an important part in the international campaign to stop U.S. intervention in Central America.