

Nicaragua grants pardons, begins dialogue to end war

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — President Daniel Ortega announced here September 13 that Nicaragua is taking further steps to "fight for peace" and implement the agreement signed by five Central American presidents August 7 in Guatemala. The accords were signed by the heads of state of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua.

Nicaragua will begin a "national dialogue," Ortega said, inviting all political parties and groups, including amnestied contras, to send representatives to an October 5 meeting.

Nicaragua will pardon and release all 16 citizens of other Central American coun-

Editorial on Reagan's effort to prop up contras, page 14.

tries who have been imprisoned for activities with the contra mercenaries.

Nicaragua is also repealing Decree 760, "Appropriation by the State of Abandoned Goods," which authorized the government to confiscate the properties of Nicaraguans who left the country for six months or more. Ortega said this step is aimed at encouraging those who left to return.

Ortega stressed that with the repeal of this law, land given to peasants and housing lots given to urban workers would not be returned to landlords, and the properties confiscated from the dictator Anastasio Somoza and his close supporters would remain nationalized.

The new measures are part of the intense campaign being waged here to take advantage of the Guatemala accords to press for an end to the U.S.-organized contra war.

"We think there are good opportunities to deal a decisive political defeat to the U.S. war policy," Vice-minister of the Interior Luis Carrión said in an interview in the September 8 Sandinista daily *Barricada*. "Reagan finds himself with a more unfavorable correlation of forces, and [U.S.] public opinion is being mobilized [against the war]."

Nearly 100 local peace commissions have been organized in the north and central regions of the country, the areas most affected by the war. The commission mem-



Former contras who responded to amnesty offer. With signing of peace accords, Nicaraguan government has increased efforts to get contra troops to lay down their arms.

bers include local priests and pastors, Red Cross officials, peasant leaders, businessmen, landlords, and opposition party leaders. Many are not supporters of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, and some are known contra collaborators.

Carrión explained that these commissions will speak with families of contra members and make direct contact with

mercenary groups, urging them to give up their arms and receive amnesty. Under the country's amnesty law, surrendering contras can freely return to their homes without facing prison.

"Later on, the commissions would have another role, in the event of a cease-fire," Carrión added. "The peace commissions

Continued on Page 8

Kanaks boycott French-run referendum

BY GEORGE FYSON

NOUMÉA, New Caledonia — "The problem in New Caledonia has not changed by one inch. It remains today just as the day before," commented Jean-Marie Tjibaou, president of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS), following the September 13 referendum here on self-determination organized by the French government.

An estimated 98.3 percent of those who voted expressed themselves in favor of New Caledonia remaining a part of France. But, Tjibaou said, some 83 percent of the eligible Kanak population abstained from voting in response to the FLNKS's call to boycott the referendum.

The South Pacific island country of New Caledonia became a French colony in 1853. The indigenous Kanak people were stripped of their tribal lands, and tens of thousands died of disease or in massacres perpetrated by the occupiers.

Today the Kanak population is about 60,000; European settlers number more than 50,000. And there are some 30,000 immigrants from other parts of the South Pacific, Southeast Asia, and elsewhere.

The French government staged the September 11 balloting in order to legitimize continued colonial rule in the face of the intensifying demand among the Kanaks for independence for New Caledonia.

"The referendum," said Tjibaou, "simply allowed the non-Kanak living on the territory to say whether 'yes or no,' if they

Continued on Page 13

Mass strike, coup attempt rock Philippines

BY RUSSELL JOHNSON

MANILA, Philippines — A national protest strike on August 26 involving 4 million working people and a subsequent uprising by army officers against the government of President Corazon Aquino highlighted the deepening political crisis in the Philippines.

The aims of the military plotters included removing the Aquino government,

stepping up the war in the countryside against the peasant-based New People's Army, and smashing the mass worker and peasant organizations that have gained strength in the Philippines.

As many as 4 million working people are reported to have participated in the August 26 "people's strike" against the 20 percent oil price increase decreed by the Aquino government August 15.

This made the day of strikes, human barricades, and demonstrations the largest labor mobilization in recent years. It was the first massive protest against government policy since the February, 1986 popular uprising that overthrew U.S.-backed dictator Ferdinand Marcos and swept Aquino into office.

The people's strike was spearheaded by a nationwide work stoppage by the more than 400,000 *jeepney* (minibus) drivers which paralyzed public transport in Manila, Cebu, Bacolod, Davao, and other major cities, and across many provinces as well.

The strike was initiated by a coalition of drivers' unions, including affiliates of both the militant May 1 Movement (KMU) union federation and the progovernment Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP).

Both the KMU and the TUCP federations backed the August 26 strike. Joining in support were peasant, student, and other popular organizations, forming the Coalition Against Oil Price Increases.

Announcing their intention to participate, the Peasant Movement of the Philippines (KMP) explained, "Farmers, who compose the majority of consumers, will suffer the most from increased production costs, such as higher fertilizer prices and irrigation prices. Prices for their produce re-

main low."

In a last-minute bid to break the momentum of popular support for the protest, Aquino appeared on television the evening of August 25 to announce a partial rollback of the price increase. This proved to be too little, too late.

Union leaders reiterated their call for a national strike to demand the total rescinding of the price increases. Even the TUCP leadership refused to withdraw support despite urging from the union's former secretary general and now pro-Aquino senator, Ernesto Herrera.

The result was, in the words of the right-wing *Philippines Daily Inquirer*, "a stunning success." Manila was brought almost to a standstill by the transport strike. Most of the city's office and shopworkers, as well as students, stayed home despite the government's mobilization of 19,000 soldiers and the city's garbage trucks to provide transport to try to break the strike.

The situation in Manila was repeated in key cities and towns throughout the Philippines. For instance, Mindanao KMU leader Nonoy Librado reported from Davao that public transport was paralyzed in the key Mindanao cities of Davao, Illigan, General Santos, and Cagayan de Oro. He added that the majority of banks and shops in Davao were shut that day and that school classes had to be suspended.

Factory workers joined the strike in substantial numbers, especially in the most heavily industrialized areas in Metro Manila and surrounding provinces in Central and Southern Luzon.

According to the KMU, more than 300 factories were affected by strike action in Metro Manila alone. The Bataan Export Processing Zone was paralyzed as were

Continued on Page 13

Big meetings aid Maine paper strike

BY SUSAN LaMONT

JAY, Maine — Spirits were high as 1,200 paperworkers, family members, friends, and community supporters jammed into the Jay municipal building gymnasium September 17 for their weekly mass meeting.

It was three months to the day since United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) Local 14 and Firemen and Oilers Local 246 went on strike at International Paper's mill here.

Local 14 Executive Vice-president Felix Jacques and other speakers from the Paperworkers International and the state AFL-CIO reported on the most recent developments in the strike, including that negotiations are now set to resume on September 29. These will be the first negotiations in six weeks.

Union attorney Patrick McTeague reported on a September 15 federal court ruling on the company's challenge to three ordinances that had been passed at an August 11 Jay town meeting.

The judge barred enforcement of the ordinance regulating temporary housing. This decree was aimed at preventing International Paper from using more than 50

trailers kept on company property to house scabs. One Local 14 member described the trailers as "a P.O.W. camp."

The judge, however, denied the company's request to bar enforcement of a second ordinance requiring it to follow environmental regulations in operating the mill. He declined to act on the third ordinance which would ban the use of strikebreakers in Jay. This was aimed at International Paper's use of B.E. & K. Construction, a professional strikebreaking outfit. Union President Bill Meserve called the court's ruling a victory for the local.

The meeting rose to its feet and cheered when McTeague reported that contempt citations are being served against 35 scabs who have violated a court injunction against carrying weapons.

Strike supporters were especially steamed over a four-page letter International Paper had sent out a few days earlier to thousands of residents in the Jay area and to towns the scabs come from. The letter signed by mill manager Newland Lesko, attempted to portray the union as unreasonable and greedy in the face of the

Continued on Page 13

Protesters to Congress: End aid to contras!

BY FRED FELDMAN

September 15 was "Register Your Opposition Day," a day of activities in cities across the country aimed at demanding that Congress vote down funding for the contra terrorists who are attacking Nicaragua. The actions were part of the nationally coordinated "Days of Decision."

In Washington, D.C., more than 200 people attended a rally and news conference on the steps of the Capitol, where Congress holds its sessions. Scores of individuals lined up at the offices of Senators William Cohen, Nancy Kassebaum, and Alan Dixon to voice their opposition to contra funding.

In Boston, the bells of 55 churches tolled to protest U.S. funding of the terrorists. More than 200 people held a vigil at the federal building.

New Yorkers Against U.S. Intervention in Central America, a coalition, organized canvassers at 140 sites across the city September 12. They collected more than 25,000 names on postcards opposing aid to the contras. On September 15, a delegation

from the coalition went to the office of Sen. Alfonse D'Amato to protest his record of supporting the contra war.

The next major events on the Days of Decision calendar are rallies and other protests on or about September 29.

In Philadelphia an interfaith service and candlelight procession was held September 13 in honor of Benjamin Linder, the U.S. volunteer worker who was murdered by the contras in Nicaragua, and the two Nicaraguans murdered with him. Some 300 people participated.

The memorial to Linder was part of a week of activities leading up to September 17 — Constitution Day — when President Reagan and other dignitaries were in the city to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the signing of the U.S. Constitution at the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

In July, the Pledge of Resistance won a court injunction barring city officials from interfering with antiwar protesters' participation in the bicentennial events.

"No contra aid" and "No U.S. intervention in Central America" will be the demands of a march and rally in San Jose, California, September 26. Backers of the march, organized as part of the Days of Decision, include the Central Labor Council of Santa Clara County, Service Employees International Union locals 535 and 715, leaders of the United Food and Commer-



Militant/Steven Fuchs

Some 7,000 protested attack on antiwar Vietnam vet Brian Willson in Concord, California, on September 5.

cial Workers union and Amalgamated Transit Union, and a range of community and campus organizations.

At a September 4 news conference on the steps of Cleveland's City Hall, Patricia Moss announced plans for an October 10 march and rally against U.S. intervention in Central America. Moss, regional direc-

tor of Ohio Council 8 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, was speaking for the October 10 Mobilization Committee.

In Charleston, West Virginia, activists are building a September 26 march and rally. A march and rally will also be held in Boston September 27.

Support the Fall Socialist Publications Fund

At a rally August 14 we announced the launching of this fund, which has a goal of raising \$150,000 by Nov. 24.

Its purpose is to finance publication of the *Militant*, the monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*, the French-language *Nouvelle Internationale*, and Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

As of September 17, \$80,000 has been pledged and \$7,700 collected.

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WHERE

WE

STAND

N. J. teachers strike for wage hike

BY MINDY BRUDNO

ELIZABETH, N.J. — Two thousand striking teachers and other school employees and their supporters held a spirited rally here on the morning of September 15. The rally was held to demonstrate the determination of the strikers to hang tough in the face of mounting obstacles to their fight for a fair contract. The same day, 850 teachers and school staff walked out in Plainfield, New Jersey.

Teachers in Elizabeth are demanding a 27 percent pay increase over 3 years to raise their wages to the level of other teachers and school employees in the area. Despite a \$5 million surplus in the city budget, the administration has refused to offer more than a 20 percent increase.

Elizabeth is a predominantly Black and Hispanic area just south of Newark. In the surrounding neighborhoods of Union County, many of which are white and middle class, teachers' salaries are generally around \$2,000 a year higher.

A cross section of the 2,000-member union was present at the rally, including school bus drivers, custodians, cafeteria workers, and secretaries, as well as teachers. Some 200 students also attended, some organized by a group called the United Youth Council, which handed out a flyer calling on students to support the strike.

The same morning as the rally, the

Newark *Star Ledger* reported that the board of education had gone to court to seek stiff fines against the union. The previous week, the court had issued a temporary restraining order against the continuation of the strike until a hearing could be held. The strikers refused to buckle to this undemocratic interference by the courts and stayed out.

The board then returned to court to seek, among other things, a \$10,000 fine against

the union for refusing to instruct its members to return to work, and a doubling of the fine for each day the strike continues.

At the same time, the administration is attempting to pretend that education is continuing without the strikers. Scab substitutes are being paid \$140 a day to show cartoons in the elementary schools and movies in the high schools, according to Elizabeth Education Association President Michael Scarpato.

Ben Linder coworker speaks in Fla.

BY WILLIAM PETERSON

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — Rebecca Leaf, a close friend and coworker of Benjamin Linder, visited here September 13-14. Leaf spoke to a hundred students at S.A.I.L. High School, an alternative educational facility; to 100 at Florida State University; and at a meeting sponsored by the United Church of Christ. She was also a guest at a radio call-in show.

Leaf explained how Benjamin Linder, an engineer working as a volunteer in Nicaragua, and two coworkers were first wounded and then executed by the contras. The three had been taking measurements for a dam near San José de Bocay near the Honduran border.

Leaf said that Linder was among 1,500 North Americans who have been aiding

Nicaragua's development. There are also many volunteer workers from Western Europe.

Eight European volunteers have been murdered by the contras in Nicaragua, six of them in the past year. "This appears to be a conscious policy," she said.

The dam Linder was preparing to build, Leaf said, was the second he had worked on. The first, completed last year, was near the village of El Cuá. One of the most important beneficiaries of that electrification project was the local clinic, which uses the power to refrigerate vaccines and to operate equipment.

"When Benjamin Linder was killed, many Nicaraguans felt a personal loss," Leaf noted. "A huge outpouring of people attended his funeral."

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SPECIAL OFFER

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 Haiti, Burkina Faso, and the Philippines. Regular on-the-scene reports come from our Nicaragua Bureau.

If you already subscribe, by renewing for 6 months or longer you can receive the current issue of *New Internationalist* for \$3.50 (cover price \$6.50). It is a magazine of Marxist politics and theory. This issue features the article, "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop," by Steve Clark.

The Militant

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Court ruling on FBI spy files strengthens immigrants' rights

BY FRED FELDMAN

Undocumented workers and other non-citizens were among those who chalked up an important gain for their democratic rights when Judge Thomas Griesa handed down an injunction August 17. The ruling barred the government from using some 10 million pages of files on the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance that had been illegally gathered by the FBI.

In preventing the government from using the documents, Griesa made no exception for those dealing with noncitizens alleged to be members or supporters of the SWP or YSA. The injunction makes no distinction between citizens and noncitizens when it comes to the right to privacy regarding their political affiliations.

The injunction reinforced Griesa's August 1986 ruling in the suit brought by the two organizations against the attorney general, FBI, and other police agencies. At that time, he declared that the FBI's spying and disruption operations against the two organizations had been illegal. That decision also covered operations targeting non-citizens.

The battle waged by the YSA and SWP, and thousands of others who have supported their suit against the government, thus strengthened the struggle for the constitutionally guaranteed freedoms of speech, assembly, and association by millions of undocumented workers and others who don't have citizenship papers.

The ruling and the subsequent injunction touch on issues raised, for example, in the case of eight supporters of Palestinian rights in Los Angeles whom the government has been seeking to deport.

They are accused of membership in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — although the government has provided no proof of this "crime." Instead, it has accused the eight of having pro-Palestinian newspapers in their possession.

The issue of the rights of noncitizens was posed both in the 1981 trial of the SWP and YSA lawsuit and in the fight over the injunction.

Glenn Bertness, an official of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, testified for the government in the 1981 trial. He said in court on April 24, that the INS was preparing to proclaim the Socialist Workers Party a "proscribed" organization — one whose noncitizen members or supporters are subject to deportation.

Bertness said that the INS had given up on previous efforts to characterize the SWP as advocating the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. Instead, he said, the proposed proscription was to be based on the charge that the SWP advocates the "doctrines of world communism."

Role of immigration cops

On May 27, 1981, Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican worker who came to this country without documents in 1976, testified for the plaintiffs. He described the government's efforts to deport him because of his Marxist views and membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Even after the August 1986 ruling declared the government's spying operation illegal, the INS again demanded the right to target noncitizen members or supporters of the SWP. At issue was the scope of an injunction the judge had said he would impose on the use of the illegally obtained FBI files.

The INS was one of the federal police agencies that submitted affidavits asking that an injunction not be issued or that it include a clause giving the government a free hand to use the documents in an "emergency."

The INS affidavit stated that access to such spy files was vital for the agency "to make informed decisions about an individual's political views."

"Although membership in the Socialist Workers Party would not alone result in any change to one's immigration status," stated Acting Assistant Commissioner Edwin Dornell, "it is certainly a factor that would need to be examined in accordance with our statutory mandate."

"Failure to have this information," Dornell

claimed, "could impact on our ability to properly determine an individual's proper immigration status."

INS demand rejected

Griesa ruled, however, that the injunction barring use of the files would apply to all membership lists and names of individual SWP members in the possession of the government — aside from the names of those national figures whose affiliation has been made public knowledge by the party itself.

In doing this, the court rejected the INS demand for the right to spy data on names and other information about SWP members who do not have citizenship papers.

The refusal to grant the government a special license to violate the rights of non-citizens was one of several gains codified in the August 17 injunction.

The ruling also cut through the government's claim that, as Griesa put it in his ruling, "There should be no injunctive relief because there is no threat of future unconstitutional use of the illegally obtained information."

"This ignores," he explained, "the fact that any use or dissemination of this mater-

ial would be tainted with illegality because the information is not lawfully in the hands of the Government. The Government can hardly deny the possibility of usage when it has presented affidavits of seven federal agencies . . . urging that they need to have access to the information in these documents for various purposes."

In other words, the government's own arguments for why it must have access to this material — which was gathered through criminal acts — makes the need for an injunction to prevent them from using it all the more pressing.

No escape clause

The injunction also rejected the government's demand for permission to use the documents at will if it considers an "emergency" to exist.

"No reason has been shown," Griesa wrote, "for allowing the Government to make an 'emergency' departure from the injunction at its own discretion."

He concluded that applications by the government to utilize the illegally obtained materials could be granted only by "an order issued by this court, applied for on notice."

Sobell hails 'outstanding victory'

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — The Political Rights Defense Fund is continuing to receive messages of solidarity in response to the recently won injunction barring the government from using illegally obtained files against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

One message came from Morton Sobell, an early victim of the McCarthyite witch-hunt era. Sobell was convicted as co-conspirator in the frame-up trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg on fake charges of making the "secret" of the atomic bomb available to the Soviet Union. The Rosenbergs were executed, and Sobell served 18½ years of a 30-year prison term.

