

## Nicaraguans mobilize to back revolution's gains

BY LARRY SEIGLE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The working people of Nicaragua have taken to the streets in a series of forceful mobilizations in recent weeks. Their goal is to defend and deepen the conquests of their revolution.

Workers and peasants have organized large, determined, and high-spirited marches and rallies in many Nicaraguan towns and cities, including a rally of 100,000 in Managua November 5. The themes of the mobilizations — sounded in countless variations of chants, placards, banners, and speeches — have come through clearly.

• The land that the revolution has distributed to the peasants will never be returned to the landlords, and more land must be distributed. This point is made emphatically not only by rural working people, but also by the workers of the cities, who see their alliance with the peasants as decisive for the future of the revolution.

Commander Jaime Wheelock, minister of agrarian reform, pledged at a rally of 10,000 in Matagalpa November 4 that the land reform "will continue until there is not a single peasant in Nicaragua without land." The pledge was given added weight by the fact that the rally celebrated the handing over of land titles to 1,140 peasant families in the region. This is one of the largest land distributions carried out recently.

• The factories that have become state property must not be turned back to their former owners. "We will never return the factories that have been conquered with blood," chanted thousands of members of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), as they marched from their workplaces to the rally in Managua.

• The Nicaraguan people want peace, and they support the initiatives taken by the government in relation to the accords signed by the presidents of the five Central American countries in August. At the same time they will fight to defend their country's sovereign right to decide its own future. "A people's sovereignty is not discussed, it is defended with arms in hand," vowed the demonstrators at the November 5 rally in Managua.

They applauded with enthusiasm when President Daniel Ortega reaffirmed that the Sandinista government will never agree to negotiate over the internal affairs of Nicaragua with Washington or its hired contra army.



Nicaraguan garment workers at November 5 pro-Sandinista march

ragua with Washington or its hired contra army.

The mobilizations have been organized by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), together with the pro-Sandinista labor unions, peasant associations, and youth organizations. "Up until now we have been somewhat timid about taking to the streets," Bayardo Arce, a leader of the Sandinista Front, told FSLN activists in the Managua region October 29. There had been some "spontaneous and disorganized" demonstrations, he said, but now was the time to demonstrate "the real power of the revolution."

Contingents assembled in workplaces and working-class neighborhoods throughout the city and marched to several concentration points before heading to the Plaza of the Revolution for the rally. Each contingent came with its own banners and placards, and many passed out leaflets with slogans to be chanted.

A majority of the demonstrators were young, with a strong showing by the Sandinista youth group. Many were veterans of the war against the contra forces. It was an overwhelmingly working-class turnout, more so than in other recent rallies here.

The militancy of the demonstrators was

matched by the attentiveness with which they listened to the speech by President Ortega, who announced a series of decisions by the government on questions relating to implementation of the Guatemala accords.

Especially close attention was paid to what Ortega said on the question of an amnesty.

Opponents of the workers' and peasants' government have been demanding a blanket amnesty for all counterrevolutionaries

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## Why U.S. gov't let dollar fall

BY FRED FELDMAN

The Reagan administration, the Federal Reserve Bank, and other government bodies are taking steps that they hope will head off or delay the recession that was signaled by the October 19 plunge in stock market prices.

The moves reflect widespread fears on Wall Street and elsewhere that the next recession will be international in scope. Such a downturn could place heavy strains on big capitalist banks and other financial institutions that are already experiencing growing difficulties.

"The Reagan administration's top priority is to avoid a recession caused by high interest rates, even at the risk of a falling dollar," the *Wall Street Journal* reported November 5, summarizing an interview with U.S. Secretary of the Treasury James Baker. Baker promised to "make sure" that the government's Federal Reserve Bank expanded the money supply to help keep interest rates down.

His remarks were followed by a steep slide in the value of the dollar, as measured by other major currencies.

The amount of Japanese yen that exchange for a dollar has dropped from about 144 on October 19 to a low of less than 134 on November 10. The exchange value of the dollar in German marks dropped from about 1.8 to less than 1.7 in the same period. These were the lowest exchange rates for the dollar since World War II.

In an effort to placate critics of the policy of letting the value of the dollar plummet, President Reagan declared November

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## Frame-up trial of Kentucky miners set to begin Nov. 23

BY DUNCAN WILLIAMS

WILLIAMSON, W.Va. — Five coal miners and another man are scheduled to go on trial November 23 in nearby London, Kentucky.

They face a federal frame-up on a variety of serious charges related to the shooting death of scab coal hauler Hayes West during the 1984-85 United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) strike at A.T. Massey Coal Co. operations in eastern Kentucky and southern West Virginia.

This frame-up takes place in the heart of the Appalachian coalfields, long a UMWA stronghold.

Those arrested are Donnie Thornsby, president of UMWA Local 2496; his cousin David; Irvin Smith, vice-president of the same local; James Darrell Smith; Arnold Heightland; and Paul Smith.

Five of the defendants were arrested last August, when FBI and Kentucky state police descended on their homes in the early morning hours. Paul Smith was arrested in October.

Claiming their release on bail would pose a risk to society, the prosecutors and the courts have teamed up to keep the defendants in jail under the provisions of the odious 1984 Bail Reform Act. (See editorial page 14.)

The defendants will be tried separately. In the meantime, they are not being allowed to consult with one another about their defense.

To bolster the frame-up, prosecutors are floating rumors that one of the defendants will testify against the others.

A defense campaign is being spearheaded by Citizens for Justice, an organization of miners, their families, and

other community backers. Several thousand dollars in legal fees has been raised, but tens of thousands more are needed. Earlier this fall, supporters circulated petitions in the Canada, Kentucky, area where most of the defendants live, demanding they be released on bail.

Massey provoked the strike in October 1984, refusing to sign the contract the union had negotiated with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association. The company used the cover that each of its affiliates was an independent operation as a pretext for demanding concessions.

After the UMWA demanded the same basically nonconcessionary pact agreed to by other members of the BCOA and shut down the Massey mines, the company hired an army of thugs to patrol its property. Massey then told the miners they would have to report to work or be fired and proceeded to hire scabs.

As miners mobilized against the company attacks, hundreds of arrests were made.

"All you had to do was drive up a hill, and the state troopers would stop you and ask for your I.D., where you were going, who you were going to see," UMWA Local 1440 member Bill Huddle said.

The courts also intervened on the company's behalf. Injunctions were handed down limiting pickets to 10 per gate. Miners who sat down in the road in peaceful protest were fined \$5,000 each.

Meanwhile, the gun-carrying thugs took shots at the picket lines, strikers' homes, and grocery stores in the neighborhood. One picket shack was torn down and another dynamited. A woman was shot in

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## Harlem meeting blasts Burkina coup

BY SAM MANUEL

NEW YORK — "The murderers of Burkina Faso's president, Thomas Sankara, are not welcome in the Black community of Harlem," said Elombe Brath of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition. Brath told the 200 Blacks attending a meeting in tribute to Sankara that this would be the main message of a telegram to be sent to the leaders of the coup, with the approval of the meeting.

On October 15 soldiers loyal to Burkina Faso's minister of state and justice, Blaise Compaoré, overthrew the revolutionary government led by Sankara. The president and 12 of his aides were killed in the attack by the soldiers. The military-backed regime that took power calls itself the Popular Front.

The Sankara-led government came to power in 1983 as the result of a popular, democratic revolution. It won widespread support within the population for carrying out a series of social programs in the interests of peasants and workers. It was widely respected among revolutionary fighters throughout Africa, as well as in other countries, for its consistent opposition to imperialism.

Brath explained further that the telegram would be sent to other African governments and that a campaign was being organized to get other African solidarity organizations in Black communities in the United States to adopt this stance.

A predominant theme throughout the meeting was the close ties that had been established between the Black community of Harlem and the revolutionary government of Burkina Faso. Many of those who spoke at the tribute, including this reporter, had been to Burkina Faso. Brath and I were participants in the Pan-African conference against apartheid held in Burkina Faso October 8-11.

The Harlem tribute was held in the Harriet Tubman School. Sankara had spoken there to an overflow crowd when he visited Harlem in 1984. Many of those attending this tribute had been present at that meeting.

Gil Noble, narrator of the popular Black television talk show "Like It Is" called the killing of Sankara "a traitorous blow, not only to Burkina Faso, but also to the struggles of all African people around the

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# Why U.S. gov't let value of dollar drop

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10: "I don't look for a further decline. I don't want a further decline. We're not doing anything to bring it down."

Later that day, however, Secretary of Commerce William Verity predicted, "It is the market place that will determine how far the dollar will fall."

Under present circumstances, the falling value of the dollar in other currencies tends to slow the slide into a recession. When the value of a dollar in Japanese yen or German marks drops sharply, it means that it takes fewer yen or marks to buy U.S. products and more dollars to buy Japanese products.

That tends to spur exports of products made in the United States, while at home favoring the purchase of products made here over imports from Japan and Germany. For instance, the prices of Japanese-made Toyota and German-made Mercedes automobiles have risen steadily this year as the value of the dollar dropped.

Ford, Chrysler, and GM executives voiced hope that this might counteract the downturn in the U.S. auto industry indicated by a 16.5 percent drop in sales for U.S. firms in October.

Interest rates, which had begun to rise before the crash, continued the drop that began in the aftermath of the stock exchange panic.

Falling interest rates encourage capitalists to borrow to expand production, invest in the stock market, or for other purposes. They also spur working people to borrow more to buy homes, cars, or other "big ticket" consumer items. They thus tend to slow down the inevitable tendency of the capitalist economic upturn to be followed by a recession.

The steps Washington has taken put pressure on the West German and Japanese governments to make similar moves.

The German and Japanese capitalists — the strongest competitors of U.S. big business in the world capitalist market — have not been enthusiastic about U.S. government moves. They threaten some of the gains that West German and Japanese exporters have made in world trade at the expense of U.S. capitalists.

Lower interest rates also mean that German and Japanese capitalists will find it less profitable to buy U.S. treasury bonds, which finance the U.S. government deficit, and other bond issues financing corporate and other debts. Less German and Japanese capital will flow into the United States as a result.

## Pressure on competitors

U.S. officials hope the moves they are taking will pressure West German and Japanese officials to take similar measures to expand their economies, create a wider market for goods exported from the United States, and head off deep recessions.

Before the stock market crash, West German officials had resisted pressure from the U.S. government, since relatively high interest rates have helped attract capi-

tal to West Germany. However, high interest rates were also an obstacle to investment in West Germany, where, in the wake of a deep recession in the mid-1980s, unemployment remains above 8 percent.

The Japanese economy, on the other hand, has been in the midst of a recession that saw official unemployment figures rise to a record 3 percent. (The real scope of unemployment in Japan is camouflaged by such corporate practices as cutting working hours and pay rather than laying off many workers.)

Unless Japanese officials can successfully stimulate the domestic market, the U.S. moves could deepen the recession there.

On November 5, West Germany's government-controlled Bundesbank slashed a short-term lending rate from 3.8 percent to 3.5 percent. It has refused thus far to lower its 3 percent discount rate, which plays a bigger economic role.

On taking office on November 7, Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita also called on U.S. officials to strengthen the dollar and reduce budget deficits. He promised to propose a budget that might stimulate Japan's domestic economy.

## Harlem meeting blasts Burkina coup

Continued from front page

world." Noble interviewed Sankara in 1984. He said the "Like It Is" would rebroadcast the interview and run other programs on Burkina Faso.

Arlene Wilson, office manager of the weekly *Black American*, called the murder of Sankara a "tremendous loss." She was particularly impressed with the attention the Burkinabe revolution paid to the care of children. Wilson was in Burkina Faso during a national campaign to immunize children against the many diseases that plague the country. She commented, "The children of Burkina Faso have all that our children don't — a sense of purpose."

"The actions of the 'contra' Compaoré has threatened to turn back Africa's liberation," said Rosemary Mealy, a member of the National Alliance of Third World Journalists and a reporter for WBAI radio. "We have a responsibility to unearth the truth about the death of Sankara."

BALTIMORE — A tribute to Sankara here was attended by 55 people on November 8. Some of those attending also came from Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia. The meeting was sponsored by the Baltimore chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Militant Forum. Nicaraguan ambassador to the United States Carlos Tünnermann sent a message to the meeting. He expressed his regret at not being able to attend the tribute.

In his statement Ambassador Tünnermann said, "I support the position of the

As the U.S. government continues its efforts to head off a recession, it is under growing pressure to make some gestures toward cutting the federal budget deficit. Lower interest rates and the declining value of a dollar mean that the massive inflow of foreign capital that financed the deficit in recent years will begin drying up.

The government will come under pressure to respond by printing money to pay its bills, fueling inflation and further unsettling world financial markets.

The rising prices of imports — and the leeway this gives U.S. companies to raise their prices as well — is another factor that could spur inflation.

## Negotiations on deficit

The Reagan administration and representatives of both parties in Congress have attempted to negotiate a plan that will, if enacted by Congress and signed into law, purportedly cut \$25 to \$30 billion from the deficit for next year.

The program reportedly will include between \$8 and \$12 billion in tax increases — most of which will be paid, as usual, by working people — and further cuts in so-

cial service programs.

The negotiators are caught in a tight spot. They want to reassure the financiers by setting limits to the budget deficit and keeping inflation within bounds, without pushing the economy further toward recession by slashing the role of the government as a purchaser of goods and services.

Recessions have always meant a sharp increase in the federal deficit by reducing tax revenues and increasing spending for items ranging from corporate bailouts to unemployment compensation.

"If the crash has hastened the onset of the next recession, then efforts to shrink the budget deficit through such typically restrictive measures as tax increases and spending cuts may actually serve to enlarge the deficit" by deepening the recession, warned an article in the November 6 *Wall Street Journal*.

"Like a tidal wave, the business cycle sooner or later will simply overwhelm the best-laid plans in the various power centers," the *Journal* quoted one Wall Street economic consultant as saying. "Anything agreed upon in the coming days will ultimately have a minimal impact, compared to the impact of the business cycle."

FSLN [Sandinista National Liberation Front], which regretted the death of the president of Burkina Faso, Captain Thomas Sankara, and repudiated the coup d'état that took his life. . . .

"Nicaragua will always remember the ideals of Captain Thomas Sankara for his country and the solidarity he showed for the people of Nicaragua. First, when he invited President Daniel Ortega to visit, and

later when he made the long journey to Nicaragua to be present for the 25th anniversary of the FSLN and the 10th anniversary of the death of Carlos Fonseca Amador. His death is mourned by Nicaraguans and all freedom loving people of the world."

A representative of the Central America Solidarity Committee in the city also brought greetings to the meeting.

## Miners' frame-up trial to begin

Continued from front page

the hand in one picket shack. I met a striker whose leg was broken in 13 places after he was run over by a scab-run coal truck. Crance Bond, a retiree, collapsed and died of a heart attack after being chased by the cops.

The campaign against the union reached a fever pitch with the shooting death of Hayes West in May 1985. Other scab truck drivers were given the day off with pay to attend the funeral, which was televised. Though no proof was offered, the union was held responsible for the murder.

The strike ended in December 1985 after the National Labor Relations Board ruled that Massey was a single employer responsible for its affiliates.

UMWA President Richard Trumka instructed union members to return to work, saying Massey was bound by the terms of the 1984 BCOA contract. But Massey refused to recall nearly 100 miners because

of alleged "strike-related misconduct." Those miners have yet to get their jobs back.

Three years after the strike began, Massey is still demanding concessions and refusing to negotiate seriously with the union on a contract.

The BCOA contract expires early next year, and negotiations between the UMWA and BCOA companies have just begun.

As mine workers in this area prepare to hold the line against takeback demands, the operators, working closely with state and federal cops, want the trial of the six to intimidate them.

The UMWA members standing trial in the frame-up deserve the full backing of unionists and other defenders of democratic rights.

To send a contribution or a message of support, write Citizens for Justice, P.O. Box 8, Canada, Ky 41519.

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—Beverly Treumann

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## The Militant

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# Maine paper strikers urge unionists to attend Nov. 21 rally

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — Striking paperworkers have called for a mass labor rally here on November 21 to build support for their five-month-long battle against International Paper Co.

Local 14 of the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) and Local 246 of the Firemen and Oilers have been on strike at IP's Androscoggin mill here in south-central Maine since June 16. They were forced out in response to International Paper's demands for deep concessions, including an end to premium pay for Sunday work, a "team concept" productivity scheme, subcontracting of work currently done by union members, and an end to Christmas as a shut-down holiday.