In a letter to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Sobell said:

"The injunctive relief Judge Griesa granted the SWP, forbidding the government from using any of its illegally obtained materials, represents a particularly outstanding victory for the SWP and all progressive organizations; particularly at this crucial juncture in history, when all of the federal courts are bowing to Reagan's ultra-right-wing politics."

"Three cheers for the SWP, for its tenacity in carrying on this legal struggle for over a decade, in the face of all the obstacles erected by the government."

Judge Griesa's injunction was also welcomed by David J. Garrow, author of the book, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.*

A political science professor at the City College of the City University of New York, Garrow said that the injunction, like the original ruling it stemmed from, offers "a very sensible and thorough analysis of what transpired and what ought to be done to rectify and recompense it."

Garrow added that the judge's decision and injunction were of such legal substance, "it's hard to imagine any appellate panel overturning any of his decisions in this action, or modifying in any meaningful ways the terms of his recent injunction."

In a number of other countries, labor and political activists are gaining a new recognition of the relevance for them of this fight against the illegal activity of the FBI and other U.S. agencies. One recent new voice of support was the United Socialist Party of West Germany.

A resolution adopted by the party's central committee declared the organization would become a supporter of the Political Rights Defense Fund and called on "all forces in the democratic and workers' movement" of West Germany to support the PRDF with endorsements and financial contributions.

To help achieve this, the socialist organization agreed to support efforts to

make Judge Griesa's decision and injunction available in German.

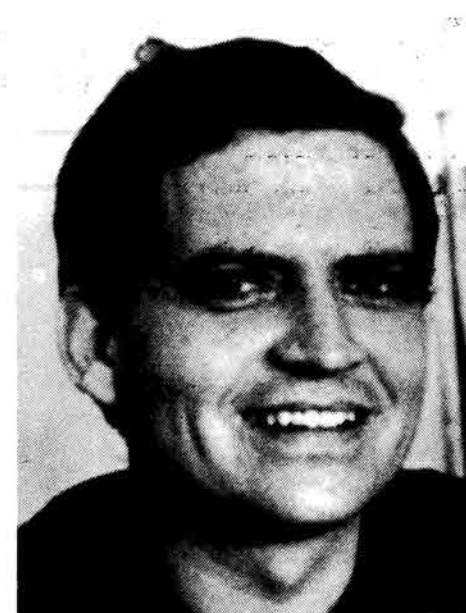
'SWP beats FBI'

In this country, the injunction was welcomed by the weekly paper the *Guardian*. A September 9 article by John Trinkl was headlined, "Socialist Workers Beat FBI — Again."

The article summarized the key points in the injunction and provided an overview of the history of the case. It cited the response to the injunction of SWP attorney Leonard Boudin and party National Secretary Jack Barnes.

Trinkl writes, "Score it Socialist Workers Party 2, FBI 0."

In Seattle, the executive board of Local 6 of the Service Employees International Union voted a \$25 contribution to the work of the PRDF, declaring: "Local 6 supports the defense against illegal intrusions and



Militant/Harry Ring
Héctor Marroquín, immigrant worker whom government tried to deport for his views.

"The court does not contemplate that there will be any need for numerous or frequent applications by defendants," he explained. "As far as the evidence now shows, the materials involved contain little or no information bearing on national security, and no information about actual or planned violence against public officials, but rather a mass of information about peaceful political activities and the private lives of individuals."

spying . . . by government agencies."

From Raleigh, North Carolina, came a message of solidarity from a veteran civil rights fighter, Rev. W.W. Finlator. He is a member of the national advisory committee of the American Civil Liberties Union and former chair of the North Carolina advisory committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Finlator declared the injunction a "victory with far-reaching effects throughout the land."

"Let's hope," he said, "our guilty government will not appeal the decision, but let's be prepared to defend this cause to the end!"

Broad understanding of the significance of the socialist suit and the victories it has achieved was reflected in an editorial in the *Des Moines Register*, which we reproduce below.

The Des Moines Register

THE NEWSPAPER IOWA DEPENDS UPON ■ Des Moines, Iowa, Friday, September 4, 1987

No benefits from spying

One of the most important of recent civil-liberties court victories came last year when U.S. District Judge Thomas P. Griesa awarded members of the Socialist Worker Party \$264,000 in damages for nearly 20 years of spying, harassment, burglaries and other illegal actions by Federal Bureau of Investigation agents and informants.

The award was nominal; the significance of the ruling was Griesa's finding that the government had no legal grounds to conduct such espionage against "entirely lawful and peaceful political activities."

The Socialist Workers Party espoused the ideals of communism's evangelist Leon Trotsky, yet the small group posed no threat to the republic. It was the FBI's tactics that posed the threat. The government of a democracy must not employ a national police force to spy on law-abiding political groups. Griesa made it clear that such spying is unconstitutional.

The next question was what to

do with the reams of documents the government had amassed from its illegal activities. A year after his first ruling, Griesa has issued another, severely restricting the government's access to and use of the information it had gathered.

Griesa concluded logically that since the FBI had no right to engage in the surveillance against the party, "it obviously had no right to obtain the information and documents procured" through wiretapping, spying and infiltration.

Rather than order the documents destroyed, the judge ruled that the government could have access to them only by court order upon the showing of a clear and legitimate need. The documents would also be accessible to scholars, historians and others.

There may well be a case for preserving the records for historical purposes and future legal actions. But the government should never be allowed to benefit from the fruits of its illegal labors.

Editorial in Des Moines, Iowa, daily supports court injunction.

Support for paperworkers' struggle grows

Ala. rally backs locked-out unionists

BY STEPHEN BLOODWORTH
AND CHERI TREMBLE

MOBILE, Ala. — On Labor Day, the downtown streets of this port city were covered by a sea of men, women, and children wearing "IP: Just say no" buttons. They were also wearing "Proud to be union" hats and "Locked-out fever" T-shirts.

More than 500 paper millworkers from the International Paper (IP) mill here, along with family, friends, and supporters, marched and lined the streets for an "old fashioned" parade and rally September 7. The featured speaker was Wayne Glenn, president of the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU).

IP is the largest U.S. paper company. In negotiations at the Mobile plant early this year, the company adopted a "take it or leave it" attitude.

Although the workers had voted down IP's concessionary contract, the 1,250 unionists organized in four UPIU locals and one International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers local had not decided to strike. But IP locked them out on March 21.

While the negotiations were still underway, the company brought video equipment and Pinkerton cops into the plant to intimidate the workers. One woman said that during the last week of work, she "felt like a criminal, like I was in prison."

IP has hired B.E. & K. Construction, a union-busting firm from Birmingham, to keep the plant running. They are being assisted by supervisors and "temporary" workers.

In 1980 the UPIU made substantial concessions to IP as the company initiated a restructuring of its mills. Some plants began to be modernized at the same time the company tried to cut back the work force.

The union was forced to make economic concessions, and IP succeeded in getting rid of companywide bargaining.

Several jobs in the mill were eliminated, and a "crew concept" was instituted. Under this system, workers were forced to perform a number of different jobs. Their wages, however, were based on the lower paying jobs, resulting in large pay cuts.

IP wants to continue along the same path. They demanded new work rule "flexibility" in the contract rejected in March. The company also wants to subcontract out work that has been traditionally done by union members.

The paperworkers explain that the mill is "hot, nasty, and smelly." Workers are frequently injured. It is not uncommon for the company to discipline, harass, and suspend workers hurt on the job. One veteran said conditions are the worst they've been since he started working at IP 30 years ago.

Sunday work

A sign carried in the Labor Day action read, "Sunday isn't just another day." Union members are forced to work rotating shifts — from days, to afternoons, to midnights, all in the same week. Their days off change as well. Now IP wants the workers to give up Sunday and holiday overtime pay. This is a sore point, since many workers only get six Sundays off a year.

Frank Bragg, president of the largest UPIU local at the Mobile plant, commented, "We don't want to work Sundays at all, but for sure not without overtime pay."

Bragg also said that at first he didn't expect much assistance from workers "up North." But, he said, paperworkers on strike in Jay, Maine, were a great help and inspiration. UPIU locals not affected by the strike or lockout have recently agreed to contribute \$10 a month per member to the union's strike fund.

"International Paper has brought the unions together, showed us what we have to do," one worker explained.

The unions have set up a "job bank" to help the workers find other jobs. They've



Part of crowd at September 7 rally in Mobile, Alabama. International Paper locked out workers there in March after they rejected takeback contract.

also established a food pantry. Many other locals are also giving the locked-out workers assistance.

Ladies Auxiliary

Perhaps the most noticeable group of strike supporters was from the Ladies Auxiliary. It has been meeting once a week to organize financial support and solidarity for the paperworkers.

"We've let the company know we won't

stand by and do nothing. We've learned to pull together as a union," said Candy Anderson, a leader of the group.

A common concern expressed by workers at the Labor Day action was the weakness of unions in the South. One fighter put it this way: "We need to wake people up all over the South and across the nation as to what is going on. The only real power working people have is through their union."

Scab assaults paper striker

WATERVILLE, Maine — As the scab swung his baseball bat, Chuck Fullerton dodged, but not fast enough. Now there's a bright red gash where the weapon met the bridge of his nose.

"I was lucky," Fullerton, a veteran of 22 years in International Paper's Androscoggin River mill in Jay, Maine, said in an interview here on Labor Day.

Fullerton is recording secretary of Local 246 of the Firemen and Oilers union. It is the sister local of United Paperworkers International Union Local 14 at IP and is out on strike with the paperworkers. The attack occurred at an outing at Bretton's Pond with striking coworkers from his department at the mill.

About 26 union members and spouses, he said, were on hand for the annual event on August 30, held at a local member's property. As the picnic wound down and the several people left began to clean up, a well-known "superscab" — Jay strike terminology for the handful of disloyal union members who've crossed the picket lines with other scabs — approached the group.

The superscab and his son both had baseball bats. The Local 246 members tried to talk them out of violence and told them to leave the property. But it was clear, Fullerton said, "They wanted to clear us out."

N.Y. unionists prepare for fight at International Paper mill

BY NANCY ROSS
AND JAMES WINFIELD

CORINTH, N.Y. — The 500 workers at International Paper's mill here are discussing ways to defend themselves and their union when their contract expires September 30.

At the Corinth plant, which is 40 miles north of Albany, unionists have been keeping an eye on the strike by paperworkers at IP's plant in Jay, Maine. Based on what IP has been demanding of paperworkers there, the Corinth workers believe the company will try to force them to accept a takeback agreement.

The three different locals inside the Corinth plant bargain separately.

A young worker explained the bosses are saying, "If a strike vote is successful, then

the workers who strike will not be reinstated."

At a shift change we asked the workers about the possibility of a strike, and what solidarity had been extended to paperworkers in Jay.

One man said the Jay paperworkers had been asking for help from Corinth workers. Some Corinth workers also have relatives or friends in the Jay plant.

A worker with 22 years in at the plant said, "What the company wants from the Jay workers, they have already taken from us over the years. So it's not wages they want but our rights, seniority, and holidays."

The paperworkers bought 29 copies of the *Militant* during the shift change.

Strikers lead Maine Labor Day event

BY JON HILLSON

WATERVILLE, Maine — This state's traditional Labor Day parade, sponsored by the Maine AFL-CIO, was turned into a chanting, spirited demonstration of solidarity with striking workers at International Paper Co.'s Androscoggin River plant in Jay, Maine. More than 5,000 union men and women took to the streets here September 7.

They came from every corner of the state: paperworkers from northern Maine, garment workers from Waterville, and shipbuilders from Bath. A small group of unionists from New Brunswick and Quebec in Canada attended. There were Teamsters, teachers, building-trades workers, and rail workers. Among them were veterans of several bitter strikes in the last couple of years.

The parade turnout showed the support generated by the 1,200 paperworkers, who rejected IP's demands for givebacks June 16 and have been on the picket lines ever since.

Maine unionists have donated \$150,000 to the Jay workers' strike fund in the past three months.

The march was led by a contingent of more than 1,000 members of Local 14 of the United Paperworkers International Union and Local 246 of the Firemen and Oilers — the Jay strikers — and their spouses. Most of them were clad in blue strike T-shirts that have become their battle's marching color.

A busload of IP strikers from Lock Haven, where Local 1787 of the UPIU is battling IP's concession drive in that small Pennsylvania town, arrived the night before to march on Labor Day.

The march took up the Jay chant of "Scabs out, union in!" as it wound through Waterville, a city of 20,000. At the center of the downtown area, a cheering crowd clustered at the main intersections to salute the Jay strikers.

As the march went back to the staging area for a rally, picnic, and music, Local 14 members took another turn through town, leading thousands behind them.

The Jay strike "has lit a fire under us in Maine," state AFL-CIO President Charles O'Leary told the crowd. Maine labor, he said, "must continue to show the solidarity that's started there."

Called to the stage from the crowd, Local 14 President Bill Meserve first saluted the Lock Haven strikers, to an ovation.

He gave a brief summary of the state of the national fight against IP's concessions offensive in De Pere, Wisconsin; Mobile, Alabama; Pine Bluff, Arkansas; Gardner, Oregon; and Corinth, New York, where a UPIU contract expires September 30.

The Jay strike, Meserve said, was not simply a fight against concessions, but expressed "dedication to a cause."

"We are hanging in there," he said. "With your help, we are going to make these people [IP] come to their knees for a change, and we're going to stop crawling and begging to them."

Several Democratic Party officeholders spoke, including Maine's Democratic senator, George Mitchell.

John Hanson, director of the University of Maine Bureau of Labor Statistics, who headed the organizing committee for the event, urged workers to sign petitions against U.S. funding of the Nicaraguan contras. Several local activists opposed to U.S. intervention in Central America participated in the rally and circulated petitions while a local rock band played anti-war songs.

Hundreds of union members signed the petitions, made donations, and bought bumper stickers and buttons.

"It's really something," said a young anti-war fighter from Portland who'd picked coffee in Nicaragua with U.S. volunteers. "It's always the working people and poor who give the most."

How the new Soviet economic measures affect working people

BY FRED FELDMAN

When Mikhail Gorbachev was chosen as general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in March 1985, he signaled that major changes in government policy were in the offing.

Two years later, in June 1987, the plenum of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party endorsed a report by Gorbachev and resolutions ordering a "restructuring" of the Soviet economy.

These proposals have received a lot of play in the U.S. media. And a number of Republican and Democratic politicians, as well as editorials in major newspapers, have given them high marks.

Almost all of this commentary speculates on what these changes will mean for the Soviet Union. But the fact is that the Soviet Union is divided into different social strata with very different and opposing interests. There is the privileged bureaucratic caste, which dominates the country's political, economic, and social policies, on the one hand, and the workers and farmers, who make up the big majority of the population, on the other. What the effect will likely be on Soviet working people is the subject of this article.

In his report to the meeting, Gorbachev declared that "mounting contradictions in the development of society . . . gradually accumulating and not being solved in time" were actually acquiring pre-crisis forms."

By the mid-1980s "the rate of economic growth had dropped to a level which virtually signified the onset of economic stagnation," he said. During the 1960s and 1970s the Soviet economy grew at an average rate of more than 4 percent a year. But in the 1980s this had dropped to 2 or 3 percent — the lowest growth rates since the end of World War II.

According to the general secretary, "We began obviously to concede one position after another, and the gap in raising the efficiency of production . . . and technological development as compared with the most developed countries began to widen not in our favor. . . ."

He also pointed to a "lag in scientific-technical development."

These conditions, he admitted, were having "an extremely negative effect on the living standard of the population."

New mechanism

Gorbachev proposed to deal with these problems by replacing the old planning mechanism the government has been using, which he said was based on "rigid centralism" and "administrative pressure" on managers and producers, with a new mechanism. "The new economic mechanism," he promised, "should put everything in place."

This "radical reform of economic management" aims to establish economic independence based on "full-scale profit and loss accounting and self-financing" for an estimated 48,000 Soviet state-owned factories, farms, and other enterprises.

The term "profit" does not generally mean the same thing as in the Soviet Union — where the capitalist class was expropriated by the workers and peasants following the October 1917 revolution — as it does in capitalist countries.

In the context of a planned economy based on state ownership of the factories, mills, and mines, and a state monopoly of foreign trade, profit refers to the surplus of income above expenditures for a given enterprise. It does not signify, as in capitalist countries such as the United States, capital accumulated by private owners of the means of production through exploiting wage labor.

Instead of the central planning authority setting mandatory quotas for each enterprise, as had been the case, more general and optional target figures, goals, and priorities are to be set. The enterprises will have wider latitude to determine what type of product they produce, set prices, enter into contracts with suppliers and customers, and make other decisions.

Gorbachev said the requirements of the

military or other institutions of the central government will be met increasingly through contracts with individual enterprises or groups. Some of these contracts are to be awarded through competitive bidding.

Bigger role for market

Enterprises that persistently fail to show a "profit" may be forced into bankruptcy, compelling them to reorganize or even shut down.

Direct trade among the enterprises, including in machinery and productive goods, is to be greatly expanded.

"The principal lever to be applied to enterprises," he explained, "will be economic norms and incentives. They should make it profitable for enterprises, guided by target figures, to look for ways of meeting social needs most effectively."

A key "social need" stressed by Gorbachev was meeting "the demand of the population, able to pay," for more and better-quality consumer goods. "Some ministries treat the manufacture of consumer goods as a secondary matter," he complained. "In some places it is viewed only as a burden."

The new setup, he predicted, would "prompt economic competition" among enterprises "to meet consumer demand."

The shift toward greater reliance on the market is also reflected in agriculture. The amount of their produce that state and collective farms are permitted to sell at unregulated prices on city markets or in cooperative stores has been increased to 30 percent.

A proposed law will legalize the formation of small-scale trading and service enterprises by individuals and cooperatives. Gorbachev noted that even though many such activities have been illegal, Soviet citizens pay 1.5 billion rubles annually to such enterprises.

The effect of all these measures will be to allow the laws of the market, rather than the current economic planning apparatus, to play an increasing role in determining what is produced and how much, as well as prices.

"In accordance with the scientifically substantiated understanding of socialism," claimed Gorbachev, "its economic system organically includes commodity-money relations."

The expansion of private trade will spur the development of a broader layer of profit-seeking, parasitic middlemen and, on the fringes of the economy, the hiring and exploitation of workers by individual entrepreneurs.

BY FRED FELDMAN

Harvey O'Connor — a veteran unionist, radical, fighter for civil liberties, and historian — died August 28 at the age of 90.

O'Connor was best known as a historian. His writings include *Revolution in Seattle*, a personal recollection of the labor movement in the Pacific Northwest before, during, and after World War I, including his activity in the Seattle general strike of 1919; *Steel — Dictator*; *The Guggenheims*; *The Astors*; *The Empire of Oil*; *World Crisis in Oil*; *Mellon's Millions*; and *History of the Oil Workers International Union*.