Hundreds of scabs are now working in the mill — "permanent employees," according to IP. The right of union workers to return to their jobs has become a central issue in the strike as well.

The theme of the rally, which will be held in the Jay High School football stadium starting at 10:00 a.m., is "education, solidarity, and action," according to the leaflet issued by the locals. The unions have applied for a lifting of court-imposed restrictions on picketing at the mill's gates to allow a march to pass by the sprawling plant.

The aim of the rally, Local 14 Vice-president Felix Jacques told the *Militant*, is to show "unions across the country that in order for us to survive, we have to stick together." The union also hopes the rally "will get more people involved," he said, and broaden support for the strike beyond Maine and New England.

The first endorsement for the action came November 4, when delegates to the Maine AFL-CIO state convention enthusiastically gave their approval while attending the weekly "union/family" meeting of strikers and strike supporters in Jay.

The locals have sent out a 3,000-piece national mailing to build the rally. Local members who are speaking before other union meetings are urging everyone to come up to Jay on November 21.

On November 7 Local 14 President Bill Meserve spoke before the District 8 conference of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, held in New Jersey. The conference, which represents OCAW members in the Northeast, passed a resolution urging locals in District 8 to give "moral and financial support" to the Jay strike and to send delegations to the November 21 rally.

UPIU locals from the giant IP mill in Ticonderoga, New York, will host a solidarity rally for the Jay strikers on November 12 at the EMA Building in Ticonderoga.

Local 14 member Gary Desjardins spoke at the November 4 union/family meeting about the upcoming negotiations. "We can't fall into the trap of getting psyched up for one event," he said. "We have to get over the idea of thinking 'somebody else will do it.' That somebody else has got to be you, whether it's working on the food or jobs bank, building up the picket lines, or speaking before other unions and groups to win support for the strike."

"What makes Local 14 tick," he explained to the 1,200 strikers, their families and supporters, and guests who were at the meeting, "is solidarity." Now, he said, with no quick end to the strike in sight, "We have to stay together, stay close to all our members, and get a second wind to fight the battle with the same dignity and same conviction that's got us this far."

Negotiations between the locals and IP took place November 9 for the first time since September 29. The last session lasted nine minutes; this time they went for four hours. "There was movement on both sides," reported Meserve.

## N.Y. paperworkers reject takebacks

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — Workers at International Paper Co.'s mill in Corinth, New York, voted on October 29 to reject IP's "last, best" contract offer by a two to-one margin.

The workers are members of United Paperworkers International Union locals 4, 6, and 7. Local 7 President Earl Seelow told the *Militant* in a telephone interview that 99 percent of the locals' 420 members voted — the biggest turnout ever for a contract vote. The old contract expired September 30.

Workers at the plant, Seelow said, were "very unhappy" with IP's concession demands, which include an end to Sunday premium pay. The Corinth workers have been working under a "team concept" productivity scheme since 1979 — something IP is trying to force through in all its mills.

The company did offer workers "\$10 towards a pair of safety shoes, and a new [U.S.] flag to replace the one in shreds in

front of the plant," Seelow said.

The size and outcome of the contract vote, Seelow noted, was especially significant because of the scare tactics used by management to try to drum up a big yes vote.

These included a letter campaign to workers' homes, shop-floor meetings organized by foremen at which a lockout was threatened, and strike-baiting the union.

"We never once, in any of the negotiating sessions, even used the word strike," Seelow said. There hasn't been a strike at the mill for 66 years.

Recently a delegation of Corinth workers visited the Jay, Maine, UPIU strikers to report on their negotiations and to attend one of the weekly "union/family" meetings.

Many workers have been in the Corinth mill for over 20 years. The no vote, he said, "was across all sectors, including the younger workers."



Militant/Margarethe Siem

Crowd at recent "union/family" meeting in Jay. Striking locals have sent out big national mailing on November 21 rally.

## Meetings in Australia promote new Che Guevara book

BY RON POULSEN

SYDNEY, Australia — "Che Guevara was an extraordinary man, but he was also an ordinary man." This was one of the main points emphasized by Mirta Muñoz, a veteran Cuban revolutionary who was in Australia to help promote *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*. This new book of Guevara's speeches and writings was published last month by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia in collaboration with the José Martí Publishing House in Havana.

Publicizing the political ideas of Ernesto Che Guevara, Muñoz said, is part of the effort in Cuba and internationally to "keep Che's ideas close to our daily work as an inspiration, and not to put him on an altar."

Muñoz was speaking to 150 people here November 5 at a meeting that kicked off a tour of several Australian and New Zealand cities. More than 40 of the new books were sold at the meeting, most autographed by Muñoz. The tour is jointly sponsored by the Cuba Friendship Societies and Pathfinder.

Having worked closely with Che Guevara for several years from 1959 to 1965, Muñoz is well suited to speak of Che's role and ideas. As a member of the Cuban urban underground she helped lead the takeover of the main television and radio stations in the final phase of the insurrection against the Fulgencio Batista dictatorship. As such, she was one of the first people to speak to Che when his rebel column arrived in Havana January 1, 1959. In 1960, Muñoz collaborated closely with Che as she took charge of propaganda for the newly nationalized enterprises. After Che became the minister for industry, she worked closely with him on the ministry's executive body. Muñoz is currently the director of press and publicity for the National Assembly of People's Power in Cuba.

Also speaking at the Sydney meeting were Oscar Cortez, information officer for the Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador, and Natalia Kalaoote, of the African National Congress of South Africa, who studied in Cuba for seven years. Both expressed their admiration for the inspiration provided by Che Guevara and by the Cuban revolution, for revolutionaries around the world.

Apologies and written greetings were also sent from Ali Kazak, Palestine Liberation Organization information officer in Australia. Eddie Funde, chief representative for the ANC in Australia, was also present at the meeting.

On the platform to welcome Mirta

Muñoz to Australia was Ernie Page, state Labor Party member of parliament, as well as the outgoing Cuban consul-general to Australia, Luis Gómez, and the new Cuban consul, Francisco Marchante. The meeting was chaired by Kate Blakeney of Pathfinder.

The editor of *Che Guevara and Cuban Revolution*, David Deutschmann, explained that in editing the book in Cuba, he had discovered "a different Che — not just the symbol or poster on the wall, but a far-sighted revolutionary with a vision of a new world, and of a new man being created in a struggle to bring it into being."

Deutschmann said many Cubans told him the ideas of Che were even more important to the Cuban revolution today than they were two or three decades ago.

## Contra terrorists release kidnapped U.S. activist

Paul Fisher, a Witness for Peace worker in Nicaragua, was released by contra captors October 30. He had been seized by the contras October 17. Also reported released was Rolando Meña, a Nicaraguan teacher.

There were protests in the United States over the kidnappings, and particular concern was voiced because Fisher is recovering from hepatitis.

Fisher was released in the town of El Negro in Central Atlantic Province in the southeastern part of Nicaragua.

Along with three Nicaraguans, he had been kidnapped from a bus in the western part of Chontales province, a considerable distance from where he was released.

Antonio Ríos, one of those who was captured with Fisher, who managed to escape after several days, charged the contras had forced them to carry their backpacks as they marched.

He reported that during the march, the contras captured another man and subjected him to grisly torture.

Fisher, a Californian, worked as an ambulance driver in Nicaragua traveling to areas where civilians were attacked by contra bands.

He was a contributor to the recent Witness for Peace report, "Civilian Victims of the U.S. Contra War." The report documents more than 200 contra kidnappings in a six-month period, marked by ambushes, assassinations and torture.

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# Sinn Féin nat'l meeting held

## Irish party discusses extradition, discrimination

BY MARGARET JAYKO

DUBLIN, Ireland — The 83rd national convention of Sinn Féin met here amid stepped-up attacks on democratic rights by the Irish and British governments and a new round of cutbacks in social services. These moves, coming on top of the high unemployment plaguing Ireland, are forcing working people to leave the island in droves, emigrating to Britain and the United States in search of jobs and a better life.

Sinn Féin is a revolutionary nationalist organization fighting to end British rule over Ireland's northern six counties and to reunify the entire island in a 32-county "democratic socialist republic." The organization has close ties with the outlawed Irish Republican Army (IRA).

One example of the blatant violations of political rights that are rife in Ireland occurred on the eve of the convention (called *ard-fheis* in Irish; pronounced ard-esh).

On October 29, the night before the three-day conference began, five Special

that found widespread discrimination against Catholic workers in the north of Ireland.

"Over the period 1971-85, Catholic men were about two and a half times as likely as Protestant men to be unemployed," according to the report, which was commissioned by the Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights.

In 1985 the unemployment rate in the north for Catholic males was 38 to 40 percent; for females, 18 to 19 percent. For Protestant males, it was 18 to 20 percent; for females 11 to 12 percent.

The conference focused on support for the MacBride Principles, which are designed to put pressure on U.S.-owned companies that operate in the north to take anti-discriminatory measures.

The delegates put the blame for discrimination in employment on the British government and called for affirmative-action measures — with concrete goals and time-

chy, to overthrow socialism in Poland.

A Sinn Féin member from Limerick argued that while Sinn Féin should oppose imperialist meddling in Poland, Moscow has brutally intervened in Eastern Europe on several occasions.

There are socialists, he continued, that actively oppose those regimes. Solidarity arose because many Polish workers felt their aspirations were not taken into account by the government. Whatever one thinks of the leadership of Solidarity, he said, the resolution should be opposed.

On Ireland's large foreign debt, delegates committed Sinn Féin "to raising consciousness of the need for the repudiation of the debt as part of a future assertion of economic and political sovereignty." The resolution noted the "developing movement among other debtor nations in the direction of concerted default and their calls for the establishment of a new international economic order."

Two delegates spoke against the resolution. One, who favored rescheduling the debt payments, argued that it's not "realistic" to say the debt can't be repaid. The people of Ireland elected the politicians that incurred the debt and so the Irish people should accept responsibility for it, he said.

Another delegate backed a five-year moratorium on debt payments, saying that a position of repudiation would cause a massive outflow of capital from Ireland.

International guests at the convention included representatives from the Communist Party of Greece-Interior; Left Socialist Party of Denmark; Troops Out Movement of Britain; and two members of the European Parliament: one from the organization Herri Batasuna of the Basque region of Spain, and one from the Green Party of West Germany.

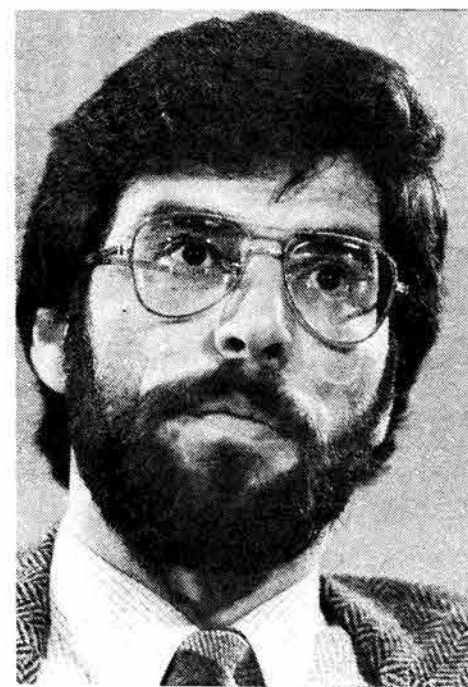
The conference put Sinn Féin on record in opposition to nuclear power.

One delegate spoke against this "blanket condemnation" of the "peaceful" uses of nuclear power. He said the high proportion of France's energy produced by nuclear power was a positive example. Coal, he said, is a worse pollutant than nuclear radiation.

Rita O'Hare, editor of *An Phoblacht Republican News*, Sinn Féin's weekly newspaper, said there is no such thing as safe use of nuclear power. She pointed to the recent nuclear accident in Brazil, which killed and wounded dozens of people, as the latest example of the dangers of nuclear power.

### Abortion

Abortion rights were debated at this *ard-fheis* as they have been at conferences during the past several years. Sinn Féin's position is to support abortion only when the



G.M. Cookson

**Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams appealed to Protestant workers to "throw in your lot with rest of the Irish people."**

pregnant woman's life is at risk.

Delegates approved resolutions defending clinics that offer counseling for pregnant women in the face of government attacks. The counseling includes advice on how to obtain abortions in Britain. Motions explicitly backing women's right to information on abortion were voted down, however.

### Appeal to Protestant workers

In his address to the conference Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams reviewed the party's proposal for how to bring peace to Ireland.

The first step, said Adams, is London must repeal the Government of Ireland Act and publicly declare "that the 'Northern Ireland' statelet is no longer part of the United Kingdom."

Withdrawal of British military and political forces would be followed by "free elections to an all-Ireland Constitutional Conference," which would consist of "the elected representatives of the Irish people." It would draw up a new constitution and organize a national government, explained Adams.

"Republicans have consistently asserted that the loyalist people, in common with all other citizens, must be given firm guarantees of their religious and civil liberties and we repeat our belief that, faced with a British withdrawal and the removal of partition, a considerable body of loyalist opinion would accept the wisdom of negotiating for the type of society which would reflect their needs and interests," he said.

Adams directed an appeal to Protestant working people. "I would like to stress that Thatcher's policies affect working-class Protestants as well as Catholics."

"We offer you a settlement based on you throwing in your lot with the rest of the Irish people and ending sectarianism. We offer peace."

## Origins of Sinn Féin

Sinn Féin was founded in 1905 to fight for Ireland's freedom from Britain.

On Easter Monday in 1916, there was a republican uprising against British rule. The armed fighters who had led the Easter insurrection later adopted the name Irish Republican Army.

Although the rebellion was crushed, it inspired a rising tide of struggle. In the 1918 elections to the British Parliament, Sinn Féin won 73 of the 105 Irish seats. With this clear mandate, Sinn Féin declared an independent parliament or Dail, which met in Dublin in January 1919. London rapidly suppressed it, and most of its members were imprisoned without trial.

In 1921 the British government, unable to crush this revolt by force, reached agreement with procapitalist leaders of the Irish nationalist movement to partition Ireland. The southern 26 counties became the formally independent Irish Free State. The island's six northern counties, however, remained under British colonial rule.

The borders of Northern Ireland were drawn in such a way as to give supporters of British rule, the vast bulk of whom were Protestant, a majority.

British imperialist interests in Northern

Ireland have been maintained ever since by this artificial loyalist majority, whose leaders introduced systematic political, social, and economic discrimination, along with a reign of right-wing, vigilante terror, against the nationalist — largely Catholic — minority.

According to its constitution, the aims of Sinn Féin include:

• The complete overthrow of British rule in Ireland and the establishment of a democratic socialist republic based on the Proclamation of 1916.

• To bring the Proclamation of the Republic of Easter 1916 into effective operation and to maintain and consolidate the government of the Republic, representative of the people of all Ireland, based on that Proclamation.

• To establish in the Republic a reign of social justice based on Irish republican socialist principles in accordance with the Proclamation of the Republic of 1916 and the Democratic Programme of the First Dail Eireann in 1919 and by a just distribution and effective control of the nation's wealth and resources, and to institute a system of government suited to the particular needs of the people." — M.J.



British troops on patrol: Belfast, Northern Ireland.

G.M. Cookson

Branch (political police) officers raided Sinn Féin's headquarters here in Dublin, allegedly looking for firearms. They were armed with submachine guns and backed up by several uniformed cops. After almost an hour-long "search," they found nothing. Carloads of Special Branch officers sat outside the Mansion House, where the Sinn Féin convention met, throughout the entire weekend.

### Extradition

The *ard-fheis* included 500 to 600 delegates and 800 to 1,000 observers.

The conference agenda consisted of brief slots of time, each devoted to discussing resolutions from the elected leadership and the membership on different themes.

The delegates met one month before a British-backed Extradition Act is supposed to be put into effect by the Dublin government. A motion calling for repeal of the act was passed, which called the extradition of political offenders to the north or to Britain "the ultimate in collaboration" with the London authorities.

"We view it as particularly reprehensible coming from the government of a state which owes its very existence to the armed struggle of a previous generation and note that the present Act has the effect of retrospectively criminalizing that struggle."

Mass opposition to the implementation of the extradition treaty — reflected by a substantial section of the Irish ruling class — has been reinforced by the recent opening of the appeal trial in London of the case of the Birmingham Six.