His writings were rooted in years of experience in the labor movement, beginning when he went to work in the logging camps of the Northwest and joined the lumber workers' affiliate of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

In the wake of the Seattle general strike, O'Connor was charged with criminal anarchy. The charges were later dropped.

Between jobs, O'Connor edited the socialist *Seattle Daily Call* in 1917-18 and worked on the *Industrial Worker*. He edited the *Farmer-Labor Call* in Centralia,



Farmers' market in Moscow. Expansion of small-scale private trade is aspect of "restructuring" of Soviet economy. "Restructuring," which encourages trade and competition among state-owned factories, will spur growth of middlemen.

The second major shift embodied in the restructuring proposals was the creation of a "powerful system" of economic "motives and stimuli" aimed especially at industrial workers.

The aim is to press workers to work harder by offering the carrot of material incentives and bonuses. The bureaucratic administrators, who don't see working people as subjects determining their own future but as the objects of government policy, hope these measures will help overcome the decline in labor productivity. They attribute this decline in large part to low morale, slow pace of work, absenteeism, and wasteful use of equipment and raw materials.

In the past, Gorbachev claimed, wages were often based on "a simplified concept of equality."

Excessive egalitarianism is now to be countered, Gorbachev said, by strictly tying wages to individual productivity and the profitability of the enterprise.

"The law on enterprise guarantees enterprises the right to raise wage rates and wages, and to establish extra payments." There will be no upper limit to wages.

Gorbachev argued that "the growth of production can be ensured on the basis of personal interest, material incentives and with the help of enthusiasm."

The new setup will mean increased inequalities in the wages and standard of living among workers. It will mean higher wages for some workers, but will bring a relative drop for many others. Those judged less productive, or those who work for enterprises that operate at little or no "profit," may have their wages cut.

And still other workers will face the increased possibility of dismissals, layoffs, and plant shutdowns. Gorbachev said that the "scope on which the excessive work force will be trimmed will increase considerably in conditions of the speeding up of scientific and technological progress."

Past economic practices have kept unemployment levels very low. Gorbachev's speech took note of the provision in the Soviet constitution that recognizes the right of every worker to a job. He said the state

should "show concern" for finding jobs for displaced workers.

Subsidies, jobs threatened

But some of the supporters of Gorbachev's reforms are more blunt. Their view is that if workers fear unemployment, they can be pressured to produce more, as is necessarily the case in capitalist countries.

"We need to realize that there is such a thing as natural unemployment," declared author Nikolay Shmelyov in an article in the June 1987 issue of the Soviet journal *Novy mir*. "The real possibility of losing one's job, of being shifted to a temporary unemployment subsidy, or being forced to move to a new place of employment is not at all bad medicine to cure sloth and drunkenness."

The standard of living of many Soviet workers is to be lowered in another way, too. In the Soviet Union, food, housing, and other basic necessities have been substantially subsidized by the state for decades — keeping their prices cheap enough to be within reach of almost all working people.

Bread prices, for instance, run less than 10 cents a loaf and have not risen since 1955.

According to an interview in the July 4 *New York Times* with Soviet economist Leonid Abalkin, who helped draft the reforms, these social benefits are scheduled to soon be on the chopping block.

According to the *Times*, "Starting about 1990, he predicted, . . . the government will deregulate most retail prices, bringing sharp increases for meat, dairy products, and other foodstuffs. . . ."

"Housing, which is now very cheap, without regard to quality, will also change dramatically. Each family will be entitled to a minimal apartment at subsidized rents, but rents will soar for extra space and amenities."

A forthcoming article will take up some of the underlying reasons for the policy shifts announced at the Soviet Communist Party plenum.

Harvey O'Connor: historian, fighter

BY FRED FELDMAN

Harvey O'Connor — a veteran unionist, radical, fighter for civil liberties, and historian — died August 28 at the age of 90.

O'Connor was best known as a historian. His writings include *Revolution in Seattle*, a personal recollection of the labor movement in the Pacific Northwest before, during, and after World War I, including his activity in the Seattle general strike of 1919; *Steel — Dictator*; *The Guggenheims*; *The Astors*; *The Empire of Oil*; *World Crisis in Oil*; *Mellon's Millions*; and *History of the Oil Workers International Union*.

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Between jobs, O'Connor edited the socialist *Seattle Daily Call* in 1917-18 and worked on the *Industrial Worker*. He edited the *Farmer-Labor Call* in Centralia,

Washington, after the lynchings there of a union organizer by vigilantes, the roundup of more than 1,000 suspected IWW members, and the frame-up conviction of seven unionists on murder charges.

He then became a staff member of the *Seattle Union Record*, the first daily union newspaper in the United States.

O'Connor later helped edit the *Locomotive Engineers Journal*, headed the New York bureau of the pro-labor Federated Press in 1927-30, and edited the *International Oil Worker* from 1945-48.

O'Connor was in the forefront of resistance to the savage anticommunist witch-hunt that opened soon after the end of World War II.

When the American Civil Liberties Union caved in to the witch-hunt by refusing to defend members of the Communist Party or those accused of being members, O'Connor, Corliss Lamont, Leonard Boudin, and others emerged as leaders of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Founded in 1951, the ECLC unflinchingly defended the constitutional rights of Communists and other radicals.

When O'Connor was called to testify be-

fore Sen. Joseph McCarthy's inquisition, he refused to answer questions on the grounds that the interrogation violated his First Amendment rights of free speech and association. In 1954 a Detroit judge sentenced O'Connor to a suspended sentence of one year for this defiance.

In 1958 he was cited for contempt for refusing to cooperate with the House Un-American Activities Committee. This charge was dismissed.

O'Connor chaired the ECLC from 1955 to 1963. He also chaired the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.

"I'm sure," O'Connor once said, "that I learned more from the members of the IWW and the Socialist Party than I ever would have in college — the hard cold facts of life unvarnished by the sophistries of the 'hire learning' . . ."

"The experience I gained in the logging camps and on the skid roads burned into my mind the abysmal cruelties and inhumanities of capitalism."

Nothing, he concluded, had "altered my opposition to a system based on exploiting man and profiting from his massacre in war."

'Militant' welcomed in West Virginia coal-mining towns

BY MALIK MIAH

MORGANTOWN, W.Va. — The population of this small town doubles every fall when 18,000 college students take up residence for the school year. I was told the place is transformed.

In fact, I did notice that the September 13 issue of the big-business daily ran a banner front-page headline on West Virginia University's football team's defeat by Ohio State University. The Persian Gulf, South Africa, and Central America were hard to find. Not to mention other problems and struggles of working people.

But WSU football is only part of Morgantown's story. Morgantown is the center of a mining region where thousands of coal miners and their families live. The towns in these rolling hills are also filled with workers employed by chemical, steel, and other industrial companies.

Over the September 12-14 weekend I came here to participate in the sales efforts of 18 *Militant* supporters in the area. Morgantown supporters have taken a goal of selling 130 *Militant* subscriptions and 5 to *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language monthly, as well as 25 copies of the Marxist magazine *New International* over the course of the fall.

Nationally, distributors of these three socialist publications aim to sell 6,000 *Militant* subscriptions, and 2,000 single copies

of *New International*. (See scoreboard below for current results.)

Door-to-door sales

Each Saturday morning supporters of the *Militant* here gather at the local Pathfinder Bookstore to plan out sales for that day. Valerie Johnson, a member of the sales organizing committee, went over the contents of the newest issue of the *Militant* and assigned areas for the sales teams. Because of the small size of the nearby towns, all teams go door-to-door in working-class communities. Literature tables are set up on campus during the week.

My four-person team went to Fairmont, a community of about 25,000 people a few miles south of here. Besides myself, the team included a unionized garment worker, a non-union chemical worker, and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance on the WSU campus.

We went to an integrated area of the town and sold 1 *Militant* subscription and several *Militant* singles. What was most striking about the area — besides the hills — was the average age of community residents. Almost everyone we talked to was a retiree. There were a few young people.

West Virginia continues to have one of the highest rates of unemployment in the country. There are thousands of miners on layoff and most other jobs pay only slightly



Militant/Kathy Mickells

Militant supporters sell socialist literature in West Virginia

above minimum wage.

A Black retiree bought the subscription. He told me about the plight of Blacks in the city and the lack of job opportunities.

After these sales our team joined the picket line of striking nurses in front of Fairmont General Hospital. The nurses walked out at the end of August after the board of directors demanded major wage and benefit concessions.

Janice Wilmoth, a registered nurse hired in 1974, told me that the hospital was out to bust the union. "Before we went out on strike they tried to terminate people for wearing union buttons," she said. The hospital has brought in some scabs, she added, but only a few of the nurses have crossed the picket line.

Another picket told us that Fairmont is a union town, and workers in the area have shown solid support for their fight. This was evident in the almost constant honking of car horns as we talked.

Regional team

A highlight of the weekend sales effort was a successful trip by a three-person regional sales team. The team went to the Bayard, West Virginia, area to sell to miners employed by Island Creek mine company. They sold seven *Militant* subscriptions, including a six-month renewal. Five subscriptions were bought by members of the United Mine Workers of America — three at mine portals.

"It was a tremendous experience," reported Sara Lobman, a member of the team. "The highlight was a several-hour discussion with a miner and his wife (a member of the Hospital and Health Care Employees District 1199 union.) They want us to help organize a slideshow on Nicaragua in their area."

In addition to the seven subscriptions,

the team sold all their *Militants*.

Bruce Kimball, a garment worker and an organizer of the sales drive, told me later the goal is to get out two-day regional teams every week. He said a team was going up to Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, the next weekend to sell to striking paperworkers. As was the case with the Island Creek sales team he said, some supporters will take a day off from work to do the sale.

A strong point of the sales effort here is the integration of renewal callbacks to current subscribers. Each sales team had names of subscribers in their areas to call. Other teams visited subscribers.

A weakness in the sales drive, which supporters are beginning to discuss, is distribution of *New International*. Each sales team only had one copy of the magazine. None were sold. The biggest problem, one seller told me, was failing to show the magazine to people who had *Militant* subscriptions or who bought single copies of the paper.

However, supporters here are confident of making their goals and finding new ways to expand the circulation of the revolutionary press in the region.

If you would like to take a goal in the fall sales drive, clip and mail 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 _____

N.Y. cops beat Korean youth

BY SANDRA LEE

NEW YORK — Cops here attacked and brutally beat a 20-year-old Korean man who was riding his bicycle in Manhattan on September 4.

Ou Young, a U.S. resident for three years, was pulled off his bike by Third Highway Precinct cops, who forced him to the pavement and beat him.

According to police sources, when Young was stopped, "he couldn't produce any I.D. and became loud and vicious." Witnesses contradicted this version.

Young told reporters that while it was true he didn't have any identification with him, he was surprised when one of the policemen "gave me a push off the bike." The cop called him "scum" and said, "If you don't cooperate, you're going to jail." When Young replied, "Let's go there, I know my rights," the cop pushed him to the ground and began to hit him.

Debra Miles, a witness to the attack, reported, "I was coming down Lexington Avenue and was amazed to see a police officer just reach out and snatch somebody off his bike."

A crowd of 60 people watched the rush-hour attack and shouted "brutality" and "racist" at the police. Witnesses said they

were shocked at the aggressiveness of the cops. They began protesting and noted the cops' badge numbers.

"One cop looked like he was trying to break his arm, and the other was almost on top of him," said Sharon Holmquist. She said that as Young screamed for help, he was "being crunched up on the street while they banged his head on the ground."

Another eyewitness, Ellen Texeira, said that when several people shouted "Stop it! Stop it!" to the cops, they stopped hitting him and handcuffed him. She said that Young was bruised on the neck and bleeding from the right arm when he got up. When she told Young to try to calm down, she was warned by one of the cops, "If you open your mouth once more, I'm going to put you with him."

Several of the people who witnessed the scene followed the police to the station house. There they were told that they could register complaints against the arresting officers, Anthony Venturella and John Giglia, by appearing in court with Young on September 20. Young is charged with riding a bicycle against traffic and with disorderly conduct and obstructing governmental administration.

Fall Sales Scoreboard

Area	<i>Militant</i> subscriptions			<i>New International</i> single copies			<i>Perspectiva Mundial</i> subscriptions		
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	%
Houston	160	50	31	50	0	0	40	1	3
Greensboro	115	32	28	20	0	0	10	0	0
Milwaukee	115	29	25	35	0	0	15	0	0
Cleveland	105	26	25	20	0	0	15	0	0
Oakland	150	37	25	100	0	0	50	6	12
Kansas City	105	22	21	25	0	0	20	3	15
Birmingham	150	29	19	*	0	*	5	1	20
Seattle	300	56	19	50	5	10	50	11	22
Morgantown, W.V.	130	24	18	25	0	0	5	0	0
Des Moines	110	20	18	35	0	0	15	0	0
San Jose	75	13	17	*	0	*	50	2	4
Boston	200	33	17	50	0	0	100	1	1
Detroit	200	32	16	35	0	0	25	0	0
Austin, MN	85	13	15	10	0	0	15	0	0
San Diego	85	12	14	25	9	36	40	2	5
Portland	80	11	14	40	0	0	30	1	3
New York	600	79	13	350	143	41	150	38	25
Newark	350	45	13	75	0	0	125	9	7
Salt Lake City	150	19	13	25	0	0	25	3	12
Atlanta	120	15	13	35	0	0	20	3	15
Miami	120	14	12	40	0	0	40	0	0
Washington, D.C.	130	15	12	60	0	0	30	0	0
Baltimore	140	16	11	40	0	0	10	0	0
San Francisco	180	19	11	50	0	0	70	3	4
Philadelphia	200	21	11	50	0	0	50	2	4
Chicago	225	21	9	*	0	*	75	1	1
Los Angeles	300	26	9	100	0	0	175	10	6
Omaha	70	6	9	20	0	0	10	1	10
Twin Cities, MN	180	13	7	100	0	0	20	0	0
St. Louis	175	11	6	50	0	0	10	1	10
Price, Utah	48	3	6	10	0	0	2	0	0
Charleston, W.V.	125	7	6	20	0	0	-	-	-
Annapolis, N.Y.	20	0	0	*	0	*	*	0	*
Phoenix	*	11	*	*	0	*	*	1	*
Pittsburgh	*	13	*	*	0	*	*	0	*
Canada	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Puerto Rico	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-
Other Int'l	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Totals	5,298	806	13%	1,545	157	8%	1,297	111	7%
Drive Goals	6,000			2,000			1,500		
Should Be		1,566	26%		522	26%		392	26%

* Goal not adopted yet

Behind the trial of the Hartford 16

Two Puerto Rican independence activists speak from prison

BY SELVA NEBBIA
AND RICK HIGGINS

HARTFORD, Conn. — We approached the back door of a desolate building on August 17 — a very hot day. A sign indicated it was a federal prison. A guard in boots, pants, shirt, and cap that were all black, with a black gun, too, let us into the courtyard after checking our press cards. Another guard, dressed the same, escorted us to the door and inside the building.

We had come to interview Filiberto Ojeda Ríos and Juan Segarra Palmer, both imprisoned there.

Ojeda Ríos was arrested in Puerto Rico on Aug. 30, 1985, along with 10 other supporters of Puerto Rican independence, when 200 FBI agents carried out a massive raid on the island. Segarra Palmer was arrested the same day in Texas. One more person was arrested in Mexico, bringing the total arrested in the sweep to 13. Three more, including a U.S. lawyer, were arrested later.

The prisoners arrested in Puerto Rico and Mexico were transferred to the United States. Seven were imprisoned in U.S. jails for more than a year before being freed on bail.

Denied right to bail

Ojeda Ríos and Segarra Palmer were denied their right to bail. Two years after their arrest, they remain in jail without having been brought to trial or found guilty of a single crime.

The U.S. government accuses these supporters of Puerto Rican independence, known as the Hartford 16, of being "terrorists," claiming they conspired to rob a Wells Fargo depot here in 1983 and that they are members of a proindependence organization, the Macheteros.

The U.S. government is denying Segarra Palmer and Ojeda Ríos their right to bail on the basis of the 1984 Bail Reform Act. This law allows the government to deny bail under so-called preventive detention in cases where there is an alleged "risk of flight" or the prisoner is "dangerous."

At the beginning of this year, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals declared the Bail Reform Act unconstitutional. However, on May 26 the Supreme Court ruled against this decision and declared the law constitutional.

"We are not the only ones who have lost the right to bail — all U.S. citizens have lost this," Segarra Palmer told us.

"What this means is that the presumption of innocence, the idea that every citizen is presumed innocent until proven guilty in a court of law, has been eradicated. Now it's the reverse — a person is presumed guilty until he's proven innocent," he added.

"Our battle against this law," Segarra Palmer noted, "is really a fight to defend everyone's democratic rights." What has happened in the case of the Hartford 16 has meant a loss of civil rights for people in the United States, he said.

Fight to be tried in Puerto Rico

The two prisoners explained another one of the battles in the case:

"We submitted a request to have the trial moved to Puerto Rico," Segarra Palmer pointed out. "It was turned down because the U.S. government knows that a trial in Puerto Rico, even in a U.S. federal court, would guarantee our being found innocent."

"We never should have been transferred here," Ojeda Ríos added. "There can't possibly be a jury capable of understanding this case better than a Puerto Rican jury."

"From a legal point of view, it's an injustice for the trial to take place here. From a human point of view, it's horrible — it's an outrage, an abuse. They've forced us to leave Puerto Rico, which is where our popular support is," Ojeda Ríos emphasized.

"They've forced us to come to a country where the language isn't ours, and where the social conditions aren't ours. It's an inhuman imposition that's completely unreasonable," he added.

The two prisoners pointed out that the U.S. government knows this is a political case. They noted that if the trial were to take place in Puerto Rico, the U.S. government knows it would face a discussion

about Puerto Rico's colonial status, instead of being able to present the issue as a simple case of robbery.

"Shortly after our arrest, *Nuevo Diario*, one of the Puerto Rican dailies with the largest circulation, conducted a poll in Puerto Rico organized by the Yankelovich company — well-known pollsters. The poll asked what people thought of the Macheteros. And 44 percent said they considered the Macheteros to be patriots," Segarra Palmer said.

"The Iran-contra case reflects the immorality, demagoguery, impudence, and hypocrisy of the U.S. government and of President Reagan," Ojeda Ríos stated. "On one hand, they try to convince the world of their antiterrorist line," he noted, "and on the other they secretly negotiate with people they label the worst 'terrorists' in the world: the Iranians. This just goes to prove, once more, that they use the word 'terrorism' to justify their policies and their belligerence against the peoples of the world," he said.