The six men were accused of being IRA members and given life sentences for a pub bombing in Birmingham, England, on Nov. 21, 1974, which killed 21 people and injured more than 100 others. The defendants, who have spent 13 years in prison, have repeatedly protested their innocence and much evidence has come to light of serious irregularities by the authorities throughout the proceedings. The case is widely seen in Ireland as yet more proof that it is impossible for Irish people to get a fair trial in a British court.

### Anti-Catholic discrimination

On the day Sinn Féin's *ard-fheis* began, the media reported on a just-released study

tables — to begin to eradicate inequality in the workplace.

### Elections

Sinn Féin's success in local elections, particularly in the north, has prompted the British government to consider introducing legislation that would require candidates for public office to "declare and undertake that if elected they will neither support nor assist the activities of any organization proscribed in Northern Ireland." The IRA is a proscribed organization.

Delegates adopted a motion giving the leadership of the party the power, in consultation with the membership, to do whatever is necessary to thwart this and any other British attempts to disqualify Sinn Féin from the electoral process and thereby effectively disenfranchise tens of thousands of voters.

### International affairs

The leadership submitted an omnibus foreign affairs resolution that included support to the African National Congress and full sanctions against South Africa; backing for the Central America peace plan and the struggles of the Nicaraguan government and liberation forces in El Salvador against U.S. imperialism; and support for the rights of the Palestinian people.

The section on the Philippines, which welcomed the downfall of dictator Ferdinand Marcos and warned against right-wing attacks on the left-wing Bayan coalition, was amended to include criticism of President Corazon Aquino's failure to carry out land reform.

Later in the agenda, the foreign affairs point was reopened to adopt a resolution reversing Sinn Féin's position of support for the Solidarity trade union of Poland.

The organization's new position is: "Sinn Féin fully supports the struggle of the Polish people to defend national independence and socialism against the attacks of internal antisocialist and external counterrevolutionary elements."

Delegates favoring the resolution argued that Solidarity was part of an imperialist conspiracy, backed by President Ronald Reagan, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and the Catholic church hierar-



# Farm Credit banks get gov't bailout

## No relief for debt-pressed farmers while billions go to banking industry

BY FRED FELDMAN

The House of Representatives voted October 6 to provide \$2.5 billion in loan guarantees to salvage the Farm Credit System, a network of banks connected to the federal government that makes loans to farmers. The bill, which provides for unspecified additional amounts of money to be pumped in over the next four years, is now under consideration in the U.S. Senate.

The move, initiated in May when the Farm Credit System (FCS) asked Congress for \$6 billion in federal aid, is likely to gain momentum as a result of the stock market crash. "Black Monday," which was the investors' response to signs of a coming recession, highlighted the vulnerability of the nation's banking system to a sharp downturn in the business cycle.

In August President Reagan signed legislation providing \$10.8 billion to strengthen the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corp. and keep savings and loan operations afloat. And on September 9, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. pledged nearly \$1 billion to block failure of the First City Bancorporation of Texas, the state's fourth-largest bank.

U.S. bankers took a record \$10 billion loss in the second quarter of 1987. Last year, more than 130 banks failed — up 20 percent from the year before. More than 50 of these were rural banks, specializing in loans to farmers. About a dozen FCS banks have failed since 1983.

Some farmers' organizations have complained that the government should come to the aid of debt-pressed farmers, instead of placing billions at the disposal of bankers who are bleeding them dry. So far this view has been largely ignored in the congressional debate sparked by the crisis in the FCS.

### \$160 billion in debt

U.S. farmers now owe an estimated \$160 billion in loans and interest — about \$54 billion of it to the FCS system. The 20 percent of U.S. farmers who are in the deepest trouble now pay almost one-quarter of their income to service these debts.

The FCS traces its origins to the Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916, adopted under pressure from farmers who were running into trouble getting credit from privately owned banks. In 1933, early in the administration of President Franklin Roosevelt, it was expanded and reorganized under the name Farm Credit System.

Its principal components are 12 district Farm Land Banks that make long-term loans for real estate purchases through local Land Bank Associations; 12 Intermediate Credit Banks that provide short-range loans through 370 Production Credit Associations; and 12 regional banks or cooperatives that fund cooperative-owned grain elevators and other operations.

This setup which is overseen by the federal Farm Credit Administration, gives the appearance of being a government-operated system formed to make credit more readily available to farmers. But in fact the banks are profit-seeking operations, completely intertwined with the commercial banking system.

## GM finds 'loophole' in contract; assembly plant to close

The ink was hardly dry on the United Auto Workers' new three-year contract with General Motors when GM announced it will close its Framingham, Massachusetts, assembly plant indefinitely. Some 3,700 auto workers will be laid off.

The announcement came November 4. In making this decision, GM took advantage of one of the "loopholes" in the new contract — which is supposed to bar all layoffs except those caused by a decline in sales — by claiming slow sales of the Chevrolet and Oldsmobile models made in Framingham.

This brings to 20 the number of plants that GM will close or cut back production. Over 40,000 workers will be affected.

Funds that the FCS lends to farmers are obtained by selling bonds on Wall Street.

While these bonds pay lower interest than many private sector bonds, they usually pay a slightly higher rate than many U.S. treasury bonds and, like them, are exempt from city and state taxes. The FCS is the second biggest seller of bonds on Wall Street, surpassed only by the U.S. Treasury.

The FCS requires farmers who obtain loans to place part of the funds into Production Credit Associations or local Land Bank stock. The system now holds \$4.1 billion in these "participation certificates," which are portrayed as making the local banks "farmer-owned."

But when the banks collapse, the farmers' forced deposits are used to help offset liabilities. That boils down to making sure the bondholders, many of them big commercial bankers, get paid.

### Financiers profit

The government connection of the Farm Credit System banks has been convenient for the financiers who profit from the setup. If a farmer sues a Land Bank or credit association for a reprieve on interest payments on the basis that this violates federal regulations, the associations insist they are private institutions.

But if a farmer whose land has been foreclosed on sues an FCS bank, the FCS insists that, being an arm of the federal government, it cannot be sued.

As the prices of farmland plummeted by more than 50 percent in the 1980s, the FCS began upping its interest rates, which now stand at about 12 percent. As late as 1984, the FCS still managed to pull in a \$440 million profit.

But then the bottom dropped out as tens of thousands of farmers proved unable to keep up payments and thousands were forced off their land through foreclosure.

# 15-year decline in workers' wages

BY SUSAN LaMONT

For working people, the recent stock market dive serves as a grim reminder that the hardships we have experienced for the past 15 years are likely to be only a prelude to even worse times ahead.

One reason for this sober view is how we've done during the past five years of economic upturn. For working people this has been anything but the "good times" pictured in the big-business media. The employers' offensive, aimed at increasing profits at the expense of working people, has continued without letup. This makes the prospect of a new recession — with the resulting massive unemployment and plant shutdowns — even more alarming.

The five-year recovery has been used by the employers and government alike to crow about the virtues of the capitalist system — which can supposedly provide prosperity if only allowed to function without undue interference.

This claim has had some credibility because there are those who have prospered in recent years. Not just the capitalists themselves, but middle layers of professionals, management personnel, insurance and banking executives, real estate speculators, medical profiteers, merchants who cater to the tastes of the wealthy, and others have done quite well of late.

For workers, however, the picture has been quite different.

### Wages decline

Beginning in 1973, for the first time since the end of World War II, average wages began to stagnate and decline. Between 1973 and 1984, median family income went down by 6 percent, while the tax burden increased. The expectation many workers had — that their children would be better off than they were — was turned on its head.

Between 1980 and June 1987 — which includes the five-year "recovery" — average weekly earnings for U.S. workers went from \$235 to \$309. When inflation is figured in, however, the weekly earnings slid



January 1985 farmers protest at Minnesota state capitol in St. Paul. Loan guarantees to Farm Credit System have nothing to do with helping exploited farmers, who now owe \$160 billion in loans and interest, over one-third to FCS system.

The FCS now holds \$6.2 billion in delinquent loans and, together with the federal Farmers Home Administration, now holds 3.5 million acres of land of foreclosed-on farmers — holdings bigger in area than the state of Connecticut.

Following losses totaling \$4.6 billion in the two-year period 1985–86, the system is projecting a loss of \$1.3 billion in 1987.

The collapse of the Farm Credit System would deal a blow to the stability and credibility of the whole banking system and of the U.S. bond market — an outcome big business is anxious to avoid in the wake of the stock exchange plunge. It would also deal a blow to the highly lucrative enterprise of ripping off an ever-growing portion of what working farmers produce as payment of principal and interest on loans.

The commercial banks, which compete with the FCS in lending to farmers and have their own problems with unpayable loans, are also demanding a piece of the bailout. The House bill allows commercial banks to sell securities, which have come to be referred to as Farmer Macs or Aggie Maes, based on the farm loans they have made. These are to be backed by a \$1.5 billion line of credit from the U.S. Treasury.

When the bailout comes through, more money may be in the pipeline for those farmers who can qualify for new loans — especially the better off ones who are already the prime beneficiaries of federal subsidies and price-support programs.

But the bailout does not aim to help farmers who are drowning in debt.

back to \$227. During most of this period, the productivity of U.S. manufacturing industries rose 4 percent per year. Which simply means that many workers were being paid less for producing more.

One major effect of the downward pressure on workers' living standards is that most families require more than one income to make ends meet. Forty-two percent of families now have two wage earners; 14 percent have three or more.

The overall decline in wages comes from a combination of factors that workers are familiar with: upfront lowering of wages per hour; institution of two-tier or even three-tier wage setups; loss of cost-of-living adjustments; wage freezes; "back-loaded" contracts, which defer raises to the second or third year; cuts in benefits; substitution of bonuses for wage increases; shutting down plants where unions have won higher wages and transferring production to nonunion facilities; outright union-busting; piecework; homework; the increase in part-time work; and so on.

Another factor in the decline of real wages is the failure to increase the minimum wage, which has remained at \$3.35 an hour since 1981. This pittance is now worth only \$2.35 in 1981 dollars.

The idea that the minimum wage affects mainly teenagers (who themselves deserve decent pay) working after school for pocket money is belied by the figures: seven million workers are paid at or below minimum wage; half are over 25 years of age.

One indicator of worsening conditions faced by workers is the growth of hunger in the United States. According to a recent study by the Physician Task Force on Hunger in America, some 20 million people in this country — 12 million children and 8 million adults — do not get enough to eat every day.

Continued high unemployment is one reason. It remains between 6 and 7 percent, despite the upturn in the business cycle. In many areas, it is higher.

Although the percentage of unemployed

workers has dropped since 1980, in absolute figures, more people are unemployed now. However, a smaller proportion of jobless workers receive unemployment compensation than at any time in recent history — 29 percent.

Nearly 11 million workers lost jobs because of plant closings or production cutbacks between 1981 and 1986. These were permanent layoffs and for many workers meant months without work and the eventual loss of unemployment benefits. Of those who finally found new jobs, 44 percent made less than they had before.

Many more workers have needed to apply for government assistance of some kind. Some have lost their homes or been forced to move in with relatives or delay moving out on their own. There has been a dramatic increase in the number of homeless people.

### New low-paying jobs

One of the aspects of the recovery that has received a lot of media attention is the number of new jobs created. Whether or not workers can live off the wages of these new jobs is not addressed, however.

Of the 8 million jobs created between 1979 and 1984, nearly 60 percent pay less than \$7,000 a year (in 1984 dollars). This is well below the government's poverty level of \$10,989 per year for a family of four.

By the government's own standards, there are 33.4 million people living in poverty.

Some workers are only able to find part-time work or need part-time work to supplement their regular jobs. Nearly 20 million workers work less than 26 weeks a year, either because their jobs are for fewer hours than a full workweek or because they only work for part of the year.

Another 6 million have become so discouraged about finding a job they've given up looking. They aren't even counted in the unemployment figures.



# Taking the 'Militant' to Nebraska packinghouses

BY CHRIS HOEPPNER

OMAHA, Neb. — After a five-month strike that ended last July 26, meat-packers at the Iowa Beef Processors (IBP) plant in Dakota City, Nebraska, feel that their union is stronger. That's because they defeated the company's attempt to impose big takebacks.

This is what members of United Food and Commercial workers union (UFCW) Local 222 have

Co. packing plant across the Missouri River in Sioux City, Iowa.

The meat-packers at IBP responded well to the socialist press during their strike because it told the truth. After the strike, *Militant* supporters from Omaha decided to establish regular weekly sales at the IBP plant, even though it takes an hour and a half to get there.

So far, we haven't been disappointed. We sell about 10 papers

bought a copy of the Pathfinder pamphlet in Spanish that contains Fidel Castro's speech calling for cancellation of the debt Latin American countries owe big banks in the United States. This meat-packer has agreed to speak at a socialist Publications Fund rally in Omaha on November 14.

We also sell regularly at the Hormel meat-packing plant in Fremont, Nebraska, about an hour away from Omaha. A discussion is taking place there on what workers can do in response to the company's announcement that it may close the plant's slaughtering floor.

Newly hired workers, and those who have recently transferred to Fremont after Hormel shut down its Ottumwa, Iowa, operation, will stand to lose their jobs if the company makes good on its threat. Because of the uncertainty about what is happening, many of the Ottumwa transfers have held onto their Iowa homes and are living in motels in Fremont.

During the trips to Fremont, the plant-gate team also sets up a liter-

ature table at Midland Lutheran College where we've found a good response to the socialist press.

*Militant* distributors are also selling regularly at Dubuque Packing in Omaha and at the rail yards in Council Bluffs, Iowa. *Militant* supporters who live in Lincoln, Nebraska, sell at the Burlington and Northern train yards there.

Some general lessons we have learned might be helpful to other *Militant* salespeople. We consider all of eastern Nebraska and western Iowa our region for plant-gate sales.

But given our limited numbers and the distances involved, we are selective about where we sell and limit our choices to places where struggles have taken place recently, even if they aren't right around the corner from Omaha. We also limit regular sales to meat-packing and other plants that are organized by one of the 10 industrial unions in which members of the Socialist Workers Party or the Young Socialist Alliance are active in.

We have found that it takes a team of four or five to insure that the sales are carried out every week. This is because some members of the team have their schedules changed without notice — especially team members working in the meat-packing industry.

Since many plants have more than one gate, having a larger team is essential to reaching more workers with the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. In addition, because of the distances traveled, larger teams can also help share the gas expenses.

Finally, we try to organize certain aspects of the sale beforehand. For example, we hold brief team meetings. In one case we discussed that many of the workers we meet speak Spanish, yet we haven't been taking Spanish pamphlets or books with us. The Pathfinder Bookstore is helping to arrange for us to get the Spanish literature.

Chris Hoepner is a member of UFCW Local 271 in Omaha.

## SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

explained to supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* who regularly distribute the paper at the gates of the IBP plant and in the surrounding community.

Local 222 members at IBP haven't forgotten the need for solidarity since their strike ended. A recent plant collection at IBP netted \$900 for their brothers and sisters on strike at the John Morrell &

at the plant gate every Saturday. We have also gotten together with some of the unionists in their trailer homes after work, and two have decided to renew their subscriptions.

Key to this has been having someone on our team who speaks Spanish. A unionist who renewed his subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial* is from Mexico. He also

## Let's fight to make subscription goal!

BY NORTON SANDLER

Let's fight to make the subscription drive goal. That's the task facing us as distributors of the *Militant* and the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* over the next two weeks.

We have been campaigning this fall to win 6,000 new *Militant* readers and 1,500 new *PM* readers. To make the goal we need to sign up 1,833 new *Militant* readers and 629 *PM* readers by the November 24 deadline.

Because of the Veterans Day holiday we didn't receive some of the outstanding subscriptions that we know are already in the mail.

Successfully collecting the rest of the subscriptions needed to make the goals will take effort in local areas, but it can be done.

We encourage our local distributors, regardless of how they have done up to now, to take on collecting as large a portion of the national goal as possible during the 10-day target period that begins November 14.

Local areas can encourage supporters who don't sell every week to participate in this final effort.

Our new readers also are urged to join in the final subscription push. To help, contact the local area nearest you (see directory page 12), or contact the *Militant* Business Office in New York.

Several areas have already indicated their plans for the target days.

Seth Galinsky reports that Los Angeles supporters have canceled the meetings that usually take place on weekends so they can gather subscriptions in working-class communities on both November 14 and 15. On weekdays, supporters will be mobilizing to sell the revolutionary press on several campuses in the Los Angeles area.

Galinsky said Los Angeles distributors have been having good success selling subscriptions to people in line to see *Cry Freedom*, a new film about the life of South African freedom fighter Stephen Biko.

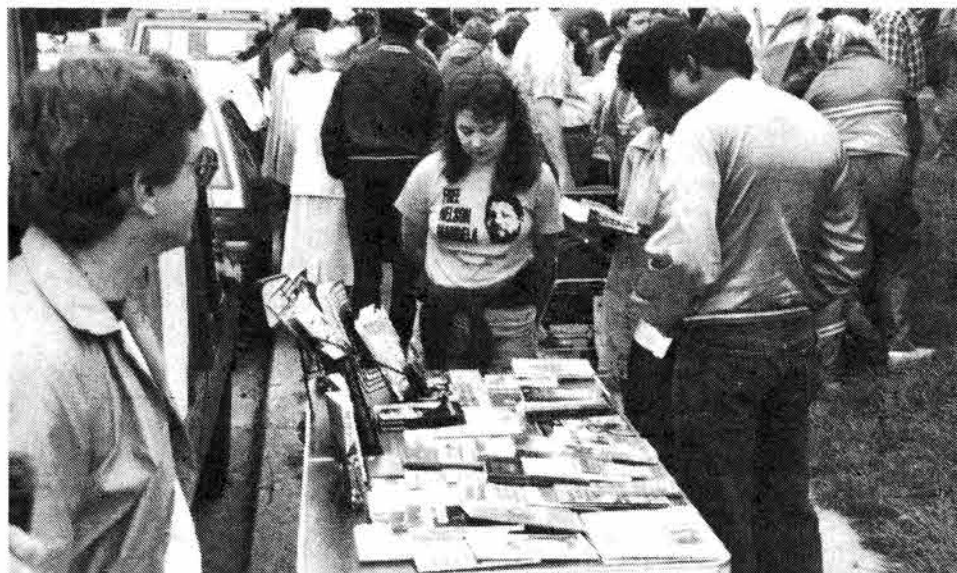
Bill Arth said Salt Lake City, Utah, supporters are going to begin the target days by traveling to Price, Utah, to join distributors there in reaching out to coal miners, their families, and other working people in that area. Salt Lake supporters are planning to distribute the *Militant* several additional times during the 10-day period.

According to Mike Shur, New York distributors will be sending larger than usual teams on two Saturdays to street corners in working class areas of the city.

New York distributors are organizing two teams that will visit Cornell and Syracuse universities in upstate New York and two campuses on Long Island, as well as go to Hartford and New Haven in Connecticut.

Betsy Farley reports that Birmingham, Alabama, supporters have been contacting a wide range of Central American solidarity, women's rights, and other political activists about subscribing. They are also putting a final push on signing up their co-workers in the mines and factories there. This effort, which was initiated last week, has already resulted in eight new *Militant* subscriptions being sold.

Revolutionary fighters in Canada, Britain, New Zealand, and several other countries have also pushed hard this fall, helping to increase the international readership of the *Militant*, *PM*, and the *New Internationalist*. Supporters of the British biweekly paper *Socialist Action* are currently carrying out a *Militant* subscription target week.



Militant/Michael Pennock

Literature table featuring *Militant* at Pittsburgh antiracist march in September

## Fall Sales Scoreboard

Area	<i>Militant</i> subscriptions			New International single copies			<i>Perspectiva Mundial</i> subscriptions		
	Goal	Sold	% Sold	Goal	Sold	% Sold	Goal	Sold	% Sold
Louisville, Ky.	5	5	100	—	—	—	—	—	—
San Diego	85	82	96	25	12	48	40	36	90
Greensboro, N.C.	140	127	91	20	14	70	15	8	53
Cleveland	105	92	88	20	8	40	15	4	27
Des Moines, Iowa	125	106	85	35	13	37	15	2	13
Atlanta	120	98	82	35	18	51	20	16	80
Houston	200	163	82	50	15	30	40	21	53
Phoenix	140	113	81	25	10	40	100	66	66
Los Angeles	300	241	80	100	63	63	175	111	63
Amherst, Mass.	5	4	80	—	—	—	—	1	—
Boston	225	180	80	50	25	50	100	36	36
Baltimore	140	111	79	40	0	0	10	3	30
Miami	120	92	77	40	9	23	40	23	58
Omaha, Neb.	70	53	76	20	7	35	10	10	100
Washington, D.C.	130	98	75	60	27	45	30	21	70
Salt Lake City	150	111	74	25	5	20	25	8	32
Seattle	300	221	74	50	35	70	50	29	58
Morgantown, W. Va.	130	95	73	25	19	76	5	2	40
Portland, Ore.	100	73	73	40	26	65	30	4	13
Birmingham, Ala.	150	109	73	35	7	20	5	4	80
Detroit	200	145	73	35	11	31	25	9	36
Cincinnati	10	7	70	—	—	—	—	—	—
Milwaukee	115	77	67	35	18	51	15	4	27
New York	600	396	66	350	244	70	200	164	82
San Francisco	180	118	66	50	18	36	70	56	80
Albany, N.Y.	20	13	65	—	—	—	—	—	—
Austin, Minn.	85	55	65	10	0	0	15	4	27
Kansas City	105	67	64	25	2	8	20	13	65
Twin Cities, Minn.	180	114	63	75	43	57	20	7	35
Newark, N.J.	350	205	59	75	31	41	125	53	42
Oakland, Calif.	150	86	57	100	14	14	50	15	30
Philadelphia	150	82	55	50	0	0	50	17	34
St. Louis	175	92	53	50	18	36	10	5	50
Annandale, N.Y.	20	10	50	—	—	—	—	2	—
Price, Utah	48	24	50	10	0	0	2	2	100
Charleston, W. Va.	125	59	47	20	3	15	—	1	—
San Jose, Calif.	75	35	47	—	—	—	50	19	38
Chicago	225	91	40	50	0	0	75	31	41
Pittsburgh	175	51	29	—	—	—	10	3	30
Davenport, Iowa	5	0	0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Coal Teams	—	39	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Other U.S. areas	—	22	—	—	—	—	—	3	—
Britain	75	82	109	140	140	100	5	4	80
Canada	—	94	—	—	—	—	—	32	—
New Zealand	—	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Puerto Rico	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	—
Other Internat'l	—	15	—	—	—	—	—	6	—
<b>Totals</b>	<b>5,808</b>	<b>4,167</b>	<b>69%</b>	<b>1,770</b>	<b>855</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>1,467</b>	<b>871</b>	<b>58%</b>
<b>Drive Goals</b>	<b>6,000</b>			<b>2,000</b>			<b>1,500</b>		
<b>Should Be</b>		<b>5,124</b>	<b>85%</b>		<b>1,708</b>	<b>85%</b>		<b>1,281</b>	<b>85%</b>



# Striking Wyo. miners and their supporters protest arrests

BY DAVE HURST  
AND STEVE WARSHALL

SHERIDAN, Wyo. — Nearly 300 mine workers and their supporters rallied here November 7, four days after local cops made 53 arrests during a sit-in at the Decker strip mine just across the nearby Montana state line.

The rally crowd included most of the 240 members of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 1972 as well as 90 members of the UMWA women's auxiliary who have been supporting the strike since it began on October 1.

The strikers are demanding the same job security provisions won by UMWA members at other Western surface mines earlier this year.

Decker Coal is owned by Peter Kiewit and Sons the largest U.S. construction contractor, and by Nerco Coal.

"If they could garner the enthusiasm for the company that we have for the union, there would be a rooster tail of coal 30-feet high coming out of that mine," said Larry Deeds, president of Local 1972.

Ever since the UMWA won its first contract at Decker in 1986, there has been a fight with Kiewit every day," Deeds added. "Kiewit and company doesn't want to recognize a legitimate union. They want to take away our benefits, lower our wages, and operate with less regard for the safety of the miners."

Because of the arrests at the mine gate four days earlier, the UMWA members and their supporters had much to talk about on November 7.

A member of the women's auxiliary read a humorous account of the sit-in and arrests after which all the women present led the crowd in singing "Union Maids."

The *Billings Gazette* quoted Local 1972 spokesperson Whitey Wells as saying, "This is civil disobedience, and I believe the country was formed on civil disobedience. This union struggle is nothing more than a continuation of the very principles on which the country was founded."

Local 1972 President Deeds told the rally, "We knew when we started it would take more than one battle to win it."

"When Martin Luther King was leading the Blacks in fighting for civil rights, when they got clubbed down and hit with water cannons, they got up and kept on marching and sitting in. It took a long series of battles to win, and their victory strengthens their civil rights to this very day," Deeds added.

"When women got fed up with low-paying jobs and discrimination, they marched and rallied and kept on fighting until they won equal employment opportunities and affirmative action, which help us all out. That's what we got to do over the long haul to win this strike," Deeds emphasized.

UMWA Western states organizer Keith Barnhard reported on the union representation vote at Thunder Basin Coal, which is owned by Atlantic Richfields Oil Co. "I am sure that you all heard we lost the vote 307 to 56. But this is only one round, and there are 15 rounds to any bout. But those 56 brothers [who voted for the union] will be the basis of a new effort," Barnhard said.

The workers voted in the UMWA in 1983, but it wasn't until 1986 that Decker finally agreed to a one-year contract.

On November 11, in an outrageous display of collusion with Decker Coal Co., Wyoming District Judge James Wolfe jailed Local 1972 President Deeds, strike coordinator Cliff Hales, and union spokesperson Wells. Wolfe said they won't be released until the union posts a \$41,000 bond.

After listening to testimony from company spokespeople, Wolfe claimed the three had violated a November 6 court injunction, along with 24 other miners.

The judge and company personnel also accused the miners of throwing jackhammers (spiked nails) on the road in front of buses carrying scabs. Wolfe claimed the bond would serve as "a guarantee against union members engaging in violent or intimidating union strike activity."

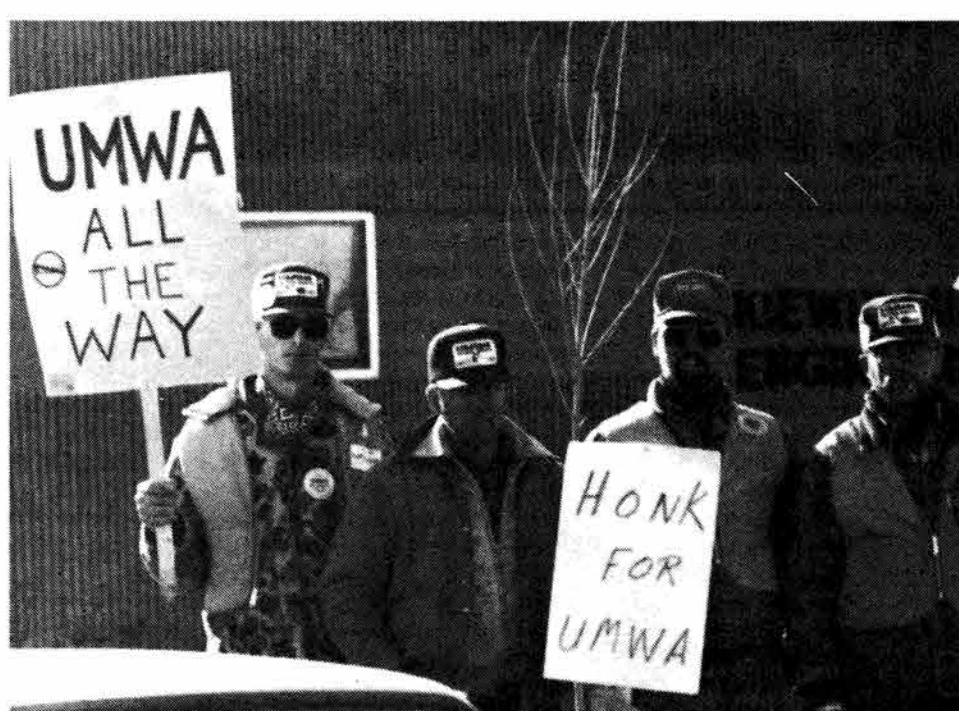
The other 24 miners were each fined in

excess of \$200. Wolfe said the money will be used to replace damaged tires on sheriff's department vehicles and on the buses used to haul the scabs.

More than 100 miners and their supporters packed the courtroom to show their solidarity with the union leadership.

Messages of solidarity and contributions can be sent to UMWA Local 1972, P.O. Box 66, Sheridan, Wyo. 82801.

Dave Hurst is a member of UMWA District 22 in Carbon County, Utah. Steve Warshell is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 2-591 in Salt Lake City, Utah.



Militant/Steve Warshell

Pickets in front of Kiewit's offices in Sheridan. Company has hired Baker & Associates, a union-busting firm, to try to intimidate and harass strikers.

## Big effort needed for \$150,000 fund

BY FRED FELDMAN

Supporters of the Socialist Publications Fund around the country are moving to organize the stepped-up drive needed to meet the \$150,000 goal in full and on time.

Final tabulation of the results of the drive will be completed on December 1, and contributions will be accepted until then.

As we go to press, the amount pledged stands at \$134,688 and payments stand at \$72,326. The figures indicate the big job that lies ahead to line up the remaining pledges, increase others, and collect the contributions.

The key to success will be organizing the supporters of the fund in each area to contact each person who has made a pledge, discuss the possibility of increasing their contributions, and collect the money. At the same time, contributions are needed from new readers and supporters, such as those won in the current effort to win new subscribers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

### Steelworkers issue challenge

Some supporters of the publications have already made additional contributions, above and beyond their initial pledges. "Enclosed you will find a check made out to the Socialist Publications Fund for \$300," wrote John Cox and Mike Galati, members of United Steelworkers of America Local 85A in Greensboro, North Carolina.

"Recently our union won a grievance filed on our behalf after the company we worked for tried to fire us. As part of the settlement we both received back pay. We decided that \$300 of this back pay should go to the Socialist Publications Fund, to support publications like the *Militant* newspaper, the only paper in this country that tells the truth about the struggles working people are engaged in around the world.

"We would also like to issue a challenge to other unionists who read and support the *Militant* to make pledges if they haven't already, or to increase the pledges they've made."

Rallies in support of the socialist publications are being held in more than two dozen cities in the coming days. These events will play a key role in assuring the success of the drive. In Los Angeles, fund organizers say that the rally being held there on November 20 will be the key to reaching the regional goal, which they have recently raised from \$13,000 to \$15,000.

These rallies will center on the role that the socialist publications — the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Marxist journal *New International*, the French-language *Nouvelle Internationale*, and Pathfinder books — play in getting the truth out to working people, and the vital importance of financing these publications. There is only one source of the needed funds — the workers, farmers, students, and other people who read and support these publications.

An example is the role that Pathfinder is playing in promoting and distributing *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution* in the

Americas, Europe, and Africa. This selection of Guevara's writings has just been published by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia based in Sydney, Australia. Well over \$3,000 has already been spent to make initial shipments of the book to Pathfinder bookstores and other outlets in the United States, Britain, Canada, Ireland, Cuba, Nicaragua, and other countries.

Another example was highlighted at Atlanta's Socialist Publications Fund rally held October 31. *Militant* staff member Sam Manuel, who had recently returned from the Pan-African conference against apartheid held in Burkina Faso, reported on the military coup that overturned the revolutionary government there.

John Riddell, the editor of the series *The Communist International in Lenin's Time* published by Pathfinder, is the featured speaker at the November 14 rally being held in St. Louis.

His talk will highlight the importance of this series in making available the views and experiences of the leaders of the Russian revolution and the other communist fighters of that time to revolutionaries around the world today.

Michele Preston, who is organizing the

Socialist Publications Fund campaign in the St. Louis region, described the way the upcoming rally is helping spread support for the fund.

"We are selling tickets to the meeting at our places of work," she said, "which is a good way to talk to coworkers about the *Militant* and the other publications. Building the meeting has also been a way of talking about the mural, portraying many of the revolutionary fighters whose writings are published by Pathfinder, being painted on the Pathfinder Building in New York City. This project has really inspired many supporters here."

"We have met people through promoting the rally, such as a woman here who met Malcolm X 25 years ago. She really appreciates the role that the socialist publications play in publishing and spreading his ideas."

Preston reported that so far nine people in her area have upped their pledges by a total of \$900.

This and other examples show that while the fund drive is behind schedule, there is every reason for confidence that a well-organized and aggressive drive can reach the \$150,000 goal on time.