Illegally obtained evidence

Segarra Palmer explained that in pre-trial hearings currently taking place in Hartford, the defense lawyers are trying to get the court to exclude evidence illegally obtained by U.S. government agents. The so-called evidence compiled by the FBI includes 1,100 hours of tape recordings and more than 600 hours of video recordings.

"In these hearings, we are going to prove beyond any doubt that these tapes have been edited and tampered with," Segarra Palmer noted.

Smiling, he added, "It's very ironic that the Puerto Rican constitution strictly prohibits electronic surveillance, and then they bring us here to Connecticut — which is known as the 'Constitution State' — to try us on the basis of evidence obtained in violation of our constitution."

Another aspect of U.S. government policy that came to light in the Iran-contra hearings, he stressed, is, "a government that has no respect for international rights or the human rights of others, doesn't respect its own laws either, or the civil rights of its own citizens. In our case, the violation of the law is crude and obvious — eventually it will be directed against all citizens."

Life in jail

We asked the two prisoners what living conditions were like during their two years in jail.

Indicating his surroundings with a sweeping gesture, Ojeda Ríos said, "This prison section was created exclusively for us — it didn't exist before. It's a federal section of a state prison. The area was opened January 6 when we were transferred here. The entire staff, the whole mobilization was carried out strictly to bring us here."

"They dealt very harshly with us from the beginning," Ojeda Ríos added. "Our world consisted of a 30-foot-long corridor with cells on both sides, and nothing more. We didn't even have recreation rights."

However, little by little, more prisoners were brought in, the two activists told us. Ojeda Ríos and Segarra Palmer were kept in isolation from the new prisoners for six months.

But "about two months ago, they were forced to change their policy because the jail began to be used for prisoners from Rhode Island, too. More people arrived, and they had to put them next to us," Ojeda Ríos said.

Before being transferred to Hartford, the activists were imprisoned in the Metropolitan Correctional Center in New York City.

"We were always denied access to the law library. At the Metropolitan Correctional Center we were denied access because we were a 'high escape risk.' Here, it's because there's no library," he added.

Pointing to a small adjoining room with glass walls where four prisoners sat doing nothing, Segarra Palmer explained, "Look — this is the recreation area for 14 people: a 14 by 16 foot room, with a small television set and nothing else. The prisoners are deprived of any type of physical activity or program that might give them strength. The penal institutions in this



Militant/Selva Nebbia

Four of the Hartford 16 defendants. Left to right: Juan Segarra Palmer, Lucy Berrios, Luis Colón Osorio, and Filiberto Ojeda Ríos. Segarra Palmer and Ojeda Ríos are beginning an unprecedented third year of "preventive detention."

country have no respect for human dignity and no interest in rehabilitating people who have committed crimes."

The Hartford defendants represent a broad range of the independence movement. Included are lawyers, an automobile mechanic, an occupational therapist, a farmer, the president of a PTA, and a former musician.

What is the U.S. government trying to accomplish by persecuting these activists, we asked.

"The assault on the Wells Fargo depot is a pretext the U.S. government is using to repress the Puerto Rican independence movement," Ojeda Ríos said.

"Our case fits in with the U.S. government's need to strike a hard blow against the independence movement and to intimidate not only the movement, but the people as a whole."

"This is why the arrests and raids were carried out in such an abusive way — to frighten people," Segarra Palmer said.

He continued, "We can't view Puerto Rico in isolation from what the United States does in the rest of the world: the invasion of Grenada, the financing of its dirty war against Nicaragua, the support to Napoleón Duarte's regime in El Salvador. And we see its warlike policies in other hemispheres, too. For the United States, from a military point of view, Puerto Rico is a key enclave in the Central American and Caribbean zone."

"When the U.S. invaded Grenada, the entire Puerto Rican independence movement, including the Macheteros, opposed the U.S. government. In Puerto Rico there has been support for Nicaragua beginning with the fight to overthrow Somoza, as well as support for the struggle in El Salvador. So the U.S. government needs to try to dismantle or at least intimidate the independence movement to facilitate its warlike plans in the rest of the region."

Segarra Palmer added, "The independence movement is in the vanguard of the feminist movement in Puerto Rico and in the vanguard of the antimilitarist movement, not only on the question of opposition to U.S. bases in Puerto Rico, but also in opposition to nuclear arms. The independence movement is also a vanguard inside the trade union and student movements."

Persecution backfired

But, Segarra Palmer said, "The U.S. government's plans backfired." Instead of isolating the independence movement, the government's persecution of the Hartford 16 has united many Puerto Ricans in defense of the activists' democratic rights, he explained.

In the United States, support for their rights has continued to increase. Today there are defense committees in 15 cities.

On August 30 demonstrations were held to demand justice for the Puerto Rican political prisoners in San Juan, Puerto Rico; Hartford; and San Francisco.

The Hartford case has received significant international support as well. A few months ago, the ministerial conference of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries held in Guyana declared its "concern about the imprisonment of Puerto Rican patriots in the United States."

In August many supporters testified at the UN Committee on Decolonization hearings. The final resolution of the committee "reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence."

Talking to people of United States

Ojeda Ríos and Segarra Palmer explained the importance of reaching out to the U.S. public and winning them to their fight.

"We think it's important for U.S. citizens to realize their real enemies are not these Puerto Ricans who are accused of robbing Wells Fargo. The real danger they face is a government that is more and more antidemocratic and repressive," Segarra Palmer pointed out.

"It's important for them to know that colonialism, like apartheid, is condemned as a crime against humanity. The struggle against colonialism is in the interests of the people of the United States. It's not in their interest to maintain Puerto Rico as a military enclave. Their real interest lies in a free, non-nuclear, neutral, and democratic Puerto Rico," he added.

Segarra Palmer continued, "We think the people of the United States will understand this. We can send them this message: We are fighting for the same things the Founding Fathers fought for. We can honestly say we're fighting for the same things John Adams and Patrick Henry fought for. Truthfully, not cynically — the way Reagan presents the contras."

"What really excites me," Ojeda Ríos commented, "what really fills me with optimism is the popular support for our case. And if anything is able to force a victory in our case, it will be strictly as a result of expressions of this kind of popular support. My hope lies in this and nothing more."

"Support has been growing massively," he added, "because many people understand that this case is extremely important for the people of the United States, for the defense of their civil rights. The most important point is the just nature of our struggle — the right of the Puerto Rican people to be free and their right to fight."

To lend support to the defense of the Hartford 16 write to the Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression, 577 Columbus Ave. New York, N.Y. 10024, or call (212) 927-9065.

Ortega addresses concerns on peace accords

Discusses what lifting restrictions on counterrevolutionaries will mean

The following are brief excerpts from a speech Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega gave to the congress of the National Union of Nicaraguan Students August 29.

The speech dealt in large part with how Nicaragua will comply with the Guatemala accords, which mandate an end to military conflicts in Central America and include a commitment on the part of each government to restore all suspended civil liberties.

In his remarks, Ortega takes up concerns raised by revolutionary Nicaraguans about lifting restrictions on the ability of counterrevolutionaries inside the country to express their views.

The transcription and translation are by the Militant.

This revolution poses the necessity of creatively applying a revolutionary process based on political pluralism, a mixed economy, and nonalignment. And when we talk of political pluralism, mixed economy, and nonalignment, we are serious.

But we are speaking of political pluralism and mixed economy in a social order where the workers and peasants are the fundamental forces. And where the large private sector has a role insofar as it helps strengthen those fundamental forces.

It might appear that there is a contradictory element here, one difficult to apply. The large private sector that has remained in our country after Somoza [was overthrown] has its own interests. It has its own possibilities to reproduce itself, and clashes objectively with the interests of the revolution.

However, the revolution has ways to control that sector and redistribute its wealth to benefit the fundamental forces and interests of the revolution.

The private sector can take different positions on political questions. However, on economic questions, they can accept the norms, laws, and regulations imposed by the revolutionary process because there is no other road open to them.

But the private sector has political space, a political opening that ultimately becomes a challenge for really strengthening our revolutionary process. [The challenge is] to wage a political-ideological battle under conditions where those forces have the possibility to express themselves, to demonstrate... and to try to win the population with their ideas. These are the conditions in which the revolution fights to strengthen its influence among the fundamental forces, the forces of the people.

We cannot fall into dogmatism. We cannot think that because we made a revolution in Nicaragua, we are obligated to do

USSR, Peru send oil to Nicaragua

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — On September 7, the Nicaraguan government announced that it will receive 100,000 more tons of petroleum from the Soviet Union this year. Three days later, the Sandinista daily *Barricada* reported that Peru had agreed to sell Nicaragua 34,226 barrels of oil (about 5,000 tons) valued at \$640,000. One week earlier, it was reported that Cuba was sending 40,000 more tons to help reduce the large fuel deficit faced here.

President Daniel Ortega announced the donation from the Soviet Union after meeting with Vadim Zagladin, special envoy of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Zagladin also brought a letter from Gorbachev inviting Ortega to attend the 70th anniversary celebration of the Russian revolution in Moscow in November.

With the latest donations, the Soviet Union will have provided Nicaragua with 400,000 tons of petroleum this year; Cuba, 100,000 tons; and East Germany, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary together, 197,000. This still leaves Nicaragua 55,000 tons short.

everything that was done by other revolutions in other parts of the world in other circumstances. It is constantly shown that revolutionary processes must respond to their own conditions, to their own realities. This does not negate the authenticity of a revolutionary process. The fact that here we defend a revolutionary project with a mixed economy and political pluralism does not negate the merit and strength of our revolution.

You have to look at where Nicaragua is located: in the center of America where there is a permanent flux of men who think in a thousand ways. We cannot now remove Nicaragua, isolate her from this reality, and say: let's do what seems the easiest, let's eliminate political pluralism and the mixed economy.

On the contrary, independent of our wishes, independent of the will of those who are identified with the Sandinista People's Revolution, there are other segments of the population here who are not leaving, and who have a different manner of thinking and seeing reality.

We believe that it is better that they have the possibility of expressing themselves openly, because it sets the stage for waging a political-ideological battle openly and directly against that line of thought. [Their views] would be here in any case, independent of our will. They wouldn't disappear

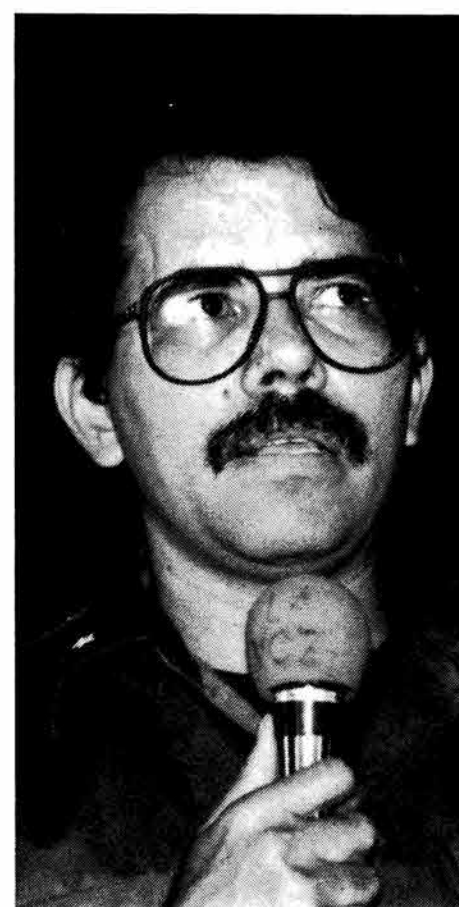
just because political pluralism didn't exist. And those who have not mastered revolutionary thought, who do not understand the revolutionary process, because of ignorance and backwardness, would be here in a sea of doubts and worries.

Thus, nothing could be better than openly confronting those who try to confuse and disorient the people. Give them the opportunity to speak in order to have the possibility of waging this political-ideological struggle.

Obviously, all revolutionary processes have contradictory aspects. But within these contradictions the forces of the revolution prevail over the forces of the counterrevolution. Revolutionary thought and ideology prevails over counterrevolutionary thought and ideology.

That is the challenge. That is the struggle. To carry out the fight in the arena where the different political and ideological forces, including our enemies, are present. And to win the battle and defeat the enemy in that arena.

We would not be solving the problem by imprisoning all those who [oppose the revolution]. This would appear to be a comfortable and easy road to follow, but on the contrary, we would be doing ourselves harm. We would be harming the revolution.



Militant/Bill Greter
Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega

Nicaragua begins pardons, dialogue

Continued from front page

could communicate with leaders of contra groups, not to negotiate politically, but to facilitate the process of their taking amnesty."

Minister of Defense Humberto Ortega told *Barricada* that the Sandinista army has contact with some groups of contras "that do not recognize the [contra] leaders who meet with Reagan. It is possible that some of these groupings would take the step of changing their attitude and reintegrating themselves into the life of the country.... Some have already shown signs of interest in this process, especially after the formation of the National Reconciliation Commission."

The Commission was appointed by the Nicaraguan government September 1, as part of implementing the Guatemala accords. Its purpose is to verify Nicaragua's compliance with the accords and respect for human and democratic rights here.

Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, who has openly supported the contras, was unanimously chosen by the commission members to serve as its president. The other members are Sergio Ramírez, Nicaragua's vice-president; Mauricio Díaz, leader of the opposition People's Social Christian Party; and Gustavo Parajón Domínguez, president of the Evangelical Committee in Support of Development.

After the Commission's first meeting September 8, Obando reported that it had agreed to make decisions by consensus and had adopted a regular meeting schedule. He said it had received a request from the right-wing daily *La Prensa* asking to be allowed to publish again and that the commission would refer the request to the government.

Debate on amnesty and pardons

Obando, leaders of right-wing parties, and pro-U.S. businessmen and landlords have called for release of all imprisoned contras and members of the Somozaist National Guard. Some 4,000 guardsmen and contras are serving sentences for murder, torture, rape, arson, kidnapping, and other crimes. The current amnesty law applies only to contras who turn themselves in and does not provide pardons for those captured and imprisoned.

The initial reaction of many workers and peasants here is to oppose granting across-the-board pardons.

Oscar Romero, a union leader at the Texnica textile plant in Managua, told the *Militant* he was worried that released contras would start robbing and killing again.

Emilio López, a worker with 30 years in the plant, said that "those who were tricked into joining the contras should get amnesty. The leaders are war criminals and should be imprisoned to pay for their crimes."

Maria Eugenia Luna, a cafeteria worker whose father was murdered by a Somozaist landlord said, "We can't let those who murdered people out of prison. If I saw the ones that killed my father, I would get a gun and shoot them."

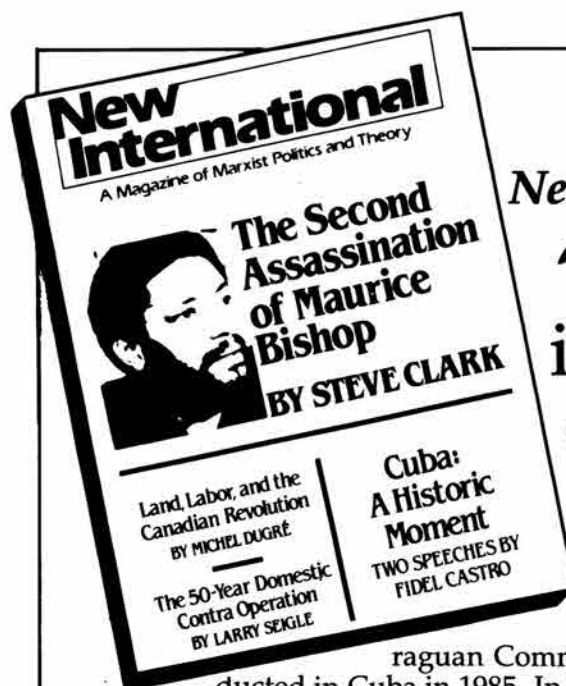
At a face-the-people meeting with neighborhood activists in León September 5, Amelia Cisne told President Ortega that she was opposed to a general amnesty and pardon. "We don't want to see the murderers who killed our children walking freely in the streets. This would be an insult to us."

Ortega replied that the Guatemala agreement "does not require us to give a general

amnesty," but said that the government had not yet decided if it would broaden the amnesty provisions.

The government would act "with generosity and a spirit of justice, not out of vengeance," he said, and would consider the opinions of the mothers of contra victims as well as Obando's demands. Whatever the decision, the government's aim was "to enable us to achieve peace, so that Nicaraguan mothers will not continue to suffer."

Meanwhile, on September 12 Bismarck Carballo and Benito Pitito returned to Nicaragua. These two Catholic priests and Bishop Pablo Antonio Vega were expelled from Nicaragua for their open support for the contras. All three were authorized to return by the Nicaraguan government, as part of implementing the Guatemala agreement. Vega, however, has said that he does not plan to do so at this time.



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Nicaraguan peasants in isolated region: 'We want peace'

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

NUEVA GÜINEA, Nicaragua — In the midst of growing hopes for an end to the U.S.-sponsored contra war against Nicaragua, several thousand people gathered here September 3 to celebrate National Peasant Day. "We want peace," was the message displayed on many of their homemade signs.

The rally had been organized by the pro-Sandinista National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG). Many who turned out were peasants recently evacuated from war-torn areas deep in the hills south of here and placed in settlements.

A group of women and children from one of the settlements carried a sign that read, "The evacuees want peace and not war. We don't want any more bloodshed in our country." Another sign read "We accept amnesty."

Various signs reflected grievances some people here feel they have against the Sandinista government. One peasant carried a placard asking for the release of a member of his community who has been in jail for five months. It ended with the slogan, "We fight for peace in order to produce more," which was the rally's main theme.

A region of displaced peasants

Nueva Güinea is located in Nicaragua's Region V, some 180 miles southeast of Managua by road. It is marked by both huge landed properties — mostly cattle-grazing land — and by the tiny plots of poor peasants barely surviving as sharecroppers, tenant farmers, or subsistence farmers.

This sparsely populated region is isolated from the rest of the country by a lack of sufficient roads. Horses provide the main means of transportation here, especially as you get deeper into the region. But for the thousands of poor peasants scattered about the area who cannot even afford a horse, travel on foot is the only way to get around.

Many of the peasants were compelled to migrate here from western Nicaragua within the last 20-30 years. During the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza, they were displaced by rich cotton growers to make way for plantations at the height of Nicaragua's cotton boom. After settling in new land, some again lost it to big landlords who forced them to move on, eventually winding up in the hills south of Nueva Güinea, where they cleared the wilderness to carve out a living.