Area	Pledged	Paid
Atlanta	3,300	1,605
Austin, Minn.	1,566	825
Baltimore	1,540	630
Birmingham	2,710	1,385
Boston	3,175	1,705
Charleston, W.V.	2,967	1,463
Chicago	3,685	1,255
Cleveland	3,130	1,990
Detroit	2,895	1,205
Des Moines	2,130	655
Greensboro, N.C.	1,750	667
Houston	5,235	2,660
Kansas City	2,125	675
Los Angeles	14,295	8,000
Morgantown, W.V.	1,900	1,505
Miami	2,245	1,145
Milwaukee	2,174	764
Newark	6,143	3,918
New York City	14,953	8,893
Oakland	6,000	4,225
Omaha	1,395	630
Pittsburgh	1,883	920
Philadelphia	4,723	1,723
Phoenix	1,125	580
Portland	2,030	880
Price, Utah	150	0
San Diego	2,255	1,365
Seattle	5,440	2,510
San Francisco	5,125	2,155
San Jose	1,605	355
Salt Lake City	2,755	1,715
St. Louis	5,905	4,258
Twin Cities, Minn.	5,083	1,883
Washington, D.C.	5,510	3,105
Other	4,620	4,120
International	1,166	958

Totals 134,688 72,326

## \$150,000 Socialist Publications Fund

At a rally August 13 we announced the launching of this fund, which has a goal of raising \$150,000 by December 1.

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

As of November 11, \$134,688 has been pledged and \$72,326 collected.

I wish to help the fund, enclosed is:

\_\_\_ \$1,000 \_\_\_ \$500 \_\_\_ \$100

\_\_\_ \$25 \_\_\_ \$ \_\_\_ other

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Organization/Union \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to Fall Socialist Publications Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.



# Advances, challenges for women in new 1

## Sandinistas encourage progress; debate on divorce, abortion, sterilization deep

BY CINDY JAQUITH  
AND ROBERTO KOPEC

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — What should the role of women be in revolutionary Nicaragua today? How can the fight for women's rights be advanced?

These questions have come to the fore here since the 1979 revolution that brought a workers' and peasants' government to power, and the resulting expansion of the numbers of women entering the workforce in the cities and countryside.

Discussion and debate over women's role has deepened as working people, male and female, have gained experience and confidence in their ability to fight for their interests.

The very fact that a debate is taking place over women's rights, and the profound questions being disputed, illustrates what a big advance the Sandinista revolution has been for Nicaraguan women. After nearly 50 years of landlord-capitalist rule under the Somoza family's tyranny, they are today free to organize to struggle for their rights — and are increasingly doing so.

In the vanguard of this struggle are the women workers and peasants working outside the home, who are increasingly taking on traditionally "male only" jobs and political and military tasks.

These advances have been encouraged by the Sandinista government, which struck down some of Somoza's most reac-

It called on "all the bodies and members of the FSLN, all the social, union, and mass organizations" to promote "the massive incorporation of women into the various tasks of the revolution, respond to their specific demands, and struggle against all forms of oppression and discrimination."

Among the laws most debated are the following:

**Divorce:** The divorce law in force until 1986 discriminated against the woman. Her husband, for example, could divorce her for spending a night with another man. She, on the other hand, had to prove her husband had a public relationship with another woman in order to win a divorce.

This law was struck down with the adoption of the new constitution. But since no new divorce law has been adopted, many judges are refusing to process current divorce cases.

**Wife-beating:** This pervasive problem accounts for 51 percent of the complaints brought to the Women's Legal Office of the Nicaraguan Women's Association. There is no law against wife-beating.

**Abortion:** Abortion is illegal except when a three-doctor panel approves it for therapeutic reasons. In that case, the woman must also get the permission of her husband or a parent.

The legal barriers women face are one reflection of the institutionalized discrimination they encounter in the home, on the job, and in Nicaraguan society as a whole.

**Paternal irresponsibility:** It remains a common practice for a man to get a woman pregnant and then abandon her and the child without offering a cent of financial support.

**Double workday:** The average Nicaraguan woman who works outside the home also spends a big part of her waking hours cooking, cleaning, shopping, and caring for children. The typical working male devotes very little time to domestic tasks.

**Child-care:** The big majority of working women do not have access to child-care centers.

**Right to work the land:** Women make up less than 10 percent of the members of farm cooperatives and collectives.

**Job discrimination:** Most women workers remain grouped in the lowest-paying, least skilled jobs.

"We must change — seriously and beyond just words — policies, civil and penal laws, systems of land tenure, property rights, housing rights, labor codes, and ideological attitudes," said Nicaragua's Interior Minister Tomás Borge in a speech August 26. He was addressing a conference of Central American women held here.

"Male domination and power do not derive from any biological, physical, or mental superiority over women," he said. "They are maintained only because of a cold, mathematical, socioeconomic relationship."

It was only with the rise of class society, he explained, that "the man became the principal producer, while women were relegated to the home and domestic servitude. Ever since, women have been on the margin of society, deprived of their economic independence and repressed in their sexual freedom, within a social order conceived to serve the man-property owner."

From that time on, he continued, society has assigned the woman "the sole role of reproducing human beings... officially denying her role as a recipient of sexual pleasure. In the last century and even today, for a woman to confess to having an orgasm was to be condemned to the fires of hell or at least the reproach and rejection of men."

The Sandinista revolution is now taking up all these questions, he said, including the "hitherto untouchable" issues of women's rights within the family and in sexual relations.

"It is necessary," he declared, "to launch an ideological struggle, in the positive sense, in order to achieve a new kind of relation between men and women and in the family, which is the center of the ideologi-

cal reproduction that perpetuates women's submission and second-class citizenship."

Borge emphasized the Sandinistas' determination to advance further on women's rights and pointed to the importance of the large numbers of Nicaraguan women already working outside the home. He singled out the vanguard role of women farm workers, who now make up 40 percent of the Association of Rural Workers (ATC), and 15 percent of its local leadership.

### Women farm workers assembly

On September 5-6 women farm workers held a national assembly organized by the ATC and attended by 700 delegates.

In 1983 the ATC decided to make women's rights a union priority and to promote programs to help women enter "male only" jobs and deepen their participation in union affairs.

The ATC's accomplishments are now being studied by other Sandinista labor and peasant organizations, which have only begun to discuss women's issues.

At this year's assembly, one of the main themes discussed was the recent coffee contract negotiated by the union with state-run and privately owned farms. It was the first contract the ATC has won in which specific women's demands were included.

The contract calls for 20 weeks' maternity leave with partial pay and the right to a paid day off when a woman has to take her child to the clinic.

On some, but not all farms, the union won daycare centers; communal laundry facilities, so women don't have to lug the family clothes to the river for washing; and collective mills for grinding corn previously done by women in their individual homes.

Now the fight will be to put the contract into practice. Delegates reported that there are private growers who are resisting implementation of the pact, and some state farm administrators are also balking at the contract terms.

The delegates also raised other questions that they wanted union action on. One was their desire for more information about family planning and greater availability of birth control devices. Another was a call for more weapons for women workers to help defend farms from the contras, and for more female military instructors.

### 'Face the People' meeting

On September 26 more than 1,000 women participated in an eight-hour "Face the People" meeting with Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega. It was one of a series of events held to coincide with the 10th anniversary of the foundation of the Nicaraguan Women's Association (AMNLAE).

Many of the women who took the floor were mothers, wives, or sisters of Nicaraguans killed by Somoza's National Guard before 1979, or by the U.S.-paid contra mercenaries since then.

Most of these women spoke against releasing imprisoned ex-National Guardsmen or contras. Some disagreed with the government's current policy of unconditional amnesty for contras who voluntarily lay down their arms.

Many women also raised problems of distribution of basic consumer goods or production difficulties in their workplaces.

Several speakers addressed specific problems of women's rights. Marta Lorena Herrera from the Bell Liquor plant in Chinandega complained that although she's been a lathe operator for the past 15 months, she's been denied further training because the course she wants is open only to army veterans, who are male.

María Lourdes Obando from the town of Nandaime called for "preference in the educational and technical training of women" and received applause.

Haydée Rodríguez, a worker at the Rolter shoe factory in Managua, objected to the discrimination women receive when they ask to be sterilized. "The doctor or the hospital tells us that if we don't have our husband's authorization, they cannot do it. 'Are we our husbands' property?'" she

asked, to prolonged applause from the crowd.

Rodríguez proposed that a woman with three or more children be allowed to get sterilized "without consulting anybody."

Vilma Castillo, a psychologist who writes frequently on sex education and women's rights, took the floor. She said she wanted to raise "a problem that has always been labeled a petty-bourgeois demand."

"I'm talking about abortion," she explained.

"We know that it is a very serious problem that doesn't affect those with economic resources, but rather the poorest sectors, the most disadvantaged."

Women who resort to illegal, back-alley or self-induced abortions, Castillo said, "die or are maimed. They end up sterile, because they don't have the \$50, \$150, or \$200 or the million córdobas that doctors today charge, under cover of a law that makes abortion illegal."

### 'A touchy issue'

Castillo said that abortion is often considered "a very touchy issue" in Nicaragua. "But there have been many touchy issues here," she pointed out, among them "the land reform law and the law for confiscating property."

After several hours of carefully listening to the women, President Ortega and government ministers took up some of the questions raised.

Dora María Téllez, minister of health, said she agreed that requiring a husband's permission for sterilization was an "outrage." Her office will issue a directive suspending this practice, she said.

However, she continued, the govern-

## 1,500 women

BY MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

TAXCO, MEXICO — Some 1,500 women from almost every country in Latin America met here October 18-23 for the Fourth Conference of Latin American Feminists. Previous conferences were held in Colombia, Peru, and Brazil.

The conference was held in two big hotels in this mountain town 100 miles from Mexico City. For four days, in virtually every meeting room in the hotels, groups of from 10 to several hundred women gathered to discuss abortion and the church, violence and rape, sexism and language, lesbianism and politics, women in the theater, health care, legal questions related to the family, and dozens of other topics. Well-attended workshops on Central America and on women in mass movements were held each day.

There was great interest in the role of women in Nicaragua, and a delegation of



Dorothea Wilson (left) a Sandinista Front leader, and a woman from a Nicaraguan delegation to Mexico conference. Barricada is on right.



Commander Dora María Téllez, Nicaragua's minister of health.

tionary antiwoman laws and practices in the early years of the revolution. Among other steps, the government declared women equal before the law, repealed legislation allowing male farm workers to collect their wives' wages, made it legal for women to own land, and initiated programs to provide women jobs.

In 1986 Nicaragua's National Assembly adopted a new constitution. It strengthened women's rights further in the areas of labor law, the family, and in social and political life.

### FSLN statement

But a big gap still exists between the goals of the revolution and the current conditions women face. Last March the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) took up this gap in its first resolution on women's rights since the revolution triumphed.

The resolution said, "Despite important gains, negative conditions prevail in our society with respect to women, conditions that are reinforced by the underdevelopment and economic limitations of the country. Laws and labor or social practices that discriminate against women still exist. Criticism of machismo and its consequences is barely beginning."



# Nicaragua

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ment currently has the resources only to sterilize women with four or more children. "We have to select who we sterilize, and obviously we have to give priority to those women with the greatest number of children," she said, but "as a priority, not a condition."

Téllez said she considered illegal abortions "one of the most serious women's health problems we face." In a 27-month period, from March 1983 to June 1985, 8,752 women were admitted to the women's hospital in Managua, suffering complications from botched abortions. Hundreds of them died.

Téllez explained that those women admitted to hospitals "are only a small part of what really exists. There are a great many women who get an abortion under terrible conditions. And we are not taking this up. What is more, it is a problem that we are not taking up socially in any way whatsoever."

She said she thought the solution was "not to defend the right to abortion, but to prevent abortions," by improving education and the availability of birth control information and devices. She urged AMNLAE to help lead this program more effectively.

In his windup speech at the end of the meeting, President Ortega also commented on abortion and sterilization.

He recalled the population control programs promoted by the U.S. government in the 1960s for colonial and semicolonial countries. "Rather than carry out a just distribution of wealth," he said, U.S. policy has been to "freeze the population growth in these countries, to avoid the risk of an increase in the population that could threaten a revolutionary change."



Militant/Roberto Kopeck

**Association of Rural Workers (ATC) held assembly for women farm workers in September. ATC has decided to make women's rights a priority by promoting affirmative action programs to help women enter "male only" jobs and encouraging deeper involvement in the union.**

Nicaragua, he continued, "has a small population in proportion to its territory. Furthermore, it is subject to a policy of genocide" through the U.S.-sponsored contra war.

"The ones fighting in the front lines against this aggression are young men," Ortega said. "One way of depleting our youth is to promote the sterilization of women in Nicaragua — just imagine what would happen then — or to promote a policy of abortion."

"The problem," he concluded, "is that the woman is the one who reproduces. The man can't play that role." He said some women, "aspiring to be liberated," decide not to bear children. A woman who does so, he stated, "negates her own continuity, the continuity of the human species."

There was a noticeable murmur throughout the crowd during Ortega's remarks on

abortion and sterilization. As the meeting adjourned, several women went up to the president and expressed disagreement with what he had said.

## Women in the armed forces

On September 27 as part of the same weekend of activities, women officers in the Sandinista People's Army and Ministry of the Interior (MINT) held a panel discussion on the challenges they face.

Some of the panelists said they were not experiencing much resistance from men to carrying out major military assignments. Doris Tijerino, Nicaragua's national police chief, expressed a somewhat different point of view.

"I don't think it's so easy for a woman to exercise authority" in the armed forces, she said. Compared to a man, a woman "has to make greater efforts to convince others she

is competent." She gave examples of some policemen who object when a woman is appointed their commanding officer.

"It is alleged," Tijerino said, "that women are not capable of carrying out military tasks. It's been proven that they are." There are limitations on women's participation in the military, she continued, but they are not based on innate differences with men. Rather they stem from the overwhelming responsibilities women bear in the home and negative attitudes on the part of husbands or parents.

Women officers of the MINT met September 30 with AMNLAE leaders to discuss these problems further. According to the Sandinista daily *Barricada*, Lt. Marta Reyes raised at the meeting that some male MINT officers "mistreat us and abuse our dignity." Reyes added that several such officers had subsequently been expelled from the FSLN.

## attend Latin American feminist conference in Mexico

44 women from that country was a pole of attraction.

The Nicaraguan speaker was greeted with a standing ovation and chants of "no pasaran" ("they will not pass") at the opening ceremony. The delegation included leaders of the unions and of peasants' and farm workers' organizations. Sandinista leaders Lea Guido, Giacondo Belli, and Sofia Montenegro also attended. Two delegates came from the Atlantic Coast.

### Participated in all workshops

The Nicaraguans, who participated in all the workshops, talked especially about issues related specifically to women. Among these were the increased participation of women in factory and farm labor as a result of the war, the discussion opened up in Nicaragua a year ago on legalizing abortion, the status of the Nicaraguan Women's

Association (AMNLAE), and the contras' brutality toward women.

The delegates offered many examples of how the growing social role and confidence of women has had a big impact on the family and on relationships with men.

Benigna Mendiola, a leader of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers and peasant delegate to the National Assembly, said, "When I speak in the National Assembly, people listen, because of what I represent." She explained that although eight of her grandchildren live with her because their father was killed by the contras, "for me being a revolutionary is a full-time business."

Olga Espinoza, a leader of the Association of Rural Workers said there was a lot of controversy when the idea of a conference of women farm workers was first raised. She said some people had to be convinced "that the male compas should leave us alone for two days to discuss our problems, that this was part of women coming forward."

The delegates from the Atlantic Coast were Susan Marley, a Miskitu member of the Regional Autonomy Commission whose parents and four brothers and sisters were kidnapped and taken to Honduras, and Dorothea Wilson, a Black leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, former nun, and daughter of a gold miner.

This was the first Latin American feminist conference attended by representatives from Cuba. Cuban delegates were denied visas to attend the meeting in Peru, and by the time its delegate got her visa to attend the 1985 conference in Brazil, it had been over for a day.

The delegation here in Mexico included four leaders of the Federation of Cuban Women (FCM).

One evening the Cuban women spread the word they would be available the next morning to answer questions about the role of women in their country. Some 200 participants came.