The overthrow of Somoza's landlord-capitalist regime in 1979 opened the door to a better future for these peasants — the chance to work decent land, send their children to school, receive medical care, and participate in politics. But Washington's contra war intervened to block fulfillment of the revolutionary government's programs in Region V. The scarce government resources that did exist were initially earmarked for northern Nicaragua, where the war was most intense.

That left little to build clinics, schools, and other services in the isolated hills of Nueva Güinea.

Land reform also went very slowly here in Region V. In general, the area's peasants did not receive the political attention the Sandinistas were paying to rural areas in the north.

The contras took advantage of the relative lack of Sandinista presence here, and in 1983 began moving troops into this area.

Playing on illiteracy, anti-Communist prejudices, and religious beliefs of poor peasants in Nueva Güinea — claiming that the Sandinistas were out to abolish religion, take away their children, and deprive them of their hard-won land — the contras succeeded in winning some to their ranks and confusing others about the Sandinista revolution.

The contras imposed a tyranny over the peasants in the isolated hills south of here, to the point of forbidding commerce with neighboring counties. Peasants were forced to give the mercenaries the lion's share of their meager production. In some

cases peasants were inducted into forced labor. The contras provided nothing in exchange.

April evacuation

In the last two years, the Sandinistas have gone on a military and political offensive to drive out the contras and bring the social benefits of the revolution to this region.

As a step in this process, early last April Nicaraguan government troops evacuated 4,000 peasants from the south Nueva Güinea hills to settlements closer to the region's towns and roads. Some families had already taken this step on their own, abandoning their plots and moving to a safer and better life in the new settlements.

Medical examinations at the time of the mass evacuation revealed appalling health conditions among the peasants, many of whom were seeing a doctor for the first time in their lives. Virtually all of them suffered from parasites, diarrhea, and malnutrition. Mountain leprosy was also prevalent. I saw several children with the discolored skin spots characteristic of the initial stages of this disease.

Although they are now enjoying health care, better living conditions, and freedom from contra domination, some of the evacuated peasants still have mixed feelings about the revolutionary government. The rally here was aimed at answering their doubts and deepening their participation in the fight for peace.

Peasants, main victims of the war

Agustín Lara, Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) coordinator for the region, was one of the main speakers at the rally. His speech dealt with the steps taken in the region to implement the Guatemala accords signed by the presidents of five Central American countries on August 7.

The price paid by Region V in the war has been high, Lara explained. More than 5,000 Nicaraguans from the region, including contras, have been killed. One-sixth of the land in the region is not being cultivated because of the war.

"The peasants have been the main victims of the war," he said, including those "who've been cajoled, kidnapped, or forced to collaborate or participate in this U.S.-provoked war."

Following the Guatemala accords, a local peace commission was set up in Nueva Güinea. The commission includes a Catholic priest and a Protestant minister; the local director of the Red Cross; a representative of Nueva Güinea's farmers; and the coordinator of the local community council.

Among the commission's tasks, said Lara, is to insure that any contra wishing to lay down their weapons may do so without fear of reprisals, "no matter what he may have done." An amnestied contra may "return to his family and community, to live in peace and help us reach peace," he added.

Lara stressed that while the U.S. government is directly responsible for the contra war, "there are people within the United States who, like Brian Willson, want peace." Willson is the Vietnam veteran who lost both his legs when hit by a U.S. military train in California while protesting the sending of weapons to the contras.

Lara announced the donation of a field hospital for Nueva Güinea by a U.S. solidarity group called Operation California, one of whose members spoke to the rally.

Contras urged to lay down arms

UNAG President Daniel Núñez also spoke at the rally. He called on "the confused peasants" who have joined the contras to return and lay down their weapons. Nicaragua will receive these peasants with open arms, he said, "because we know that rather than being criminals, they were cajoled by those who often took advantage of their ignorance."

Many Nicaraguans are worried about members of Somoza's National Guard returning to the country under the amnesty



Militant/Ruth Nebbia

Displaced peasant family in Nicaragua's south-central Region V. "The peasants have been the main victims of the war," says Agustín Lara, Sandinista regional coordinator.

law. "What are we going to do with the Somozaist guards that ruined our people, and have assassinated peasant brothers?" Núñez asked. "If these men repent, the people will tell them: 'We forgive you, but only if you come to work, and not to destroy or to kill.' We must be ready to forgive, but we're not going to lower our guard or slacken in our work."

Some peasants working in cooperatives are concerned that with amnesty they'll have to return the land given them by the revolutionary government back to the former Somozaist officials. Núñez assured the crowd that "those cooperative lands belong to you, your children, your grandchildren, and your great-grandchildren."

To the peasants who had to abandon their lands because of the war, Núñez said that with the coming of peace, "those who want to, will be able to return to their plots, to their small farms. The small and medium farmers of this region should have no fear of losing their properties, because they've earned their lands with the sweat of their hands and the heat of their work." Tell this to the peasants up in the hills of Nueva Güinea, Núñez urged the crowd.

The promise that they can return to their old farms if the war ends was important to many peasants here who remain uncomfortable about being evacuated. Despite the misery in which they lived, these displaced peasants feel the poor land they squeezed some subsistence from was nevertheless something they could call their own.

Now they are being organized into cooperatives in the resettled areas, some on the large estates expropriated from the very same Somozaist landlords who once forced these peasants off their land. According to Lucas Castro of UNAG's regional office 90 miles away in Juigalpa, they still don't have a legal title to their new land.

Some of the better-off evacuees, those owning 30 head of cattle or more, do not necessarily want to join a cooperative, but would rather have their own plot of land. This, Castro said, is still to be arranged.

The settlements housing the evacuated peasants are composed of neat rows of wooden frames topped by a zinc roof and plastic sheeting for walls.

Not everyone is satisfied with their new life. Even the size of the beans that the Nicaraguan government is giving free to the evacuees — until they can grow their own crops — can be a source of friction.

Narcisa García, a displaced peasant woman, complained that the beans they received were too big in size. "We didn't even know how to eat them," she said. "It's no good for the stomach to eat them."

The government also provides other food and some clothing, but "not much," García said. She believes that "there's a lot of aid being sent, but only a little bit gets to us." This is a common accusation heard over the contra's Radio Liberación, which comes in loud and clear here, and obviously influences some peasants.

Still, despite their suspicions, the fact

that García and so many other displaced peasants showed up at the rally demonstrates a sincere yearning for peace, and a willingness to hear what the Sandinistas have to say.

For people like García, the right to return to their old farms is the most important thing they hope the end of the war will bring. "We want peace," García told me, "but they should return us to the same place where we came from, that's what we want."

Reactions to the Nicaraguan government's peace efforts were varied but generally positive. García thought both the Sandinistas and the contras should lay down their weapons. "If one [side] throws them down, and the other doesn't, well that doesn't do any good. What we want is for both to do it, to have peace so we can work. That's what we poor folks want, to be left alone working, because we know that production comes from us, that we work so that the people of the town, of the cities may eat," she said.

José Mercedes Polanco, a landless peasant now doing odd jobs in Nueva Güinea, told me, "What we peasants want is the freedom to work the land. In these past times we were oppressed. You couldn't go out because the *compañeros* would nab you. But now that this peace is coming we feel happy, because peace will give us freedom."

I asked him which *compañeros* would actually nab him, and he answered hesitantly, "Well, you know, those from here and those from over there."

Sebastián Miranda Díaz lives not far from the town of Nueva Güinea. For him, what's important is to "let there be peace, let this war end." Peace will be achieved, he thinks, "by reaching an agreement between all the governments, and also between the government of the United States and the government of Nicaragua, because it's the United States that is sustaining the contras."

Another peasant I spoke with thought the important thing now is to convince the contras to accept the amnesty program. A peasant woman said that now "there will have to be some work done with the people from the hills, to let them know about this amnesty, and convince them."

Speech by Nicaraguan Commander Tomás Borge
Women and the Nicaraguan Revolution

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Rights foe to represent U.S. on UN human rights commission

BY HARRY RING

President Reagan has appointed Armando Valladares as the U.S. representative to the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva. A counterrevolutionary Cuban exile who had been jailed in Cuba for his role in a terrorist bomb plot, Valladares fraudulently claims he was imprisoned for expressing dissident political views.

His appointment to the UN body is one more move in Washington's international drive to discredit and isolate Cuba.

The Reagan nomination was assailed at the United Nations on August 12 by Oscar Oramas Oliva, Cuba's ambassador to that body. Oramas declared the appointment was evidence of "the 'respect' of the Reagan administration for human rights."

Oramas' charge is born out by the facts. The build-up of Valladares as a symbol of the fight for human rights is as fraudulent as Reagan's professed concern for such rights.

A fanatical right-winger, Valladares was an employee of the Cuban police during the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, which was ended by the 1959 revolution.

Valladares and 16 other suspects were arrested on Dec. 27, 1960 for placing bombs in public sites, explained the Cuban ambassador.

"The police found a whole deposit of arms and explosives in the house of one of the suspects," Oramas said. Quoting a Cuban newspaper account at the time, the ambassador reported that Valladares, "Following orders from the Yankee embassy in Havana, had been bombing — criminally and indiscriminately — shopping centers frequented mostly by women and children. The documents, war matériel, weapons, and dynamite containers found in the suspects' possession attest to their relationship with Yankee imperialism from whose agents they receive direct aid for their terrorist acts — an unspeakable aggression against the people."

Sentenced to 25 years, Valladares was released in 1982 in response to an international campaign on his behalf.

'Wheelchair poet'

During that campaign, a portrait of Valladares was concocted, depicting him as the "wheelchair poet." He was described as a young Catholic poet who had been jailed by the Castro regime for no other offense than criticizing the government. In prison,

it was charged, he was so badly brutalized that he became paralyzed.

Needless to say, in this campaign neither his role under Batista nor his participation in the terrorist conspiracy were mentioned.

And, on his release, it created some surprise when he came off the plane not in a wheelchair but on his own two feet.

In prison, Valladares had gone on some 14 hunger strikes, losing the use of his legs from the resulting malnutrition. But, several years before his release, medical care and special diet restored the use of his legs.

Since his release, he has been used by enemies of the Cuban revolution internationally.

His prison memoir, *Against All Hope* — a preposterous tale of alleged unending, gory torture — has been translated into more than a dozen languages. He turns out a syndicated column for 25 papers in Latin America, and enjoys considerable U.S. and West European media coverage.

The Reagan administration has made special use of Valladares from the outset.

Although currently a resident of Spain, he was sworn in as a U.S. citizen last March so that he could head a special U.S. delegation to a Geneva meeting of the UN Commission on Human Rights. The commission was considering a Washington-sponsored resolution to condemn Cuba for alleged violations of human rights. Without a shred of substantiating evidence, the resolution charged there are more than 15,000 political prisoners on the island.

Setback for U.S. gov't

When the vote came on the resolution it proved a surprising political setback for Washington. Its smear-Cuba resolution was tabled.

The vote to table was 19-18, with six abstentions. This in the face of a blatant campaign of international arm-twisting by U.S. emissaries. Some delegates to the commission complained that their countries had been threatened with a loss of U.S. food aid if they failed to support the resolution.

Among those who stood up to the U.S. pressure in the voting were delegates from Mexico, Argentina, Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela.

But despite that setback, Washington remains determined to press its anti-Cuba effort.

While doing nothing about the violations of human rights in such countries as South

Africa and Chile, Washington continues its campaign to discredit Cuba on the issue. In doing so, it has to ignore the fact that with their revolution the Cuban people have won more human rights than they ever knew in all the years of Spanish and then U.S. imperialist domination of their country.

That revolution will soon mark its 30th anniversary. In those three decades, Washington has never retreated an inch on its determination to isolate, weaken, and ultimately roll back that revolution and its historic social achievements. The appointment of Valladares is but one more move in that direction.

"As a reward for many years of service," said Cuban Ambassador Oramas, "the terrorist is appointed to the Commission on Human Rights, where he will undoubtedly follow his infamous path."

Oramas concluded, "We believe honest Americans will surely repudiate this inconceivable appointment of the Reagan administration."



Armando Valladares during his days as employee of dictator Batista's cops in late 1950s.

Saudi massacre of Iranians confirmed by new evidence

BY FRED FELDMAN

When more than 400 people were massacred in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, during the annual hajj or pilgrimage of Muslims to that city, the major U.S. media readily bought the official Saudi version, which blamed the Iranian government.

As the participants in the pilgrimage returned home, however, the truth seeped out.

Officials of the Saudi monarchy said that the July 31 death toll resulted from a stampede set off by violent demonstrations of Iranian fanatics. Saudi forces, royal officials insisted — and the big-business media echoed — had not fired a single shot.

The U.S. State Department declared that the Saudi regime had "acted responsibly."

Weeks later, however, after milking the Saudi version for all the anti-Iranian propaganda it was worth, the *New York Times* conceded the Saudi story was false.

"Mounting evidence suggests that a specially trained group of Saudi national guardsmen opened fire with pistols and automatic rifles," the September 6 issue admitted.

What really happened was described by Mushahid Hussain, a Pakistani editor; and Mohammed Ali Wakel, an Iraqi-born physician. Both participated in the pilgrimage. Hussain's eyewitness report appeared in the September 2 issue of *New York Newsday*, while parts of Wakel's account were quoted in the September 6 *Times*.

Their descriptions support Iranian charges that the slaughter was prepared and perpetrated by Saudi authorities.

Hussain pointed out — and the *New York Times* confirmed — that Saudi officials had given "general consent" to a demonstration by the Iranians and their supporters. Such demonstrations had been taking place during the hajj each year since 1983.

However, according to Hussain, when the front of the demonstration reached a point about 500 yards from where the two sides had agreed it would end, Saudi police blocked its passage. Suddenly, stones and bricks began to rain on the demonstrators from the upper stories of a building along the march route.

"The stones just kept on coming," Wakel told the *Times*. "So many people were wounded or killed. The exits were blocked, and the crowd tried to push through the police."

"The police used electrical batons that made people fall over. Once they fell, they were crushed because of the human wave. Many people tried to beat the police desperately with their fists or with sticks just to get away."

The Saudi monarchy later used film footage showing demonstrators striking at police to bolster their claim that Iranians had attacked without provocation.

Wakel said that Saudi forces then opened fire with tear gas and automatic weapons.

"Although I myself did not actually see Saudi police firing on the Iranians," wrote Hussain, "gunshots could be heard loud and clear. People were being carried away with bullet wounds in the chest, arms, and thighs."

Salvador solidarity activists meet

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Some 250 people from across the United States came to Georgetown University here September 5-7 to attend the second national convention of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). The convention was dedicated to Brian Willson, a U.S. veteran maimed in a recent antiwar action, and to José Vladimir Centano, a Salvadoran medical student and political prisoner who was wounded when the army attacked the prison he is held in.

Founded in 1980 by U.S. supporters of the liberation struggle in El Salvador, CISPES has played an important part in many national and local protests against U.S. intervention in Central America.

Recent revelations have shown that CISPES has been a target of illegal FBI disruption, including the use of informer-provocateurs.

Discussions at the workshops and plenary sessions centered on the significance of the recently signed Guatemala peace accords, developments in the struggle in El Salvador, and the activities and orientation of CISPES in the coming period.

The remarks of Ramón Cardona, representing the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front (FMLN-FDR) of El Salvador were a highlight of the convention.

Cardona noted the resurgence of strikes and mass protests in the capital city of San Salvador. These have demanded the government negotiate with the revolutionary forces and bring peace, as well as raising economic demands. "The facts show that it is [Salvadoran President José Napoleón] Duarte who is cornered. He is reduced to trying to manipulate the Guatemala accords to his favor," said Cardona.

He quoted recent reports in major U.S. newspapers that conceded the strength, popular support, and fighting capacity of the FMLN-FDR.

In her opening remarks, CISPES National Coordinator Angela Sanbrano said the Guatemala accords were a "victory for the revolutionary government of Nicaragua. We are seeing the unfolding defeat of U.S. policy in Central America."

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The September issue features a news analysis of the Central America peace accords recently signed by Nicaragua and four other governments in the area.

This agreement is Nicaragua's biggest diplomatic victory in years against Washington's contra war. It stipulates that by November 7, all aid to "irregular" military forces in Central America is to end.

This means Washington would have to end its lifeline to the contras. The agreement, which Nicaragua has begun to implement, has sharpened the debate in U.S. ruling circles over the contra war.

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Hospital workers' strike in El Salvador defies cop violence

BY DON GUREWITZ

SAN SALVADOR, El Salvador — "¡Viva la solidaridad internacional! ¡Viva la mujer combativa!" (Long live international solidarity! Long live fighting women!)

Those were among the chants that greeted us as we entered the Social Security hospital in San Miguel, in the eastern part of this country. Seventy-five workers who had struck and occupied the hospital had gathered to explain their struggle to us.

The workers, predominantly women, are all members of STISSS, the union that represents some 4,800 nurses, technicians, professionals, orderlies, and administrative staff at 36 Social Security hospitals and offices throughout the country.

STISSS went out on strike nationally June 1 over a number of issues including the Social Security Administration's failure to implement an agreement that settled a nine-day strike last year. Representing about 76 percent of the Social Security personnel, they have effectively shut down this important government institution.

Government attempts to bust strike

The government has tried to intimidate the strikers into going back to work using threats, legal repression, and violence. In response, virtually the entire Salvadoran labor movement has adopted the STISSS struggle as their own. It has become the focus and rallying point of the wave of labor struggles sweeping El Salvador today.

STISSS is a member of the Committee of Workers in Conflict, a coalition of unions currently on strike, including some formally associated with the ruling Christian Democratic Party.

At a meeting with the union leadership

in the main hospital in San Salvador, we had the demands of the strike explained to us:

- A \$30 a month wage increase. This is especially important in face of a 50 percent annual inflation rate.
- Rebuilding and repair of the hospitals and medical facilities damaged in the October 1986 earthquake.
- Restoration of three month's free medical care for unemployed workers. This is a critical demand in the face of a wave of plant closings, layoffs, and mass firings.
- A basic "basket" of food and clothes for new mothers after delivery.

After trying unsuccessfully to negotiate these demands with an intransigent administration, the workers decided to strike. They occupied their hospitals and offices, continuing emergency and other critical medical services. They launched a campaign of marches and rallies designed to bring their case before the Salvadoran people.

The government of José Napoleón Duarte answered the STISSS workers with repression. The strike was declared illegal. One thousand workers were fired. The military occupied the Social Security Administration building in San Salvador and, later, medical facilities in Sonsonate, Usulután, Zacamil, and Santa Ana.

Cops attack rally

On July 8 some 200 national police attacked a STISSS rally in San Salvador with clubs and guns, beating and wounding 65 people. One week later, police again opened fire on a STISSS support rally in downtown San Salvador, wounding three.

But the STISSS workers have only become more determined. In an impromptu



Militant/Don Gurewitz

Union contingent at San Salvador march in late July. Banner reads: "We workers are fighting the hunger and misery imposed by Duarte."

rally at the hospital in San Miguel, and at a similar one in the hospital in the western town of Santa Ana, we saw the spirit of a mobilized and militant membership that refuses to be broken.

Nurses at the San Miguel hospital explained that three of them had been wounded in the police attack in San Salvador July 8. "The government accused us of being the shock troops of the FMLN," one said, referring to the Farabundo Martí

National Liberation Front. "That's why they fired on us. But we are not guerrillas. Our only weapons are our hands and our voices."

Don Gurewitz is a member of International Union of Electronic Workers Local 201. He visited El Salvador on two previous occasions as part of U.S. trade union delegations. His recent visit was as part of a labor-student delegation from Boston.

Latin American parties hit U.S. campaign against Panama

A broad grouping of Latin American and Caribbean political parties has expressed solidarity with Panama, in that country's struggle against a U.S. destabilization campaign designed to bring down the Panamanian government.

Issuing a statement on behalf of the Permanent Conference of Latin American Political Parties (COPPPAL), 11 members of its coordinating committee declared that "we condemn and reject the imperialist and interventionist activities against Panama, and we call on all the peoples and parties of the continent to support this sister country, for in its battle it is also struggling for the independence and sovereignty of all the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean."

With open U.S. encouragement, rightist forces in Panama launched a campaign of demonstrations, strikes, and civil disobedience in early June. One of this campaign's central demands has been for the resignation of Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega, Panama's de facto head of state.

U.S. hostility toward Noriega stems from his government's declared aim of abiding by the 1977 Panama Canal treaties, which stipulate that Washington will re-

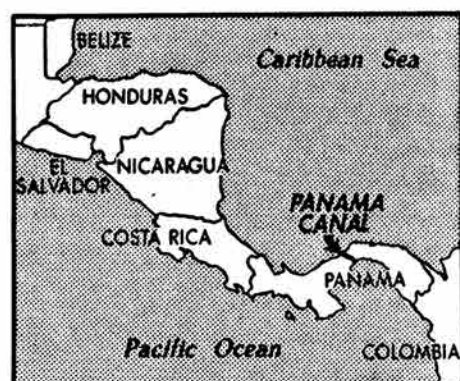
store the Canal Zone to Panamanian sovereignty at the end of 1999. Some U.S. officials have raised the possibility of finding a way to renege on the treaties or keeping U.S. military forces in Panama after that date.

The COPPPAL, which comprises 34 political parties from 20 countries, includes Panama's governing Revolutionary Democratic Party as well as many parties in the region that are affiliated to the Socialist International. Among the signers of the COPPPAL statement were Tomás Borge of Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front, Michael Manley of the People's National Party of Jamaica, and Guillermo Ungo of the National Revolutionary Movement of El Salvador.

"Persistently and for months," the statement said, "top U.S. government officials have been promoting a campaign against Panama to force it to resign from the Contadora Group, stop its support of proposals leading to a peaceful and self-determined resolution of the Central American crisis, oblige it to collaborate with projects promoting military intervention in Central America, and impose an extension of the presence of the U.S. military bases on its territory."

The statement blasted the efforts of the U.S. ambassador to Panama to "openly promote the plot of Panamanian oligarchical and reactionary groups," Washington's "repeated misinformation and lies to the press" about Noriega and the Panamanian government, and its "arrogant statements that openly ignore the sovereignty and self-determination of Panama."

"All these activities," the COPPPAL statement charged, "are serious and unacceptable intervention in the affairs of one of the countries of our America, as well as a threat to the dignity and collective interests of all our countries."



Central America and Panama

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Anti-apartheid groups score S. Africa panel

The African National Congress (ANC), United Democratic Front, and other groups fighting for an end to apartheid in South Africa have rejected the government's latest move to alter its methods of rule.

On September 11 the apartheid regime submitted a bill to the whites-only chamber of Parliament to establish a panel, headed by President Pieter Botha, that would advise on the drawing up of a new constitution.

The panel, called the National Council, is to include African figures, some appointed by Botha, some chosen by the administrations in the 10 rural African reserves known as Bantustans, and some supposedly elected by Africans living outside the Bantustans. The council will have no executive or legislative powers.

The government has presented this proposal as evidence of its claimed commitment to moving away from apartheid and providing Blacks with some political voice.

Anti-apartheid activists, on the other hand, quickly pointed out that the method of selecting African participation is designed to reinforce the regime's divide-and-rule policies toward Blacks and that the council itself would be little more than a platform for those Blacks who collaborate with the apartheid authorities.

"It's a nonstarter in that it seeks to sidestep the universal demand for majority rule based on one person, one vote," declared Mfanafuthi Makatini, a leader of the ANC.

In fact, opposition to the council has been so widespread among Blacks that few of Pretoria's closest Black collaborators have thus far been willing to endorse it.

British miners reject coal board's new code

Leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) on September 6 rejected changes proposed by British Coal in its new miners disciplinary code. British Coal runs the country's nationalized coal industry.

Under the code, miners can be fired for participating in various forms of union activity that the board does not ap-

prove of. In place of the current resolution of disciplinary cases by independent "pit umpires," a process that usually takes several weeks, the board's new code insists that miners' grievances be decided by government industrial tribunals, which could take a year or more.

By a 77 percent majority, the NUM's membership voted in late August to authorize their leadership to take job action against the code.

The board then proposed some minor alterations, but NUM General Secretary Peter Heathfield noted that these fell far short of the changes the union sought. The NUM leadership gave the coal board two more weeks to make satisfactory changes before the union would call a national ban on overtime work.

Indigenous peoples of Caribbean meet

Representatives of indigenous communities in four Caribbean countries and Canada met August 13-17 for the First Conference of Indigenous Peoples of the Caribbean. Held in St. Vincent and the Grenadines, in the Eastern Caribbean, the conference featured discussions of the common problems facing indigenous peoples.

Besides representatives from St. Vincent itself, participants came from Dominica, Belize, Guyana, and Saskatchewan, Canada. A representative from Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast was invited and got as far as neighboring Barbados, but was blocked from boarding a plane to St. Vincent.

The participants from Dominica described how the 3,700 acres of land reserved for them in 1901 is being encroached upon and how they have still not gotten title to it. Amerindian participants from Guyana told a similar story, as settlers from Guyana's coastal region have moved further into the interior in search of gold.

Delegates from the Garifuna community in Belize, located in Central America, noted that in coming to St. Vincent they had returned "home," almost 200 years after the colonial authorities expelled the Black Caribs of that island and dispersed them in what is now Belize, Guatemala, and Honduras.

By the conference's close, the participants agreed to work toward uniting the indigenous communities of the region to further their common struggles.

—THE GREAT SOCIETY—

Tough situation — Entrepreneur John Hudson expected a \$1.75-million take on a Barbie-type Oliver North doll. Now he



Harry Ring

expects to lose \$20,000. "I guess we sort of miscalculated the people's support for Ollie," he mused.

You better believe it — Actor Sean Penn, who drew 60 days for slugging an extra, used the judge's

elevator for court appearances, selected the jail he would go to, and, after six days, was granted an "intermission" to work on a film in Germany. Responding to critics, his lawyer explained, "That's the way it's done every day for people in the business world."

But not to hurry — Pointing to the dangerously high levels of raw sewage in coastal waters, including organic chemicals, metals, and disease-bearing bacteria, marine scientist Donald Squires said, "We're going to have to stop producing some of these noxious substances."

Probably as good a way as any — In case you wonder about the quality of film fare, it's reported

that Peter Hurkos, a psychic, is doing nicely as a script consultant to some of Hollywood's top stars and producers. He passes his hand over scripts and reports the vibes he's getting.

Ciao — Members of New York's posh Century Club voted to admit female members — if they can't escape it. Sighed one old-timer: "It would mean a complete change. If the change comes and it turns out to be something I don't enjoy, I'll probably just fade away."

Don't waste the leftovers — "What are you put on this earth for anyway? To be productive — for yourself until you've got everything money can buy. After that, it

belongs to humanity." Albert List, recently departed industrialist and widely touted philanthropist.

Fashion tips — Gucci's New York shop is featuring a black leather dress, including a leather belt, plus distinctive Gucci buttons. \$1,795. And, if you think that's pricey, check out Yves Saint Laurent's ostrich-feather bolero jacket. \$6,550.

Think you got expenses? — "I spent approximately \$20,000 a month on clothing and accessories. . . . For instance, I wear \$2,000 leather jackets, \$400 crocodile shoes, and tens of thousands of dollars worth of jewelry." — from Peter Holm's court petition seeking \$80,000 a

month spousal support from actress Joan Collins, who's divorcing him.

Writes a neat check — Exclusive from Cartier's, the Pasha pen — 40 coats of lacquer, each pen individually numbered. Ball point, \$600. Fountain pen, \$675.

The imagemakers — "It's the competitive demand to look youthful," explains one doctor about the growing demand for cosmetic surgery among Yuppies in their 40s. Particularly popular is a machine that sucks out fat and another that pumps it back in elsewhere. A beleaguered mid-ladder exec can have that extra chin removed and used to strengthen his jawline.

—CALENDAR—

ALABAMA

Birmingham

The Killing Floor. Video showing of film on conditions in Chicago meat-packing plants in the 1930s. Discussion to follow. Sat., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

San Diego

Alsino and the Condor. Award-winning film set in Nicaragua, directed by noted Chilean filmmaker in exile, Miguel Litin. In Spanish with English subtitles. Sat., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 2803 B St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Forum Series. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

FLORIDA

Miami

Grand Reopening of the Pathfinder Bookstore. Sat., Sept. 19. Reception, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. Translation to Spanish and Creole. 137 NE 54th St. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

INDIANA

Muncie

What Is the Young Socialist Alliance? Meet members of the Muncie and Chicago YSA chapters. Sat., Sept. 19, Ball State University. For more information call Scott Shaffroth at (317) 282-2996.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

The Baltimore Elections: Who Speaks for Working People? Meet the Socialist candidates. Hear Reba Williams Dixon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, member United Auto Workers Local 738; and Dana Burroughs, SWP candidate for City Council president, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 775. Sat., Sept. 19. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Campaign Slate. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

The Central America Peace Accords. A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 26. Dinner, 6 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donations: \$3 dinner, \$2

forum. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Educational Series on Cuba. An eight-part series of classes held on Tuesdays at 10 a.m. and 7 p.m. starting Sept. 22. 508 N Snelling Ave. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Marcus Garvey: A Fighter for Black Rights. Speakers: Mahmoud El-Kati, History Department, Macalester College; August Nimtz, professor of political science, University of Minnesota. Sat., Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

U.S. Constitution: For Working People or the Rich? A panel discussion on workers' and farmers' struggles for constitutional, democratic, and political rights. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 26, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf! Speakers: Michael Carter, codirector of Region 2 of Nebraska for Peace; Lee Oleson, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

The Havana Bialal: A Discussion. Hear the viewpoints of artists who support the revolutionary process in Cuba and who attended the Bialal, a show with works by more than 800 artists from Latin America and the Caribbean. Speakers: Mike Alewitz, Newark artist and director of Pathfinder mural project; New York artists Marina Gutierrez (a Bialal prize-winner), Juan Sanchez, and Willie Birch. Sat., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

AIDS: Fact vs. Myth. Why the U.S. Government Treats AIDS Victims Like Criminals. Speaker: Margaret Jayko, coeditor of the *Militant*, others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Sept. 18, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Speak Out Against Attack on Antiwar Veteran Brian Willson. Speakers: Mike Pahias, Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) and striking NABET worker, friend of Brian Willson; Cate Woods, New Jersey Pledge of Resistance; Dave Kline, coordinator of N.J.-N.Y. VVAW; David Rosenfeld, Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from a brigade in Nicaragua. Translation to Spanish and French. Fri., Sept. 25, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Reagan's War Against Abortion Rights. A panel discussion. Sun., Sept. 20, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OREGON

Portland

The U.S. and Central America: A Conference in the Spirit of Ben Linder. First Congregational Church, SW Park and Madison. Fri., Sept. 25 through Sunday, Sept. 27. Benefit feast with conference speakers, Sat., 6-8 p.m. Donation: \$12-\$30. Proceeds from conference go to the Ben Linder Memorial Fund. Sponsor: Portland Central America Solidarity Committee, others. For more information call (503) 236-7463.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

The Central American Peace Plan: What It Means for Workers and Farmers. Speaker: Richard Gaeta, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Philadelphia. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: 1987 Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

mation call (215) 225-0213.

The Havana Bialal: A Slideshow of Cuban and Nicaraguan Art. Presented by Mike Alewitz, Newark artist and director of Pathfinder mural project. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

TEXAS

Houston

Youths Speak Out Against the U.S. War in Nicaragua and Apartheid in South Africa. A panel discussion sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance with Amy Hovis, member of Nicaragua Solidarity Project; Carmichael Khan, Caribbean student and member Black Student Alliance San Jacinto College; Francisco Picado, member of National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

UTAH

Price

Cuba — A Historic Moment. Speaker: Dave Prince, chairperson, Price Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave. Suite 19. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Issues Behind the Debate on AIDS. Speakers: Margaret Jayko, coeditor of the *Militant*; others to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 3165 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For information call (202) 797-7699.

The U.S. in the Persian Gulf: A Socialist View of the Iran-Iraq War. Speaker: spokesperson from Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m. 3165 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

Central American Peace Accords: People of the Americas Say No to the U.S. War. A panel discussion. Sat., Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

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Mass strike, rightist bid rock Philippines

Continued from front page

Processing Zone was paralyzed as were dozens of factories in the provinces of Laguna, Cavite, Pampanga, and Bulacan.

Communications were disrupted when the 10,000 employees of the Philippines Long Distance Telephone Co. stayed home, as did many at Manila International Airport.

In an interview with the *Militant*, KMU Secretary General Bob Ortaliz said that organization of the people's strike was facilitated by the breadth of opposition to the price rise granted the international oil cartel. The opposition, he said, included many businessmen, some of whom permitted employees to participate in the strike without losing pay.

There was significant peasant support for the action in many parts of the countryside, chairman of the KMP in the Bisayas islands, Bobby Propongo, told the *Militant*. Villagers formed themselves into human barricades across the roads into the barrios, he said, to block merchants and others coming in to do business.

The KMP also joined with the KMU in organizing such human barricades across

major provincial and city highways in an effort to bring economic life to a standstill.

These barricades became the focal point for a military crackdown ordered by the Aquino government. At least one worker was shot dead and 100 were injured as police sought to disperse the barricaders. This was the first time that Aquino had ordered such an attack on labor actions.

Joker Arroyo, Aquino's executive secretary, endorsed the assault as "regular police functions." Some of the most vicious repression took place in Cebu, where union leader Propongo was among those arrested for unlawful assembly.

Union under attack

The KMU called for the strike to continue past August 26 until the price increase was repealed. But on the evening of August 26 the TUCP leadership pulled out of any further industrial action. This provided an opening for the government to crack down further.

On August 27 the strikers were dispersed by the military, and the KMU national headquarters was raided. The federation's jeepney drivers' union President Medardo Roda was arrested. Other KMU leaders

went into hiding.

The scope of public outrage over the oil price increases took the government by surprise and deepened the political crisis in the landed and capitalist oligarchy, which has been unable to stabilize a government capable of decisively rolling back demands for land and labor rights.

It was in this context that Col. Gregorio Honasan and other rightist military officers closely associated with former minister of defense and current Sen. Juan Ponce Enrile launched a bloody attack on the Aquino government August 28.

The military commanders in Cebu, the Philippines' second-largest city, joined the bid to overthrow the government. In the course of the coup attempt, military forces in Cebu looted and smashed up three KMU offices.

While forces loyal to armed forces chief of staff Gen. Fidel Ramos eventually defeated the attempt, widespread sympathy with the coup bid was revealed within the armed forces.

Honasan was allowed to escape after being trapped with his troops at the Camp Aguinaldo military headquarters August

28. Even after the military finally ordered his arrest September 13, Honasan and his chief co-conspirators remain at large and talk freely to the media here.

In conversations, leaders of the KMU and KMP stressed that they see Honasan's group as having largely succeeded in forcing the regime to move to the right, purge itself of remaining liberal figures, and adopt a mailed-fist policy toward worker and peasant struggles. They point to the government's priority on giving a 60 percent pay increase to military personnel and to the resignations tendered by the entire cabinet and General Ramos to allow re-vamping of the government.

No mobilization against coup

In contrast to the millions who joined the August 26 strike, there was no popular outpouring to defend the Aquino government against the ultrarightist mutiny.

The Catholic bishops, who played a key role in the "people power" mobilizations against Marcos, made no appeal to defend Aquino against the right, nor did any of the organizations that led the people's strike.

In the immediate wake of the coup attempt, the KMU called a temporary moratorium on further strike actions to avoid being linked to ultrarightist attempts to destabilize the Aquino government.

However, KMU Secretary General Ortaliz said the workers' right to strike would not be compromised and the KMU would intensify its national campaign for a 10 pesos per day across-the-board increase in the minimum wage to counter the inflation brought about by the oil price increases.

At the same time, Ortaliz explained, the KMU was seeking to launch a broader campaign in defense of trade union rights in anticipation of a renewed crackdown by the police and the military against labor organizations.

There is widespread feeling here in the wake of the August 28 events that there will be either a sharp shift to the right on the part of Aquino's cabinet or a new and more determined coup attempt from within the military.

Kanaks boycott vote rigged by France

Continued from front page

wanted to give up their French nationality."

The FLNKS has said that only those with at least one parent born in the territory should have the right to vote on the country's future. This would eliminate the huge bulk of recent arrivals. Many of them were brought to New Caledonia as part of the French government's stated policy in 1972 of "whitening" New Caledonia to counter the growing demand among the indigenous Kanak people for independence.

The government and local right-wing groups made much of the fact that 59 percent of those registered to vote did so, in comparison with 49 percent in the 1984 territorial elections.

But the number of Kanaks registered to vote has plummeted. The September 11 *Bwenando*, newspaper of the FLNKS, reported that as many as 2,000 liberation front supporters have been denied civil rights — including the right to vote — after being convicted by the colonial courts for their role in protests against French rule.