FCM leader Leonor explained that at the local level there are many female leaders of the unions and other community and gov-

ernment bodies, sometimes more than their percentage of the membership. But the percentage of women goes down sharply at the regional and national level. Only in the organizations of students and children is the percentage of female leadership high at all levels.

"But we can't expect this to translate automatically into gains in all areas as these young *compañeras* grow up," Leonor said, "nor are we prepared to wait for the next generation to solve the problem."

### Discussion with Cubans

The discussion with the Cuban representatives was wide-ranging and sometimes sharp, covering areas such as machismo, attitudes toward lesbians and gays, the double workday, AIDS, domestic violence, and media stereotypes.

Several women wondered why Cuba hadn't solved all these problems in 27 years of revolution. "The easiest thing for us to do," answered Conchita Dumois, "would be to come here and say everything is great in Cuba, there's no machismo, women are fully equal. Give 'an official speech.' But in Cuba we don't give this type of official speech."

Several women in the discussion expressed the opinion that while Cuba might be ahead in certain material gains related to women, it was behind the rest of the continent in feminism in general and in combating the ideological side of women's oppression in particular.

"There do exist problems common to all women," answered Leonor, "which is why conferences like this are so important." But she and the other Cuban representatives insisted that Cuba was in a better not a worse position to solve them since the means to do so were in the hands of those who wanted to solve the problems, not perpetuate them.

The largest delegations at the conference were from Mexico with 400 women and from Peru with 140. There were also sizable groups from Colombia, Brazil, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, and several other countries. A special meeting

was held of Chicanas and Latinas from the United States.

Many delegates were veterans of the women's movements in their countries, and a large number concentrated specifically on discrimination in their professions as sociologists, professors, health care workers, journalists, civil servants, etc.

A component of virtually every delegation was community organizers who work with barrio women. The first international conference of Latin American lesbians was held the previous week in a nearby city, and a number of delegates attended both gatherings.

In several workshops there was discussion of the impact of the crushing international debt burden on Latin American women. Delegates described how women had been forced out of their homes and into the workplace for the first time, often to become the main wage earners in their families.

A delegate from Bolivia described the political activity of women from the mining areas, who often have to sustain their whole families after mines have closed and men have been laid off. Delegates from Mexico, Colombia, and other countries also described factories closing because of the economic crisis and women being forced back into their homes, this time as industrial homeworkers making garments or other products under the worst conditions.

Women from Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and several Central American countries explained that organized women's movements in their countries originated in the fight against dictatorship.

A panel of women from Honduras described how women in particular suffer from the virtual U.S. army occupation of their country and how the struggle for national sovereignty is the number one priority for women's rights fighters.

Salvadoran delegates said the continentwide organization of families of the disappeared will for the first time hold its international conference in El Salvador, November 19-28.



Militant/Matilde Zimmermann  
leader from Atlantic Coast was part of Nic-  
Sofia Montenegro from Sandinista daily



# Protests hit firing of Dube for his views

BY GREG McCARTAN

NEW YORK — The effort to defend academic freedom is gaining support in the case of Fred Dube. Dube, a leader of the African National Congress of South Africa who taught African studies and psychology, has been fired from his teaching position at the State University of New York (SUNY) at Stony Brook.

On the weekend of October 25-27, Dube, along with 300 other Black educators, participated in the founding meeting of the National Congress of Black Faculty in Washington, D.C. The congress, formed as a result of Dube's case, discussed the high rate of denial of tenure to Black teachers and the declining rate of Blacks attending graduate school.

Dube's firing, which took effect at the end of August, stemmed from a January 30 decision by the university to deny him tenure on frame-up charges of anti-Semitism. A four-year campaign targeting Dube has been waged by university authorities, New

York Gov. Mario Cuomo, the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, and the Jewish Defense League.

The witch-hunt began in 1983 when a visiting Israeli professor — who had never met Dube or attended a class he taught — charged that the ANC leader was anti-Semitic. The grounds were that a list of 12 possible topics for papers that he gave to students in his course on the "Politics of Race" included one on the relationship between Zionism and racism.

Student organizations in New York have begun to set up campus meetings to win support for the reversal of Dube's firing and denial of tenure.

Sixty students attended a meeting to hear Dube at SUNY, Albany, October 28. Hosted by the Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism as part of a week of anti-apartheid activity on campus, Dube explained the struggle in southern Africa and pointed to the important role of the South African Youth Congress — a 1.5-

million-member anti-apartheid youth organization formed last spring.

The campus radio station interviewed Dube for a one-half hour show on defending academic freedom and his fight to regain his teaching position.

Meetings have also been sponsored by the Black Student Union at Queens College in New York City and by the New York Public Interest Research Group at SUNY, New Paltz.

The Friends of Fred Dube are planning a broad outreach campaign to win support for his right to teach. For more information, write to National Conference of Black Lawyers/Dube, 126 W. 119 St., New York, N.Y. 10026.

Protests against Dube's firing can be sent to Jerome Konisar, acting chancellor, SUNY, State University Plaza, Albany, N.Y. 11246; and to Gov. Mario Cuomo, Executive Chamber, State Capitol, Albany, N.Y. 12224, with copies to Dube.



Militant/Arthur Hughes  
**Fred Dube, a leader of African National Congress of South Africa, was victim of witch-hunt at New York college because of his political ideas.**

## Ariz. farm workers strike pecan firm

BY MARTÍN LÓPEZ

SAHUARITA, Arizona — "They treat us like slaves, not like people," said Francisco Sesma, one of more than 40 workers on strike against Santa Cruz Valley Pecan Co.

On a lively and militant picket line, in between chants, strikers eagerly told *Militant* reporters about the fight for their first union contract. The workers at the company's pecan processing plant won a union representation election in August 1986 by a resounding 95-49 margin, voting to join United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 13886. Since then, however, owners Dick and Keith Walden have been stonewalling on negotiations while threatening and victimizing union supporters. The workers were finally forced on strike August 11.

Santa Cruz Valley Pecan Co. owns 3,000 acres of pecan trees here, about 15 miles south of Tucson and 50 miles from the Mexican border. The processing plant, where the workers sort, shell, roast, and pack the nuts, handles pecans not only from the nearby company fields, but from Mexico and throughout the Southwest.

The pecan pickers and processors are mostly Mexican and Chicano. Pickers live in company housing in Sahuarita, while almost all the processors — mostly women — live in Tucson. The majority of the plant employees — threatened with firing and deportation — are presently working. But "there are people who support us but are just afraid to come out on strike," said Au-

relia Gonzales, a member of the union's negotiating committee.

The company recently got enough signatures among the nonstrikers to call a decertification election. Unionists on the picket line were confident they would win the election.

The strikers are fighting the company's starvation wages, dangerous working conditions, and abuse and discrimination by foremen. The Waldens have offered a ridiculous zero percent wage increase for the first year and 1 percent for the second year. Workers currently start at the minimum wage of \$3.35 an hour, with a 10-cent raise a year.

Striker Francisca Ortiz was making \$4 an hour after working 14 years in the plant. Josefa Lizárraga, a 62-year-old pecan sorter, was fired after seven years, then rehired at the starting wage. After a total of almost 12 years, she was earning \$3.85 an hour.

"We're fighting for seniority rights," said one picket. "Now they terminate you from one day to another, no matter how long you've worked."

Dust from the nuts and the reflection from the aluminum sorting tables hurt their eyes, explained Sesma.

One striker explained that workers have to ask permission to go to the bathroom or get a drink of water. "And they take notes about everything you do," she added.

After two months on strike, the workers remain in high spirits. Undeterred by the nearby cop car and the company goon vid-

eotaping the picket line, strikers jeered at the scabs and chanted "Viva la huelga!"

The strikers have received some television and radio coverage, as well as support from some other unions. On October 10, some 100 unionists from other USWA locals joined the pecan workers on their picket line.

## Midwest farm union advances

BY K. FITZGERALD

ADRIAN, Mich. — When Rita Cuevas was born eight years ago, the left side of her face was paralyzed, and she had a dislocated hip. She has no muscle development in her right arm and a sunken chest on the right side of her body. Doctors told her farm-worker parents that these birth defects were the result of pesticides used by growers on the farms where her parents had worked.

When Rita was born, her parents had just begun to get involved in the struggle of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) to better the lives and working conditions of farm workers.

Her father, Fernando Cuevas, first vice-president of FLOC, recently spoke to a board meeting here of the Michigan Farmworkers Ministry, an interreligious group that supports FLOC. He reported on the union's efforts to implement and extend its precedent-setting, three-way contracts between farm workers, growers, and food processors in the tomato and cucumber industries.

FLOC won its first contract in February 1986 with the Campbell Soup Co., its subsidiary Vlasic Foods, 20 Ohio tomato growers, and 12 Michigan cucumber growers. By the end of the 1987 growing season, the farm workers had extended union

contracts to cover 83 tomato and cucumber growers in Michigan and Ohio and three of the food processing giants — Campbell's, Vlasic, and Heinz U.S.A.

These contracts have meant an improvement in working and living conditions and wages for 3,000 farm workers. Cuevas reported that FLOC was able to open an office in Michigan, where weekly union meetings are held.

Despite these victories, the union faces many challenges. Of 64 cucumber growers in Ohio under contract to Vlasic, 19 are included in the union contract. While FLOC won a majority of workers on an additional 24 farms, those growers refused to participate in the verification procedure.

In addition, this summer saw renewed resistance from Campbell's. It refused to fund the day-care centers that were first set up by the company in 1984 in an attempt to improve its public image. Campbell's announced it would not renew health insurance for the workers, a flat-out violation of the contract. It also cut its price to the growers by \$8 a ton.

FLOC is discussing its response to Campbell's and the Ohio pickle growers. One thing, Cuevas said, is clear. Next season FLOC has to continue organizing. This means going after Aunt Jane's, Green Bay Foods, and Hunt-Wesson, he explained.

## Wis. paperworkers gain solidarity

BY BILL SCHEER

DE PERE, Wis. — Striking paperworkers at the Nicolet paper mill here received an unusual contribution recently — a live cow. The Wisconsin Farm Unity Alliance, a grass-roots organization fighting to defend the interests of family farmers, donated the cow. John Bergum, a member of WFUA, said the donation was intended to draw the link between farmers and workers. "The dairy cow is the symbol of Wisconsin farming," he said.

Bergum had called the paperworkers' union hall when the strike began almost five months ago. "This strike is our first attempt to work with unions," he added. "In the past we have been focused narrowly on our own problems. But we need to get together because we have something in common — we all work for a living."

Broad solidarity has been important to the strike by United Paperworkers International Union Local 6288. Strike headquarters has a list of almost 75 union locals that have sent contributions. Especially important has been the solidarity of other paper-

workers in Wisconsin's Fox River Valley, who view this strike as a battle for their own future.

Each week a meeting is held where strikers, spouses, and invited guests are free to speak their minds, discuss strike developments, problems, and solidarity. International Paper Co., which owns Nicolet, has been running the plant with scabs, but only eight former union members, known as "superscabs," have crossed the picket line.

A group of women have organized to keep in regular contact with all the strikers to determine special needs and problems that inevitably arise. One of the most serious involves a striker who was diagnosed as having cancer. He has had a kidney removed and is undergoing chemotherapy. Thirty-five years old, with a wife and three children, he has no means of support. Each week at the meeting the hat is passed. Strikers dig down into their own strike benefits to help their stricken brother. "This strike has brought us together," said Ralph Makhholm, a member of the local's executive board. "Before the strike no one came to union meetings. Now we're tight."

**New International**  
A Magazine of Marxist Politics and Theory

**The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop**  
BY STEVE CLARK

Land, Labor, and the Canadian Revolution  
BY MICHEL DUGRÉ

The 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation  
BY LARRY SEIGLE

Cuba: A Historic Moment  
TWO SPEECHES BY FIDEL CASTRO

**"The 50-year Domestic Contra Operation"**  
By Larry Seigle

How the government has concentrated ever more police powers into its hands to attack trade unionists, Black-rights fighters, and other foes of government policy.

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# Nicaragua: Why the 'black market' is not a black market

BY LARRY SEIGLE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — We often seek refuge from unfamiliar phenomena in familiar terms. This is especially true when the unfamiliar seems sharply contradictory.

Nicaragua today abounds in such contradictions and their nature is often obscured by the labels we apply to "explain" them.

Take, for example, the term "black market." This phrase is often used, by Nicaraguans and foreign visitors alike, to refer to the sprawling public markets in Managua and to their sources of goods. Everything from fresh meat, vegetables, and fruit to clothing and household cleaning supplies can be purchased there. Prices are high by comparison to those goods that Managua residents can buy at neighborhood outlets with their ration card, or through other limited government-supplied distribution channels.

But is "black market" an accurate description?

The term "black market" generally refers to the sale of goods illegally, or in quantities above legal limits. A black market is the terrain of smugglers, speculators, and traffickers in stolen goods, operating outside the law. If a black market exists in a given country on any large scale, it can survive only if police and other government officials are sufficiently corrupted to look the other way in return for a piece of the action.

Those who sell commodities on the black market get away with jacking up prices because they are the only source for the goods they put on sale. Those who engage in black market business, and those responsible for protecting them and profiting from the protection, are viewed by working people as their class enemy.

## Misleading term

The phrase "black market" does not accurately describe the public markets in Managua. It also obscures an important side of the economic relations that prevail in Nicaragua today.

The public markets in Managua — such as the huge Mercado Oriental (Eastern Market) — are not black markets. They are simply *markets* where goods are sold by individual merchants hoping to make a profit. They buy their commodities from wholesalers who are also in business for profit. The wholesalers, in turn, buy their commodities from working farmers or artisans trying to earn enough to live, or from capitalist farmers seeking a profit.

## Salvadoran condemns L.A. death squads

BY NAOMI CRAINE

NEW YORK — Some 150 people, mostly students, turned out for a meeting here to hear Yanira Corea, a young Salvadoran woman, speak about right-wing death squad activity in Los Angeles. Her meeting at New York University was part of a national tour to tell her story.

On July 7 Corea was kidnapped by three men in Los Angeles who held her captive for six hours. She was raped and beaten with a wooden stick, questioned about her political affiliations, and warned to stop her activities to promote solidarity with the liberation struggle in El Salvador. One man said they should kill me. "No," said another, "let's leave her as an example to the others."

The attack followed others against solidarity activists in Los Angeles over the last few years. The disruption has included threats to activists and their families, break-ins, people being followed to offices and homes, and an earlier assault on Corea.

The response of the Los Angeles police (LAPD) to Corea's case was uncooperative. The cop who found her right after her release, for example, didn't call for an ambulance; she had to wait for someone else to see her and call one.

Now, she says, "the LAPD has taken the

None of this is illegal in Nicaragua. Of course, some illegal practices do go on. Some merchants avoid paying taxes, some dealers import goods without paying the required customs duty, and so on.

But in general, the Mercado Oriental is no more a "black market" than is a shopping mall supermarket in the United States. Working people may get angry that the prices go up faster than our paychecks, but what is going on is the workings of the capitalist economy, not a "black market." When we leave the check-out counter we may feel like we got robbed, but what was done to us is not illegal.

If the Mercado Oriental isn't a black market, why are prices there so much higher than at the neighborhood outlets for rationed goods?

Five basic commodities are supplied, in very limited quantities, to all Nicaraguans, on a rationed basis. These are rice, sugar, cooking oil, salt, and soap. No other products are rationed. The prices for rationed goods are set by the government, and they are low — as little as one-third or one-fourth of the retail price. The reason they are low is that the government subsidizes these limited quantities of the five commodities in order to help provide a minimum supply of them to working people who might otherwise not be able to afford any at all.

There are also some other distribution channels subsidized by the government, bringing some goods to workers in Managua at prices lower than in the public markets. Some state-owned factories have their own commissaries, or stores, where workers in that factory can buy some food and clothing — or sometimes other items, like Christmas toys for the kids — at subsidized prices. Those employed at workplaces without such commissaries have cards entitling them to shop at government-run stores, called Workers Supply Centers (CATs). The CATs sell some clothing, housewares, and food. Prices are subsidized to some extent, but products are frequently in short supply or not available at all.

## A help in distribution

The ration card, the factory commissaries, and the CATs are not intended to displace the capitalist market, and they don't. Rather, they are designed to help insure the distribution of some basic goods to the working people of the cities, to supplement what they can afford to buy at market prices. (Other mechanisms exist in the

position of asking me about my political activities rather than about the attack." They are trying to deny that the attack was political, even though the men asked her many questions about her political activity. The police say the attack came from another activist who "is in love with her and got jealous."