Some 2,000 other Kanaks were stricken from the voters' list because they had not voted in previous elections and failed to come forward now to provide proof that they had lived in New Caledonia for three years. And many more simply never registered.

Tjibaou announced that the FLNKS plans legal steps to have the validity of the referendum annulled.

As the referendum neared, there were stepped-up attacks on the right of Kanaks

to organize in favor of independence.

The FLNKS's "peaceful march for independence," which was scheduled to proceed from one end of the territory to the other from August 23 to September 3, was banned.

The Kanak liberation front called for "two weeks of mobilization for Kanaky" — local actions in place of the banned national march. Hundreds gathered in many communities but were often prevented from moving a single yard.

Authorities seized a boat from Belet Island (north of the main island) that was to be used by protesters. And the airline that normally transports people from Loyalty Island to the mainland announced its planes were out of service.

Bwenando commented, "By order of Bernard Pons (French minister for overseas territories), it is thus forbidden for the Kanaks to go on foot, to move by plane, by van, or by car, unless with a permit to move, as in the finest hours of South Africa's apartheid."

"For Pons, the place of the Kanaks is in the Bantustans (reserves and ghettos), invaded and patrolled by the colonial army, which can then provoke and baton, sheltered from journalists' cameras."

The racist atmosphere surrounding the referendum was further underlined by the brutal cop attack on a sit-down protest held by the FLNKS in central Nouméa on August 22.

On August 29 some 400 FLNKS supporters from the Pierre Languete ghetto

area of Nouméa occupied one of the main tourist beaches for a day.

Arriving early in the morning, they picnicked, played games, and relaxed. A number of white beachgoers hurriedly left, while some stayed behind and mingled with the Kanaks. The scene was completely peaceful. Within minutes, however, the police and security forces had cordoned off the entire beach, forbidding further access by anyone.

FLNKS supporters ended the action at 3 p.m. and returned to Pierre Languete. But the next day, the police and military sealed off the ghetto. They allowed only those with work cards to leave. The cop blockade of Pierre Languete lasted until September 11.

— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 30¢
Sept. 23, 1977

Steven Biko, prominent leader of South Africa's Black Consciousness movement, died September 12 while being held prisoner by the apartheid regime. Biko had been arrested August 18 for suspicion of promoting unrest under a law that makes indefinite imprisonments without trial legal.

Biko's family and other Black spokespeople expressed disbelief at the official explanation of the death. The government claims that Biko, 30 years old, suddenly died after a one-week hunger strike. He died only 24 hours after being moved from a prison hospital in Port Elizabeth to a hospital in Pretoria.

Leaders in areas such as Soweto have been warning that any government provocation could spark a rebellion. In recent weeks the government has closed down all high schools and fired on Blacks demonstrating in support of a student boycott of the apartheid school system.

THE MILITANT
Published in the interests of the Working People
Sept. 24, 1962 Price 10¢

President John Kennedy is planning new blows against the Cuban people while deferring outright U.S. military intervention in Cuba until he thinks he can get away with it.

The new anti-Cuba moves include increased pressure on Latin American governments to develop some form of diplomatic cover for U.S. intervention; pressure on Western nations to boycott Cuba; and giving the green light to counterrevolu-

tionary Cuban groups in the United States and Puerto Rico to increase their hit-and-run raids.

The governments of Britain, West Germany, and Norway are now under diplomatic pressure from the United States to prevent ships registered in their countries from being used in commerce between Soviet-bloc nations and Cuba. In addition, British tankers on long-term charter to the Soviet Union, carrying crude oil from Black Sea ports to Cuba, have had to return across the Atlantic empty because they are refused cargoes in U.S. ports.

Only three years ago, 80 percent of Cuba's trade was with the United States. Since the U.S. embargo, Cuba has been forced to shift all that trade to the Soviet bloc, and obtaining shipping for that trade is an acute problem. U.S. harassment of shipping to Cuba has the effect of making it even more expensive and increases the hardships of the Cuban people.

Cuban counterrevolutionary groups in Miami and Puerto Rico have received a shot in the arm from the recent hysteria against Cuba and openly declare that their purpose in conducting the raids they have been making against Cuban ships and harbors is to provoke war between the United States and Cuba. Some exiles are even hopeful that such an action as sinking a Soviet ship could embroil the United States in a war with Russia, reports the *Wall Street Journal*.

Cuban counterrevolutionaries are now being allowed to join the U.S. army directly for training together in special units.

Kennedy's request for stand-by authority to call up 150,000 reserves passed the Senate unanimously and was later approved by a House committee without dissent. There is not a single voice of fairness or reason, opposed to the preparation for crushing the Cuban revolution, heard in the entire Congress. There is only disagreement over when and how it should be crushed.

Big meetings aid Maine paper strike

Continued from front page

company's generosity and good sense. Speakers at the meeting picked the letter apart point by point.

Following the speeches, Local 14 Vice-president Jacques read a three-page list of individuals, unions, and shops — from the beauty parlor to the video store — that made a donation to the local that week.

The high point every week comes when visitors, many of whom bring donations, are asked to come to the front of the meeting to introduce themselves and present their contributions.

The crowd gave a thunderous ovation as several hundred people filed to the front of the gym. They introduced themselves one by one. Some were there for the first time; others were regulars, such as the representatives of UPIU Local 900 from the nearby Boise Cascade paper mill in Rumford. Local 900 is giving the Jay strikers \$11,000 per month.

This week, an entire bus of unionists came down from the Scott Paper mill in Winslow, Maine. Members of UPIU, International Association of Machinists, and

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers locals were inspired by the meeting and promised to bring more members in the future. Several students and faculty from the University of Maine were also there.

An indication of the Jay strikers' desire to continue broadening support for their struggle was the cheers and applause that greeted several unionists from the Boston area who attended the meeting and pledged to help get the word out.

The meeting ended with Jacques reading the text of a petition demanding a court-martial for those responsible for the attempted murder and maiming of Brian Willson. Willson is an antiwar veteran whose legs were severed when he was run over by a train during an antiwar protest at a naval weapons station in California at the beginning of the month. Jacques said the petition would be at the union hall and urged those present to fill it with names.

The meeting concluded as it began, with rousing union songs. After it broke up, a car caravan drove around the mill. (See page 4 for additional coverage of the paperworkers' struggle.)

Reagan tries to shore up contras

When the Reagan administration called on Congress to appropriate another \$270 million for the contras, the message was clear. The White House is determined to torpedo the recently signed Central American peace accords and to continue the dirty war against Nicaragua.

The administration recognizes that if the peace agreement signed in Guatemala by the governments of five Central American countries is implemented, the contra forces are finished.

The proposal for the \$270-million arms appropriation was made to Congress September 10 by Secretary of State George Shultz. In testimony designed to blackmail the legislators, Shultz threatened that cutting off the contras would "guarantee a communist victory" and that responsibility for this would be laid at their doorstep.

This was followed by Reagan's frontal assault on the Guatemala plan. In his weekly radio talk September 12, the president argued that the plan failed to safeguard "democracy" and U.S. "national security."

The pact was signed August 7 by the presidents of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua. It calls for an end to armed conflict in the region and for measures to assure democratic rights in each of the countries.

With his attack on the plan, Reagan is cracking the whip against the governments of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras.

Reagan is also trying to find ways to shore up the sagging morale of the contras. The demand for Congress to come up with \$270 million in arms money — an 80 percent jump over the allotment voted last year — is intended to assure the contras and their U.S. backers that support will continue.

Reagan has good reason for concern. The Sandinistas have severely set back the contras. This was clearly shown in a September 7 *New York Times* interview with Col. Enrique Bermúdez, the ex-Somozaist officer who is the contras' military chieftain.

Reporting from Honduras, *Times* correspondent James LeMoyne wrote:

"The chief military commander of the Nicaraguan guerrillas sat in the debris of the former main rebel border base Friday and acknowledged that he and his men now face the prospect that their long war could be over."

But while the contras have suffered devastating blows, they still have access to U.S. weapons and continue to inflict a bloody toll on Nicaraguans.

The contras have not been able to hold a piece of territory in Nicaragua. But small bands of well-armed killers can launch deadly attacks on peasant communities and cooperatives in isolated regions. And costly acts of arson and other sabotage can be committed by individuals or small groups.

But if the Guatemala accords are implemented and the U.S. Congress is compelled to deny funding to the mercenary bands, then their days are numbered.

Washington now faces an excruciating dilemma, and differences are deepening in ruling-class circles in this country on what course to follow.

This is evidenced in the public exchange between the administration and House Speaker James Wright (D.-Tex.).

On August 5 Wright and Reagan announced a joint proposal on Central America. Two days later it was superseded by the Guatemala pact, which went substantially beyond it. Wright responded positively to the Guatemala plan while the Reagan forces very quickly bad-mouthed it.

Wright attacked the administration for its "active opposition to the negotiations in the region" and let it be known that he had joined with Reagan in the initial proposal only after White House advisers convinced him it was a genuine move toward negotiations.

Now the split between Wright and the administration has deepened with his invitation to Costa Rican President Oscar Arias to Washington for a meeting with members of Congress. The White House leaned on Wright to cancel the invitation to Arias, but he refused.

The Guatemala agreement points up another difficulty for the U.S. government. This is the fact that the Central

American governments — so long beholden to Washington — have dared to act independently on this critical issue.

Meanwhile, as if to underline that he, too, remains committed to opposition to the Sandinista government, Wright has made an initial deal with House Republicans for additional so-called "nonmilitary" aid for the contras. If the deal is consummated, the House will vote between \$2.5 million to \$4 million in aid for a 40-day period.

In sharp contrast to Washington, Managua responded with concrete steps to implement the accords, not with cynical declarations and maneuvers.

Alone among the signers of the Guatemala pact, the Nicaraguan government has created a national reconciliation commission. To head that commission, the Sandinista government appointed Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, the central spokesperson inside the country for the counterrevolution.

The government has also committed itself to lifting the war-dictated state of emergency, ensuring freedom of press and political activity to foes of the revolution as well as friends.

Members of the contra forces are being offered a generous amnesty if they lay down their arms.

In a further peace move, on September 13, President Daniel Ortega announced revocation of a statute permitting confiscation of the property of Nicaraguans who left the country.

Ortega also announced the pardon of 16 citizens of other Central American countries jailed for involvement in counterrevolutionary activities.

Such moves are "going to initiate a new situation" in Nicaragua, Sandinista leader Bayardo Arce told university student leaders. "The entire Sandinista Front and all the revolutionary forces will have to prepare themselves for the political-ideological struggle that is going to open up."

Such a profound political debate will shape the future development of the revolution and will have reverberations beyond Nicaragua's borders.

But the Sandinista National Liberation Front is prepared to face this challenge. It is confident that its revolutionary ideas will prevail and that it will add to the majority support it already enjoys among the Nicaraguan people. And the Sandinistas will surely affect political thinking throughout the Americas, and internationally as well.

In the midst of waging this peace offensive, Nicaragua has also won a victory over the U.S. economic blockade. Faced with a critical oil shortage, it has now succeeded in obtaining almost all of its current needs.

From Cuba came a commitment for an added 40,000 tons of oil. Then it was announced in Managua that an additional 100,000 tons will be received from the USSR.

Like the Sandinistas, the antiwar forces in this country now face a substantial challenge — to escalate their work in order to ensure that Washington does not succeed in reversing the drive toward peace.

When Shultz made his pitch to Congress for more contra dollars, legislators who are critical of the administration's bull-ahead course responded that Reagan should wait to request renewed funding at least until after November 7, the date set in the Guatemala agreement for a regional cease-fire.

Such a leave-the-door-open response is unacceptable. Opponents of the war must bring massive pressure to bear on lawmakers to compel them to take a decisive stand. Aid to the contras must come to an end now.

Antiwar protests are planned in various cities (see report, page 2.) Everyone should plunge in to help ensure the success of these important demonstrations.

Another immediate focus should be to swell the ranks of the brigades that will be going to Nicaragua to help bring in the vitally important fall harvests.

There is also a need to expand the many ongoing work brigades, a growing number of them established in tribute to Benjamin Linder, the young U.S. engineer who, like thousands of Nicaraguans, was murdered by the contras for working to build the new society.

Why workers will be interested in 'Matewan'

BY DOUG JENNESS

A new movie recently opened in New York that I urge *Militant* readers to see. Most movies don't merit recommendation, but *Matewan*, which will soon appear in other cities, is different.

I'm not going to pretend to write a review — which the film deserves — but take up a couple of points of special interest to working people today that struck me.

Many viewers and commentators say that *Matewan* is an interesting and well-done presentation of a chapter from U.S. labor history. And it is that. But I think when coal miners, farm workers, striking paperworkers and

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

meat-packers, and others fighting today to defend themselves against the employers see the film, they will find some points in common with their own experiences.

Matewan is based on the 1920 fight of coal miners in southern West Virginia to become unionized. The miners in the region suffered low wages, long hours, and abominable working conditions. They were completely at the mercy of the coal operators, who owned company stores and much of the workers' housing.

When the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) sent organizers into the area in May 1920 to help the workers' effort to establish a union, the operators fired miners suspected of union sympathies and evicted them from company-owned houses. Thousands of miners and their families were homeless, and the UMWA provided tents to shelter them and organized donations of food.

The struggle throughout the area led to a shooting war between the miners and the operators' hired strikebreakers. It reached a climax in August when a "citizens' army" of 6,000 armed miners fought a battle with 2,000 detectives and imported thugs in Madison, West Virginia. The miners were defeated when federal troops were sent in. Hopes for the union in that region were dashed until the labor upsurge of the 1930s.

The movie doesn't attempt to deal with the whole history and scope of this coalfield war. Rather, it centers on the struggle in *Matewan*, a small town near the Kentucky border in the center of the battlefield and the headquarters of the Stone Mountain Coal Co.

The film shows one thing very clearly — the miners knew who their enemy was. They had a deep hatred of their employer and its hired agents and a determination to fight them to improve their lives.

There was a naked confrontation between the workers and the company that was not buffered by a business-union officialdom seeking to strike a deal in the "mutual" interests of both sides.

What the workers had to work through, however — which is one of the themes of the film — is determining who their friends were.

To try to break the miners' strike, the company brings in Black workers and Italian immigrants to work the mines. The initial response of the strikers is to get into violent clashes with the workers the company has brought in to replace them. But in the course of the fight against the coal operator, the Black and Italian workers are won to the struggle and refuse to work, too. A tenuous, but effective, alliance is established as the strikers grudgingly accept the new workers.

One of the most dramatic scenes of the film is a confrontation between the Black and Italian workers, who are being herded into a mine by heavily armed company guards for a sudden late-night shift, and the striking miners.

A violent clash would have been a deadly blow to the organizing drive and a victory to the company. (An agent provocateur planted by the company in the miners' ranks is attempting to promote hostility between the Black and white miners.)

When the Black and Italian miners put down their tools, demonstratively take up positions alongside the strikers, and announce that not one piece of coal will be mined unless it is union coal, the employer suffers a big blow and the stakes in the struggle escalate.

The UMWA organizer, who had been sent in to help the miners at their request, says, "Now we have a union." These workers had no staff, office, officials, or dues checkoff — that is, the sort of things most people would associate with unions today.

They started with only themselves and their solidarity, which was a commitment to defend each other and to unite in struggle against the Stone Mountain Coal company. But that is the heart of what a union is or at least should be.

This simple truth is often hard to see today, because unions are so often identified with their organizational forms, their institutions, staffs, and so on — and with the policies of a layer of officials who have interests alien to those of the workers.

But as workers increasingly are forced to take action to defend themselves against the indignities and abuse heaped on them by the employers, they learn that it's themselves — the members — that must take the union and make it theirs.

State Dept. vs. free speech

The September 15 order by the U.S. State Department closing the Palestine Information Office in Washington, D.C., is yet another attack on the right of working people in this country to know the true objectives and consequences of U.S. government foreign policies.

This latest restriction of the free flow of ideas comes in the wake of proposals in Congress to restrict the movements of representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia to the confines of those cities where the organizations have their missions.

Pro-Israel groups and congressional backers of the State Department's action have announced plans to also press for shutting down the PLO Observer Mission to the United Nations.

The State Department gave as its reason for closing the Washington office "terrorism committed and supported by organizations and individuals affiliated with the PLO." Not a shred of proof for this charge was offered.

This is a continuation of the U.S. rulers' attempts to criminalize, in the eyes of the U.S. people, the struggle of the Palestinians against 40 years of brutal occupation of their homeland by Israel. It is cut from the same cloth that condemns the ANC and SWAPO as "terrorist" for daring to fight the hated South African apartheid regime by any means necessary.

Working people have the right to hear the truth about the struggle of the Palestinian people for their rights. All supporters of free speech should protest the closing of the Palestine Information Office.

Ga. auto workers discuss GM's 'quality' campaign

BY MACEO DIXON

ATLANTA — The mood is shifting among auto workers here at General Motors' Lakewood assembly plant, where 3,000 of us build several models of GM sedans and station wagons. There's a lot of rethinking going on under the impact of GM's stepped-up drive to force us to produce more, work faster, and accept larger work loads.

As at Ford and Chrysler, GM's attacks are being carried out under the banner of a campaign to "improve

UNION TALK

quality." The truth is that GM wants only to boost its sagging profits.

To underscore how serious they are about squeezing us harder, GM's owners are threatening to close this plant unless we toe the line — the same threat they're making all over the country.

GM's decision earlier this year to close 11 plants and lay off some 30,000 workers makes the blackmail more effective.

In July management stopped the assembly line from rolling for a day and a half. We had to stay on the line, though, so that they could talk to all of us about our jobs and how we could make better quality cars.

There was no agreement among workers on the "quality" question. Some workers blamed the problem on workers' poor attendance and lack of interest.

Others said that as long as GM pushes us to do more work on each car in the same amount of time ("work overloads"), quality will naturally go down. If GM simply wanted better quality cars, they could slow the line

speed, hire more workers, and demand fewer operations from each worker. This is the exact opposite of what GM is doing.

In August Patrick Ryan, the plant manager, spoke to an assembly of night-shift workers to try to get GM's point across again. "A fair day's work for a fair day's wage is all we're asking for," he said.

He told us that the quality of cars made at Lakewood is so low that five auto dealers had returned them. They're so poorly constructed, he went on, that he wouldn't even buy one! When asked by a worker, "If the cars are of such poor quality, why were they shipped to the dealers?" Ryan had no answer.