The Immigration and Naturalization Service dismissed the incident as "just an attempt to get sympathy."

Corea pointed out that her case is not an isolated incident. "You have Brian Willson and Ben Linder and all of yourselves. What we have in common is opposition to the U.S. government's policies outside and inside this country."

John T'ale from the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) also spoke. He drew a connection between the governments of the United States and El Salvador. "The problem does not begin in Los Angeles. It begins with the government of El Salvador, a government that rules through violence and repression and is supported by our government in this country."

From New York, Corea goes to Philadelphia and Washington, D.C., before returning to the West Coast. She will later travel to Chicago and other cities in the Midwest.



Roberto Huembes market in Managua. High market prices are rooted in capitalist dominance of economy.

countryside. They deserve treatment in a separate article.)

Maintaining these distribution channels is the policy of the Sandinista government, which represents the class interests of the workers and peasants. The government uses resources to improve the living conditions of those who need it most, within the objective limits imposed by the U.S.-financed war against Nicaragua, and the legacy of distorted economic development the Sandinista revolution has inherited from long years of imperialist domination.

Although there is a state-owned sector in Nicaragua today, the dominant relations in the economic sphere are capitalist relations.

Isn't there a contradiction between these capitalist relations and the existence of a government in power that represents the

class interests of the workers and farmers? Absolutely. That contradiction is one that the working people will be able to resolve when the revolutionary process here — the development of the organization, mobilization, and education of the workers and peasants — reaches the point of advancing toward the next qualitative leap forward in historical terms. This will be the establishment of a nationalized and planned economy, with a state monopoly of imports and exports.

Sticking the label "black market" on an aspect of the capitalist economy in Nicaragua today leads to the false conclusion that Nicaragua already has a nationalized, planned economy and that the problem is one of cleaning things up around the edges.

The contradiction is thus "resolved" — but only in our heads.

## —WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

### Haiti: rightist attacks aim to block elections

Officials and henchmen associated with the deposed Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti have stepped up violent assaults, including arson and murder, in an effort to prevent presidential elections scheduled for November 29.

The national headquarters of the Provisional Electoral Council was set on fire within hours after the council rejected the candidacies of 12 former Duvalier cabinet members and army officers. The newly adopted Haitian constitution mandates the council to organize elections. It also prohibits key officials and functionaries of the Duvalier regime from running for public office for 10 years.

On the morning of October 13 police shot and killed presidential candidate Yves Volle in full view of reporters and a Haitian television crew. All of the reporters had their film confiscated, and some were beaten. Volle, one of 30 candidates entering the presidential race, was a frequent critic of the ruling junta led by Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy.

Despite the arson attack and daily death threats against council members, the junta has refused to act on a request by the council for protection. Several council members have been forced into hiding.

### India escalates war on Sri Lankan Tamils

India's minister of state for external affairs, K. Natwar Singh, has announced that Indian troops are now using helicopter gunships in their offensive against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. The Liberation Tigers are the largest of the Tamil guerrilla groups that have fought against the Sri Lankan government since 1983 for an independent Tamil homeland.

In the first two weeks of the offensive Indian troops besieged the city of Jaffna, a center of the Tamil population. Jaffna was bombarded with artillery and mortar

shells. Six hundred Tamil guerrillas and 200 Indian soldiers were killed in the fighting according to Indian authorities. An estimated 200 civilians have been killed according to a Tamil representative. As many as 12,000 Indian troops have reportedly been involved in the fighting.

The fighting began when the Sri Lankan government failed to make any effort to meet provisions of a peace accord imposed upon the Tamils with the aid of Indian troops in September. The accord provided for the expansion of the civil rights of the Tamils, including semiregional autonomy in some areas. Tamils comprise 18 percent of the Sri Lankan population. A much greater number are Sinhalese.

On October 27 police carried out mass arrests of Tamils in southern India. The Press Trust of India said 3,000 Tamils were arrested in Tamil Nadu as they picketed government offices to protest Indian military intervention against Tamils in Sri Lanka.

### Ivory Coast suspends foreign debt payments

The West African country of Ivory Coast announced earlier this year that it would suspend payments on its estimated \$8.5-billion foreign debt. According to the November issue of *South* magazine, "the move by the Ivory Coast — for long a model economic success in sub-Saharan Africa — has finally extinguished any lingering hope that African countries can ever pay their debts."

Despite agreements reached in 1986 to reschedule payments, Ivory Coast's debt obligations are expected to rise \$13 million over the next two years. Interest payments on its foreign debt for 1987 were equivalent to almost 75 percent of the country's national budget.

*South* reports that the International Monetary Fund has said the Ivory Coast must indicate its willingness to make further concessions before credits, frozen when economic targets were not achieved at the end of last year, are released.



## ARIZONA

### Phoenix

**Behind the Coup in Burkina Faso.** Panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

## CALIFORNIA

### San Francisco

**Protest U.S. War Moves in the Persian Gulf.** Speakers: Bill Hofmann, representative of the November 29th Committee for Palestine; representative of the Veterans Peace Action Teams; Rich Lesnick, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Local 1781. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Nov. 15, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

## FLORIDA

### Miami

**Behind the Coup in Burkina Faso.** Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

## GEORGIA

### Atlanta

**Panic on Wall Street: What It Means for Working People.** Speakers: Fred White, Socialist Workers Party, member of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1644. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

## MISSOURI

### St. Louis

**Origins of Stalinism.** Speaker: John Riddell, editor of the series *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*. Sat., Nov. 14, 1 p.m. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance, Pathfinder Bookstore. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

**Central America Peace Plan: New Stage in the Nicaraguan Revolution.** Speakers: Robert Dees, Socialist Workers Party; Steven Bailey, participant in Nicaraguan construction brigade. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

**New York Construction Brigade Benefit Dance.** Sat., Nov. 14, 9 p.m. to 2 p.m. Taller Latinoamericano, 63 E 2nd St. Donation: \$7.

## Spanish-language school Estelí, Nicaragua

Nuevo Instituto de Centroamérica (NICA school) invites you to attend four- and five-week programs of Spanish instruction, seminars, field trips, and community activities. Students live with a family in the northern Nicaragua town of Estelí.

Call or write NICA, P.O. Box 1409, Cambridge, Mass. 02238; tel. (617) 497-7142.

For more information call (212) 475-7159.

**Pathfinder Mural Celebration.** Speakers: Arnoldo Guillén, Nicaraguan artist and leader of the Sandinista Association of Cultural Workers; Steve Clark, director, Pathfinder Press; Victor Mashabeta, Youth Section of the African National Congress of South Africa; and the Sechaba Singers, ANC cultural group. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Pathfinder Mural Project. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

## NORTH CAROLINA

### Greensboro

**The Stock Market Crash: Can Capitalism Work?** Sun., Nov. 15, 7 p.m., dinner 5:30 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

## OHIO

### Cleveland

**Why Working People Should Support Farmers.** Speakers: Keith Wiems, organizer, North American Farm Alliance; Marge Townsend, president, Ashtabula Farmers Union; Bill Brotzman, farmer, activist against nuclear power. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

**Coup in Burkina Faso: A Revolution Betrayed.** Speaker: Mohammed Oliver, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

## OREGON

### Portland

**A Rally in Defense of the Bill of Rights.** No to FBI spying! No to the Portland Red Squad! Speakers: Nita Brueggeman, manager, Pacific Northwest Joint Board of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; Maceo Pettis, co-chair, Portland Rainbow Coalition; Lorna Lockwood, recently traveled to Cuba; Chuck Bell, former staff person of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; representative of National Lawyers Guild Portland chapter; representative of the Political Rights Defense Fund. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. Northwest Service Center, 1819 NW Everett St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (503) 233-5905.

**Why the U.S. Attacks Iran: The Meaning of the Persian Gulf War.** An informal discussion. Sat., Nov. 21, 3 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

## TEXAS

### Houston

**Socialist Educational Series: What Is Socialism?** "What Is the Soviet Union?" Sat., Nov. 14, 4 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

Socialist Educational Weekend. Two classes on the Cuban revolution.

Class 1. "The Cuban Revolution: 1959 to the Present." Sat., Nov. 21, 3 p.m.

Class 2. "The Current Stage of the Cuban Revolution." Sun., Nov. 22, 11 a.m.

Translation to Spanish. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$1.50 per class. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

## WASHINGTON

### Seattle

**Cuba and the Rectification Campaign.** Two classes by Cathy Sedwick. Sun., Nov. 15, 10:30 a.m. and 1 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S.

# Socialist Publications Fund rallies

## ALABAMA

### Birmingham

Speakers: Greg McCartan, national leader of Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sun., Nov. 15. Dinner, 5 p.m.; rally, 6:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: dinner and rally, \$4; rally only, \$2.50. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

## CALIFORNIA

### Los Angeles

Speakers: Sam Manuel, staff writer for *Militant* newspaper; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Nov. 20, 7:30 p.m. For location and other information call (213) 380-9460.

### San Diego

Speakers: Sam Manuel, staff writer for *Militant* newspaper. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 21. Open house, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum, Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

### San Francisco

Speaker: Sam Manuel, *Militant* staff writer, recently returned from Burkina Faso. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Nov. 22, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$2. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

## FLORIDA

### Miami

Speaker: Margaret Jayko, coeditor of the *Militant*. Sat., Nov. 21, 8 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

## IOWA

### Des Moines

Speakers: Pathfinder delegate to recent Caribbean workers trade union conference in Trinidad and Tobago; Otis McGowan, a unionist and board member National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Cedar Rapids; Frederick Adams, Drake University professor. Sun., Nov. 22. Dinner, 4 p.m.; rally, 5 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: dinner, \$4; rally, \$2. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

## MINNESOTA

### St. Paul

**Rally to Celebrate Publication of *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*.** Speakers: Billy Carmano, Veterans for Life, artist who will be painting Pathfinder mural; Tommy, representative of South West Africa People's Organisation; Chris Nissen, Black activist, coordinator of Market Place forum; Luis Seron, Chicano studies professor, University of Minnesota; Ramona Olson, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 6409. Sat., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstores of Austin and St. Paul, Minn. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

## MISSOURI

### St. Louis

Speakers: John Riddell, editor of the series the

Sponsor: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

## WEST VIRGINIA

### Morgantown

**AIDS: Fight the Disease, Defend Its Victims.** A panel discussion. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m.

*Communist International in Lenin's Time*, Pathfinder Press; Ted Braun, solidarity activist, visited Cuba; Ted Kayser, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Nov. 14. Dinner, 5 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

**A rally to inform the public of the efforts to publish, promote, and distribute Pathfinder publications.** Speakers: Norton Sandler, staff writer for *Militant* newspaper; Karen Kopperud, member United Transportation Union Local 800. Sat., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

**Socialist Publications Fund presents a discussion on the Central America peace accords.** Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. Party to follow. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

## TEXAS

### Houston

Speaker: Malik Miah, Socialist Workers Party and former editor of the *Militant*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 21, reception, 7 p.m.; rally 8 p.m. Party to follow. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$4. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

## UTAH

### Price

Speaker: Joe Swanson, longtime unionist and leader of Socialist Workers Party. Greenwell Restaurant, 655 E Main St. Sat., Nov. 14, 7 p.m. Donation: \$3. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

### Salt Lake City

Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Nov. 15. Open house, 4 p.m.; rally, 5 p.m. 147 E 900 St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

## WASHINGTON

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Speakers: Michael Butler, *New International* reader; Janine Thome, coordinator of Evergreen Political Information Center; Tomas Villanueva, president of United Farm Workers of Washington State; Carlos Maradiaga, member of Sheetmetal Workers Union Local 99; Cathy Sedwick, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

**U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf.** Speaker: Paul Mailhot, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

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**American know-how** — Air Force officials in Cheyenne, Wyoming, confirmed that four years ago a nuclear missile gave off false signals that it was about to take off, and an armored car was



Harry Ring

hurriedly placed atop the silo door. But, they assured, this was only "an added precaution."

**P.S.** — It occurred to us, in-

stead of messing around with that armored car, why didn't they just have some of the weightier officers stand atop that silo?

**Guess he didn't make things safer** — Facing a civil suit by three of his victims, Bernhard Goetz, the subway vigilante, asked for a change of venue from the Bronx to Manhattan, saying the daily subway trip might be "too dangerous." Sure. You never know when some racist nut will start shooting.

**Sociology dep't** — We've always placed a lot of stock in the findings of capitalist polltakers. Like the Hill & Knowlton report

that "Radio Martí," the Miami based U.S. propaganda voice, has a big listening audience in Cuba. Interviewers found it the "most-listened-to" among 72 percent of 873 Cubans who recently split the island.

**Never occurred to us** — Near-collisions involving commercial aircraft jumped 50 percent in the first nine months of this year. The Federal Aviation Administration assures that this does not mean that flying is more risky.

**But nothing's out of whack** — In a pitch to employees for United Way, UNISYS, a major electronic supplier to the Pentagon, points out there are 40 million people liv-

ing in poverty and 23 million adults who can't read in the United States. The company also cheerfully notes \$34 million in new war contracts.

**'Most Qualified'** — Bronx District Attorney Mario Merola, who died a week before the election, was returned to office with 91 percent of the vote.

**No respect for rules** — A New Jersey sheriff put four prisoners in isolation, claiming he caught them eating candy bars and sandwiches while participating in a hunger strike. "They were playing games on me," the indignant sheriff declared.

**Still between engagements** — Jim and Tammy Bakker have postponed their singing and preaching tour. The promoter said ticket sales were a tad slower than expected, but that this had nothing to do with it. In Dallas, they had booked a 20,000-seat arena and had an initial sale of 80 tickets.

**Who could have guessed** — Fishing boat operators protested but the Navy insisted its planned test explosions in Chesapeake Bay would have minimal effect. The first blast killed as many as 3,000 sea trout. "We were surprised," a Navy spokesperson said. The tests were canceled.

## Rally defends revolution, hears Ortega on accords

Continued from front page

in prison, regardless of the acts for which they were jailed. This demand includes an amnesty for all former members of the Somoza dictatorship's National Guard, who carried out systematic acts of assassination, rape, and torture against the people prior to the revolutionary victory in 1979.

The call for such a general amnesty has been one of the central themes of the Catholic church hierarchy, the capitalist political parties, and the reactionary news media here. This has provoked a strong response from the majority of working people. Signs and chants calling on the government to reject a general amnesty were among the most widespread at all the recent pro-revolution actions.

But more than the issue of justice is involved. The workers' and peasants' government was established when the FSLN led the working people to take power by overthrowing the government and destroying its repressive apparatus, first and foremost the dictatorship's National Guard, which served as army and police combined. One of the decisive acts of the new revolutionary government was to arrest the Guardsmen that could be apprehended. Many of those who escaped fled the country and later became the backbone of the contra army.

A general amnesty for ex-members of the National Guard at this stage of the revolution would be seen as undermining the revolutionary dictatorship of the majority itself. That is why the forces of reaction focus on the call for unconditional amnesty, and that is why the working people take the question so seriously.

The huge throng cheered when Ortega announced that the government will not grant an amnesty to the former members of the National Guard.

The maximum sentence allowable in Nicaragua, even for cold-blooded murder, Ortega noted, is 30 years. The ex-Guardsmen "will have to serve their sentences," he said.

### Pardons granted for 981

The assembly then listened intently as Ortega announced two other measures related to the release of prisoners. First, he said, he has issued a decree pardoning 981 individuals currently imprisoned for criminal acts against the government. Those pardoned include both ex-Guardsmen and captured contras who the government considers to have been rehabilitated. Similar pardons have been granted previously, he noted.

This step, Ortega said, "represents one more gesture of generosity, in favor of peace, because if it will mean saving the lives of the people and a defeat for the interventionist policy of the United States, then it is worth the effort."

Second, he announced that he has sent the National Assembly a decree granting amnesty to all those imprisoned for crimes related to counterrevolutionary activities since January 1981 — "but, and there is a very important but here," he said, the decree would take effect only "when there is an end to the aggression against the Nicaraguan people."

A parallel decree, which would end the state of emergency, would become operative on the same basis, he said.

These announced steps, in particular the

pardons, were controversial. Some in the crowd applauded, but others greeted them in silence and some murmured disagreement.