The officials of our union, Local 34 of the United Auto Workers, echoed the company's line. Shop committee Chairman Jimmy Hardy addressed the August assembly along with plant manager Ryan. Hardy said, "If we do not build a car the dealer will accept, we don't need to worry about a local agreement. This is a different ball game. We are doing things that we've never had to do before. . . . Changes need to take place out on the floor. . . . The foremen need the authority to run their own jobs."

More workers, though, are less inclined to simply accept the notion that we have to give up everything in the name of "quality."

One worker's response was typical of the mood of the assembly. "No use asking us for more. Most of us are working harder than we ever have," he said.

Another indication that some workers are beginning to see through GM's scam is that several of them have quit being "group leaders" for the voluntary "problem solving" groups GM has instituted.

This latest push on "quality" follows last spring's demand by GM to reopen the local contract, which our local officials agreed to. (UAW members are covered by both

national contracts with GM, Ford, and Chrysler, which set basic wage rates, benefits, etc. and local contracts, which cover work rules, overtime, and other matters specific to that plant.) The company said we would have to give deep concessions if we wanted to insure that the new car model would be built here.

Although the new local contract has not yet been voted on by the membership, the company has simply begun implementing the changes it wants to make. Work assignments are being reorganized. Assembly workers are forced to do more and more repair work, inspection, and an ever-increasing number of operations per car. Injured workers are being compelled to work.

Workers who have been at Lakewood a while are talking about these problems with the hundreds who transferred here recently from the Doraville plant across town, which is now shut for model change.

More than 50 of those transferred were not given jobs because Lakewood refused to recognize medical restrictions from Doraville. Lakewood's new position is that there are no longer any light-duty jobs. Other transferred workers were fired for alcohol abuse, despite GM's stated position that workers with this problem should be treated, not punished.

Most of the workers who transferred here from Doraville want to go back — they think the conditions at Lakewood are unreal. But this won't be a solution either. Company officials at that plant have now announced that they want to reorganize that plant along the lines of the NUMMI plant in California, which has been used as a model for worsening working conditions and reducing union rights in other U.S. auto plants.

Maceo Dixon is a member of UAW Local 34 at the Lakewood plant.

LETTERS

GM

Nick Bozich, manager of General Motors' Wentzville assembly plant near St. Louis, recently told the second shift that as of October 19 our shift — 2,700 jobs — would be eliminated.

In the windshield area, workers took tags normally used to label parts no longer in use and put them on themselves. The tags were changed to read, "I'm going obsolete."

Trying to make sense out of GM's shutting down half of the production at a six-year-old, heavily automated, \$500 million plant, workers have had thousands of discussions: how we will cope as individuals, discussions on the contract and whether this is "legal," market analyses of auto sales, and sometimes a gimmick or two the union could use to stop the layoff.

Even workers with nearly 20 years of seniority are in danger of losing their jobs.

Bozich then urged us to keep quality high if we wanted an early call-back and a sign was put up in front of the plant proclaiming, "Our future is quality."

Those of us with short futures at GM saw a bitter irony in this sign. One worker put a sign on one of the cars on the assembly line that read, "Does this mean that GM doesn't love us anymore?"

This was in reference to management's "Wentzville philosophy," which claims to value and respect the workers and our contribution to production. Many workers are now learning that GM's claim to view us as "assets" extends no further than our ability to make profits for them.

Ted Kayser
Kim Kleinman
St. Louis, Missouri

Willson

On April 23 the Sandinista weekly *Barricada Internacional* ran an article covering the solidarity work begun carried out in Nicaragua by members of the Veterans Peace Action Teams.

One of the members interviewed was Brian Willson. Willson is the Vietnam veteran who was run down by a munitions train on September 1 at the U.S. Naval Weapons Station in Concord, California.

When in Nicaragua, Willson was asked about the motivation behind the veterans' antiwar activities by reporters for *Barricada Internacional*.

"Why are the veterans doing all this? Willson says, 'I risked my life for war. Now we risk them for peace.' He says he did not speak about his Vietnam experience for 11 years. He was busy putting together a law career, dealing with car and mortgage payments, and 'keeping it all contained.' He said he did not meet with other veterans; they did not want to be reminded.

"And then it started all over again, like the rerun of a horrible film. This time it would happen in Nicaragua.' Willson and others like him could not sit through that film again."

Janet Post
Portland, Oregon

Wealth of facts

I must thank you for a superb paper. I find the reporting to give me a wealth of facts that I would be unable to obtain from the major capitalist papers.

Stan Kasun
St. Paul, Minnesota

Some truth

I subscribed to your newspaper to find out some truth in this chaotic country and small world of ours.

I like your news. I only hope that the American press will open space to articles in the paper.

Write something good about the Constitution. It's a 200-year baby that can still work for the people!

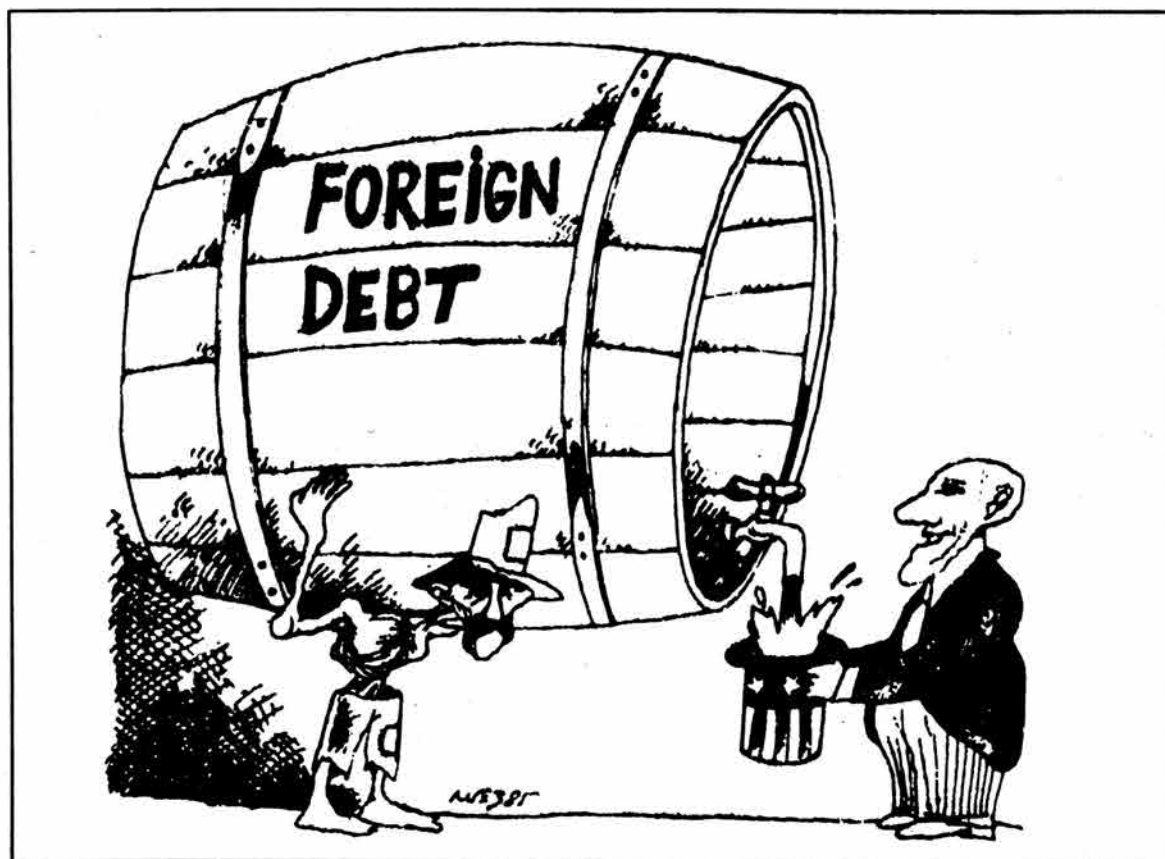
Jay Alexander
Alameda, California

AIDS

Just a short letter to commend you on your finely written article "Why government treats AIDS like a crime" [July 10 *Militant*].

To me, it is the most comprehensive political piece on AIDS that I have read in awhile.

Although I agree with your view that mandatory testing of prisoners (along with gay men, immigrants, and Third World peoples) will fan divisions among these three groups, I do not agree — as in the case of prisoners — that it would be effective in setting up lists that "can be used against



Granma/Nuez

rebellious elements."

Since Attorney General Meese has indicated that those prisoners who show up positive for AIDS might be denied parole release (the view that their infection could be a community threat), I think the list would have more consequence as a parole factor than as a weapon to be used against radical factions in prisons.

I have made copies of the article and posted them on our NAACP bulletin board.

A prisoner
Wallkill, New York

Antidraft

Recently, our executive director was imprisoned for refusing to register for the draft. In giving Gillam Kerley a three-year term — the harshest ever under current laws — the judge explicitly gave the defendant's political work as a rationale.

We feel this case fits into a larger context in the United States today. It further erodes the First Amendment rights of antidraft organizers and all political-social activists exercising free speech.

It also comes at a time when discussion of reinstating the draft has grown louder than ever.

The National Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) is launching a campaign to free Gillam Kerley. We see his release — or the shortening of this term — as key in stopping the easy stroll toward a draft, before it becomes a stampede. Time is short in meeting this goal, since the judge must make a decision soon.

To make this campaign a success, CARD needs your help. If you are interested in more information about registration, compulsory national service, and the poverty draft, contact P.O. Box 6583, T Street Station, Washington, D.C. 20009.

Zoltan Grossman
CARD acting executive director
Madison, Wisconsin

Kurdistan

As a reader of the *Militant* for the past seven years, I have come to respect and admire it as a revolutionary publication dedicated to the cause of socialist revolution and national liberation movements around the world.

The Socialist Workers Party has been the only progressive U.S. party that has unconditionally supported the Kurdish people's right to self-determination.

However, it is sad that recently you have reduced news of the Kurdish revolution, which is a truly progressive and democratic movement dedicated to national liberation of the Kurdish nation and to deep social changes in favor of the toiling classes of Kurdistan.

The Kurdish people are facing oppression, racism, and criminal wars by the occupiers of Kurdistan. Particularly tragic is the situation of the part of Kurdistan occupied by Iraq, where the regime of Baghdad has resorted to chemical weapons and poisonous gas in its campaign of genocide against 5 million Kurds.

The Kurdish people need the support and solidarity of all progressive forces in the world in its liberation war. Because the Kurds' right to self-determination is incontestable, it includes the right to set up an independent Kurdistan.

Har Bizi Yakyeti

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.

Cops assault Ohio labor rally

Raid offices of union on strike at Stone Container Co.

BY NED MEASEL

COSHOCTON, Ohio — Eighty-five sheriff's deputies from Coshocton and surrounding counties attacked a Labor Day rally of 1,500 here September 7 with clubs, tear gas, and rubber bullets. Five people were injured.

A little later, the police raided the headquarters of International Union of Operating Engineers Local 544 and forced those inside to run a gauntlet to get out. Some were singled out for arrest. Others were forced to leave the neighborhood one by one. A total of 12 were arrested.

Some 180 members of Local 544 have been on strike against Stone Container Corp. since August 17.

Company demands more concessions

In 1984 the local was forced to accept concessions at the end of a 28-day strike. The unionists had to give up three paid holidays, and their health insurance plan was weakened. Based on that experience, the workers vowed not to accept another round of takebacks.

But this time Stone Container demanded more concessions, including an end to premium pay for Saturday and Sunday work. The company also wanted the workers to give up their Christmas eve and Christmas day holidays.

Stone Container tried to entice support for this proposal by offering most of the workers a \$4,000 "signing bonus."

"They call it a signing bonus, but it's

really a forfeiture bonus," a striker explained. "If you forfeit your rights, they'll pay you \$4,000. But we're not for sale."

The strikers have received strong backing from other unions and the community. Several unions, including the Mine Workers and Steelworkers, were represented in the Labor Day crowd that was attacked by the cops.

Early on in the Labor Day events, it was obvious the cops were itching for a confrontation.

Police helicopters flew overhead and Stone Container security guards observed the crowd from the rooftops of the company's buildings.

Harold Maple, Local 544 president, told the crowd that the cops had "been walking around in there since four o'clock with M-14s and M-16s with the clips in. Looks to me like they want to start a riot."

On Labor Day, Coshocton's mayor imposed an 8:30 p.m. curfew for the neighborhood around the plant, where the union's headquarters is also located. The curfew is still in effect.

The Coshocton County Trades and Labor Council responded to the cop attack by holding another rally two days later, on September 9. More than 600 unionists and supporters attended.

Local 544 is projecting weekly union meetings followed by Sunday afternoon rallies. The local is headquartered in a house it rents just a block from the plant. It



Youth overcome by tear gas following attack on September 7 rally. Area unionists organized another rally at Stone plant two days later.

is staffed by strikers, their families, and supporters.

Stone Container Corp., which produces corrugated paper, has been advertising for replacement workers. Production is being maintained by management personnel and 45 scabs. No Local 544 members have crossed the picket line. Teamster truck drivers are refusing to enter the plant, and trains are being driven in and out by railroad management.

Frequent ambulance visits are an indication that the injury rate inside the plant is high.

The company has a large contingent of uniformed guards on duty at all times and conducts constant camera and videotape surveillance of the picket lines. Strikers' families have been followed and harassed.

Injunction limiting picketing

A restraining order limits pickets to two per gate. That order also requires the union to give the sheriff the names of pickets 24 hours in advance. So far, no names have

been handed over.

Local 544 and United Paperworker International Union locals at Stone Container plants in Missoula, Montana, and Ontonagon, Michigan, had agreed to strike together on August 17. However, the other two plants are still working under the old contract, except that the company is refusing to check off union dues and to arbitrate disputes.

Local 544 members are determined to get a decent contract and to keep their dignity. A member of the safety committee who has been fired by the company and arrested for union activity explained to supporters, "We can't give up what workers before us fought for, maybe went to prison for. And we have to think of our children and their future, too."

"We're here to stay whether they [Stone] are or not," said another striker. "If they can't give a decent contract, they might as well bring in bulldozers, knock it down, and pave it over. We don't want it then."

Canadian auto workers strike Chrysler plant

BY ROBERT SIMMS

TORONTO, Canada — Ten thousand auto workers walked off the job at Chrysler Canada at midnight September 15 to fight for their contract demands on the picket lines.

A central issue in the strike is the union's insistence that pensions be protected from inflation. The Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) want pension benefits indexed so that they rise when the cost of living goes up.

In negotiations with General Motors in 1984 and with Chrysler in 1985, Canadian auto workers rejected some of the concessions the auto companies were able to impose on United Auto Workers (UAW) members in the United States. This included winning increases in the hourly pay rate instead of accepting lump-sum payments.

The Canadian auto workers split from the UAW and established the CAW in 1986.

Chrysler Canada, which reported profits of \$193 million last year, on top of half a decade of banner profits, has put forward a series of concession demands. They include changes in work rules, job classifications, and seniority rights, as well as cuts in medical and dental benefits.

Company negotiator William Fisher said that refusing to grant automatic pension indexing is a matter of principle with Chrysler.

Canadian Auto Workers President Bob White termed Chrysler's final offer "an insult from a corporation that has made enormous profits and paid its executives enormous bonuses."

The current wage of an auto assembler in Canada, including cost-of-living payments, is \$15.24 per hour (\$11.43 an hour in U.S. dollars).

The strike shut down four Chrysler plants in Canada — two assembly plants in Windsor near Detroit, and a trim plant and a castings plant in the Toronto area. Several U.S. Chrysler plants are expected to be affected by the strike. The company has already been forced to close its Belvidere, Illinois, plant because of a parts shortage.

The picket captain at the Etobicoke Castings plant in suburban Toronto told me that the main issue is pension indexation.

The CAW leadership has argued that making it easier to retire with a secure income will help many younger workers hold onto their jobs in the next recession. However, the picket captain said that what is uniting older and younger workers is simply justice for pensioners.

"You can get \$1,100 or \$1,200 a month now if you retire, and maybe the union can get it up to \$1,300 in future contracts. But 10 years from now you'll need to get \$1,700 to keep up with inflation. That's why we need indexation," he said.

He also explained that previous concessions had led to a reduction of job classifications and a deterioration in working conditions at the Etobicoke plant.

"If we have to give more on these to get some indexation, it could be real scary," he added.

A young worker on the picket line said he expected a fight against the company's takeback demands.

Most workers are prepared for the strike to last several weeks. Chrysler Canada workers struck for five weeks in 1982. And they struck for several days in 1985, winning parity with workers at Ford and General Motors following the deep concessions of the early 1980s. They also won a common expiration date for contracts with GM and Ford and now hope the Chrysler contract will set a pattern for the pending negotiations with the other two companies.

U.S. auto talks go past deadline

BY NORTON SANDLER

As the current contract was about to expire on September 14, United Auto Workers President Owen Bieber announced that auto workers at Ford Motor Co. would remain on the job on a day-to-day basis. Bieber claimed "substantial progress" had been made in winning "job security" for the 104,000 workers at Ford.

Ford Vice-president Peter Pestillo hailed the action. "It's important to note the courage it takes for a trade unionist to extend an agreement when the typical behavior is one of 'no contract, no work,'" Pestillo said.

In telephone interviews, Bill Henry and Joe Patterson were asked about shop floor reactions to the current negotiations. Henry works at the Ford plant in Hazelwood, Missouri, near St. Louis; Patterson at the company's St. Paul, Minnesota, plant.

Both report that the job security provisions of the contract under discussion are being greeted with skepticism by some auto workers.

Henry said many of his coworkers "don't believe the thing about job security. When the cars aren't selling, they aren't going to keep you there," he said. "The contract may provide laid-off workers supplemental income, but that's only for awhile."

A substantial number of Patterson's coworkers previously worked in auto plants in Michigan and in other states. And many

were laid off for several years before being recalled to the St. Paul plant.

Patterson said it's common for these unionists to say, "We haven't got any job security now, and we aren't going to get any."

Some workers are relieved that there was no strike. Others, Henry said, "are very disenchanted. Their attitude is we should have walked."

There is also disgruntlement about how the negotiations are being carried out.

"I have never seen it this quiet," an older worker told Patterson.

One auto worker told Henry that when he goes home at night, his wife tells him what was reported on the news about the negotiations. "This is the only time she's known more about what's going on than I have," he commented.

Henry reports there is also little information available on negotiations over local issues at the Hazelwood plant.

Henry said, "workers there want a \$1-an-hour raise for each year of the contract. They want to see more money put into the retirement fund. And they want to see overtime stopped."

At Hazelwood, workers are currently being forced to put in five 10-hour days. Maintenance workers are being forced to work six 8-hour days, plus at least one Sunday a month.