### Suspension of cease-fire zones

Ortega again gave voice to the confidence and determination of the demonstrators when he announced that the government was suspending the unilateral cease-fire it had declared in several zones. Although some contras had decided to lay down their arms and return to their homes under the amnesty law, he noted, others had carried out further armed attacks against peasants and agricultural cooperatives, as well as kidnappings.

"The people instruct the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of the Interior to be ready for combat with those mercenary forces beginning November 7," Ortega announced. That leaves the contras, he noted "until tomorrow to seek amnesty, get ready to fight, or run to their bases in Honduras. Beginning on the seventh we are going to throw everything we've got at the contras!"

However, he stressed, the cease-fire that has been achieved in the Atlantic Coast region, where the majority of Nicaraguan Indians and Blacks live, will be maintained. Fighting has almost ended in that part of the country, the president said, as the regional autonomy and peace project has taken hold.

### A sovereign nation

Ortega took the occasion of the rally to directly respond to another demand that has been raised by the opponents of the revolution and repeated insistently by the United States government: the Nicaraguan government must agree to negotiate with the contras over the future of the country. The Sandinistas have never wavered from their refusal to accept such a demand. Agreeing to such negotiations would amount to submitting to blackmail by the United States, which is arming, financing, training, and directing the mercenary army.

Support for this stand was made plain by the working people who filled the plaza, many wearing T-shirts proclaiming, "Sandinista power is not up for discussion."

The rights of a sovereign nation include the right of the government of Nicaragua to get aid from anywhere it chooses, and to maintain its own foreign policy. Ortega had just returned from Moscow, where he represented Nicaragua's government at the events commemorating the 70th anniversary of the October 1917 Russian revolution. In a speech in Moscow, Ortega reaffirmed, "The Nicaraguan people feel proud of their fraternal relations with the Soviet Union, and despite pressure, aggression, and blackmail, we will never renounce these relations."

Ortega reiterated the determination of the Sandinista government to defend Nicaragua's sovereign rights as he told the Managua rally, "We have not engaged in a dialogue with the contras to negotiate power, we are not doing so, and we will never do so — nor will we do so with the United States government. We don't have to negotiate with the United States about the internal affairs of Nicaragua. That is for the people of Nicaragua to decide." Loud applause and shouts of agreement greeted this determination.

However, he said, the Nicaraguan government is ready to begin "discussions with the United States and normalize relations with that country."

Ortega also announced at the rally that the Sandinista government is prepared to talk, through an intermediary, with the top contra leadership to seek to arrange a cease-fire. The following day Ortega met with Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, and asked him to serve as the intermediary.

Obando heads the Catholic hierarchy of Nicaragua. He has been the most effective political voice of the opponents of the revolutionary government in Nicaragua. However, with the decline in the military fortunes of the contra armed forces, Obando has been careful not to tie his own position too closely to the openly counterrevolutionary forces.

Obando is serving as head of the National Reconciliation Commission established by the Nicaraguan government following the signing of the Guatemala peace accords. He also made a recent public statement, widely quoted here, that the military conscription law can not be evaded, "because it is a law that has been established and as long as there is a war, it

is impossible to abolish this law." Obando had earlier made opposition to the conscription law a prominent part of his political platform.

The measures announced by the government, Ortega stressed November 5, amounted to "100 percent" compliance by Nicaragua with the Guatemala accords. Now, he said, it is up to the other signator governments to live up to the agreement as well. Above all, he stressed, the U.S. government must halt its financing and supplying of the contras, which is a decisive condition in the Guatemala agreement.

### Rights won in struggle

The street demonstrations by supporters of the revolution are a graphic sign of the expanded political activity being led by the Sandinista Front. The FSLN is taking maximum advantage of the peace process it set in motion by signing the Guatemala accords and is moving rapidly to restore civil liberties in the country. It sees these initiatives as creating the best conditions for waging the "political-ideological battle" necessary to advance the political education and organization of the working people in the cities and in the countryside as the class struggle deepens in Nicaragua.

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25¢  
Nov. 18, 1977

Hundreds of Chicano leaders and activists attending the October 28-30 San Antonio Chicano/Latino conference endorsed Héctor Marroquín Manríquez's appeal for political asylum in the United States.

Marroquín was a Mexican student activist falsely accused of murder and "subversion" by the Mexican government. He was arrested by the U.S. Border Patrol in September and remains jailed in Texas. His "crime" was reentering the country after a brief visit to Mexico to talk to his lawyer.

As a student at the Autonomous University of Nuevo León, in Monterrey, Mexico, Marroquín was active in campus struggles for democratic rights.

In 1974, in the midst of severe repression by the Mexican government, he was accused of a murder he didn't commit. Fearing for his life, he came to the United States.

Two other students, also falsely accused of murder, have since been gunned down by Mexican police under the pretext of arresting them.

The U.S. government could "exclude" Marroquín — that is, simply throw him out of the country — at any time. Although he has applied for political asylum in the United States, current INS rules don't allow Marroquín to raise that appeal as a reason for holding up his expulsion from the country.

**THE MILITANT**  
Published in the interests of the Working People  
Nov. 19, 1962 Price 10¢

NOV. 14 — In the face of continued

military, economic, and diplomatic pressure from Washington, Cuba's revolutionary government is maintaining its demand for withdrawal of the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo and the rest of Premier Fidel Castro's "five points" for ending U.S. aggression against Cuba.

This isn't bravado on the Cubans' part. It's just that they don't trust President John Kennedy's alleged promise not to invade Cuba, and they know that U.S. policy still aims at crushing the Cuban revolution. The Cubans don't intend to make Kennedy's task easier by disarming themselves or allowing "inspectors" to survey Cuba's defenses.

Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev acted unilaterally when he agreed in his October 27 letter to Kennedy to withdraw strategic missiles from Cuba under UN inspection. At that time Khrushchev explained his action with the statement to Kennedy: "I regard with respect and trust the statement you made in your message on Oct. 27, 1962, that there would be no attack, no invasion of Cuba.... Then the motives which induced us to render assistance of such kind to Cuba disappear."

This is Khrushchev's position, but the Cubans don't believe that the U.S. has abandoned its intention of attacking Cuba and destroying the Cuban revolution. As Premier Castro said in his "five points" statement: "The guarantees, of which President Kennedy speaks, against invasion of Cuba will not exist without the elimination also of the naval blockade and adoption, among others, of the following measures.... 1. The end of attempts to strangle Cuba economically. 2. The end of espionage, sabotage, and counterrevolutionary activity organized by the United States. 3. The end of pirate attacks encouraged by the United States. 4. The end of violations of Cuban air space and coastal waters. 5. Withdrawal of the U.S. base from Cuban soil at Guantánamo Bay."



# Nicaragua is a sovereign nation

The main fact about U.S.-Nicaraguan relations continues to go unmentioned in Congress and the big-business media: while the Nicaraguan government is leading the peace process in Central America, Washington continues its criminal intervention in the affairs of that sovereign nation through financial, military, and political support for the contra war.

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz promised the foreign ministers of the Organization of American States (OAS) on November 10 that the Reagan administration will wait until next year before asking Congress for \$270 million in new military aid for the contras.

Shultz made clear, however, that even this two-month postponement of the request is contingent on White House approval of the Sandinistas' conduct in the interim.

"This does not mean that we will sit idly on the sidelines if the Sandinistas try to strike for a military victory," warned Shultz. And the administration has every intention of seeking additional aid to the contras in the new year, regardless of events, said Shultz.

"The specific forms will depend on what happens in the implementation of the Guatemala agreement," Shultz said. "If it works as we all hope, it will be directed to the peaceful reintegration of the resistance into a free Nicaragua; if it does not, it will be used to enable the struggle for freedom to continue until it does succeed."

Far from being a gesture of peace, the postponement was a sign of weakness, a recognition that the defeat of the contras at the hands of the Nicaraguan army has made many legislators increasingly reluctant to keep on funding them. And the Nicaraguan government's demonstrated willingness to do everything possible to end the war stands in sharp and embarrassing conflict to Washing-

ton's unyielding efforts to keep the heat on.

Democratic Party leaders in Congress are going along with the administration's stance of continuing to back the contras. On November 5, the House of Representatives approved \$3.2 million more aid for the contras. This is on top of the \$3.5 million congressional Democrats and Republicans donated in September.

This so-called nonlethal aid is used to supply medicine, food, clothing, and fuel to help keep the contra armed forces in the field. The only thing it's not supposed to buy, in fact, is actual weapons; and the contras have plenty of those already.

That means the contra war continues. Which means that the murder, kidnapping, and torture of Nicaraguans who live in rural areas continues; the destruction of farms, clinics, and housing continues as well.

Like the maneuvering around contra aid, Reagan's recent announcement that the White House might talk with the Sandinistas if they hold "serious negotiations" with the contras has the same arrogant premise: that the U.S. government has some right to tell the Nicaraguan government what to do.

Washington intends to keep up the pressure on the Sandinistas to squeeze the maximum number of concessions out of Nicaragua. But as our correspondent reports from Managua this week, the Nicaraguan people are mobilizing to defend their revolution, while they take steps to make it stronger and better able to meet the needs of working people.

Now, more than ever, protests are needed in the United States and around the world to demand that Washington end its aid to the contras, stop intervening in Central America, and let Nicaragua live in peace.

# Secret wiretap comes to light

In the recent furor over Douglas Ginsburg's hasty withdrawal from nomination to the Supreme Court, it would have been easy to miss a small item that appeared in the back pages of some newspapers that ironically related to questions at the heart of the debate over the Robert Bork nomination, especially the right of privacy.

The item revealed that Harvard University law professor Laurence Tribe had discovered a secret wiretap on his office phone. The phone company and several other experts agreed that the tap would only have been put there to monitor Tribe's phone calls. They estimated it had been in place from two to eight months.

An unauthorized tap on anyone's phone is an outrageous violation of their constitutional right of privacy — not to mention freedom of speech and association. But why would anyone with the ability to install a wiretap want to put one on the professor's phone?

The answer may be simple, and ominous. Tribe was a consultant to Sen. Edward Kennedy and Sen. Joseph Biden in their efforts to defeat Reagan's recent nomination of Bork to the Supreme Court. Tribe himself testified for three hours before the Senate hearings on Bork. And at the very moment the constitutional rights to privacy was being debated in the Senate, Tribe's phone conversations were being tapped.

It's obvious that Bork is not alone in his view that the

right of privacy does not in fact exist, that it is merely "one more slogan" used by judges to write "their own tastes into the law." Somebody with the ability to get a wiretap installed thinks so, too.

Those who have been victims of government harassment, spying, and bugging over the years — unionists, civil rights activists, communists, antiwar fighters, and other critics of government policy — joined much broader layers of working people and other supporters of democratic rights in opposing Bork's nomination. The exposure of this wiretap is a clear example why.

But it also shows that preventing Bork, Ginsburg, or any other rightist nominee from getting a seat and a vote on the Supreme Court is not sufficient to prevent abuses of democratic rights. This is an ongoing battle, one in which the labor movement has a big stake and a decisive leadership role to play.

Meanwhile, some questions remain. Who authorized the bug on Tribe's phone? Did Attorney General Edwin Meese or the president himself approve it? Did other critics of the nomination who testified before the Senate, such as former Texas representative Barbara Jordan or former transportation secretary William Coleman, get similar treatment? Will those responsible for ordering the wiretap be prosecuted?

# Defend victims of no-bail law!

On November 23, six men are slated to go on trial in Kentucky on felony gun charges. Five of them have been imprisoned without bail since early August. Five of the six are members of the United Mine Workers of America.

The charges against them stem from the shooting death of a scab during the bitterly fought A.T. Massey coal strike, which began in 1984.

That same year, Congress passed the Bail Reform Act. Under that "tough-on-crime" statute, initiated by Sen. Edward Kennedy and other congressional liberals, judges may deny bail for the first time in the history of this country.

The Bill of Rights upholds the right to bail, specifically barring the use of excessive bail as a gimmick to deny it. Yet last May the Supreme Court chose to uphold this dangerous antiliberties law.

In an 18-month period, judges have refused bail to 4,800 defendants.

Sitting in a federal prison in Hartford, Connecticut, are Filiberto Ojeda Ríos and Juan Segarra Palmer. They have

been held without bail since August 1985 while awaiting trial. They are among the Hartford 16. These are political activists favoring independence for Puerto Rico who were arrested on the claim that they conspired to rob a Wells Fargo depot in 1983.

Seven others of the 16 were held for more than a year before winning bail.

Most recently, on October 28, three men, reportedly Lebanese, were reported arrested in Vermont and accused of smuggling explosives across the Canadian border. Two of them were denied bail, and the third also faced denial.

The reactionary no-bail measure is supposed to be used in cases where there is an alleged "substantial risk of flight" or where the victim is deemed to be "dangerous."

Who might flee? Who is "dangerous"? That's up to judges to decide, and it is a handy, potent weapon against unionists, political activists, and many others.

The no-bail law is a dangerous attack on democratic rights. The labor movement should take the lead in fighting against it.

# What blows to Mechem, Bork and Ginsburg show

BY DOUG JENNESS

While right-wing supporters of President Reagan have been taking blows in Washington over the defeat of Robert Bork's nomination to the Supreme Court and the Ginsburg debacle, they haven't been doing so well in another part of the country either.

In Arizona, Evan Mecham, the state's rabidly reactionary governor, faces the possibility of a recall elec-

# LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

tion. This prospect was brought closer on November 2 when nearly 390,000 signatures on petitions demanding recall were filed at the state capitol.

Impetus for removing the Republican governor began last January, shortly after he started serving his first term, when he canceled a paid state holiday honoring Martin Luther King, Jr. Mecham declared on television that King wasn't worthy of a holiday. The cancellation sparked a protest march of 15,000 on the state legislature demanding King's birthday be a state holiday.

Declared a federal holiday for the first time in 1986, after many massive demonstrations demanded it, 40 state governments officially honored King Day this year.

Winning King's birthday as a holiday helps give official sanction to the gains made by the mighty movement that smashed the system of Jim Crow segregation in the 1950s and 1960s, boosted the self-confidence of Blacks, and increased the respect of whites for Blacks.

This is what bugs Mecham and others of his stripe, and it is what they would like to see driven back.

Support for the recall effort grew in proportion to Mecham's poisoned denunciations of it. He blasted his opponents as "homosexual activists." The governor had already declared that civil rights protections don't apply to homosexuals.

Mecham defended an author's use of the term "pick-aninny" to describe Black children. He backed a board of education appointee's declaration that working women cause divorce and implied the women's rights movement promotes lesbianism.

Mecham has also stated that the United States may have become "a little bit too much of a democracy."

As the political backlash has mounted, Mecham has become increasingly isolated. Even former Republican Sen. Barry Goldwater, known for his conservative opinions, has called on Mecham to step down in the best interests of the Republican Party.

The outrage against his provocative ideological challenge to the gains conquered by the civil rights movement and women's rights struggles corresponds to the opposition generated by Reagan's nomination of Bork to the Supreme Court.

Bork, too, questions whether there isn't too much democracy in the United States. For more than two decades he has promoted the reversal of democratic gains that are codified in laws and court decisions.

But the debate on Bork's nomination showed that his contempt for the hard-won right of privacy and his advocacy of more authoritarian powers for the president were rejected by the majority in capitalist ruling circles as being unnecessary and detrimental to their interests at this time.

Approval of Bork would have signaled a course toward a more open assault on democratic liberties that would not only risk provoking massive protests from working people, but would stifle debate and dissent within the Democratic and Republican parties and the capitalist media as well. The employing class can't launch a wholesale attack on constitutionally protected rights, as part of a broader offensive to drive down wages and working conditions, without also restricting the rights of people from every class, including their own. This is a bigger price than most in the ruling class feel is warranted at this time for intensifying the exploitation of working people and maintaining capitalist rule.

President Reagan, undaunted by the resounding rebuff the Senate gave him on Bork, barreled ahead with another right-wing nominee that "they'll object to as much as they did this one."

With that recommendation, Douglas Ginsburg was bound to run into trouble. As *Washington Post* columnist Mary McGrory noted, "Pot or no pot, Ginsburg was doomed. His nomination was instantly spotted in the Senate as Reagan's revenge for the rejection of Robert Bork, a frivolous bid for Reaganesque echoes from the bench for maybe 40 years."

As it turned out, the liberal anti-Bork opposition had barely begun getting their guns out of their holsters, before Ginsburg was downed by fire from conservatives in Reagan's own party, who didn't look forward to fighting for his nomination in the Senate. They used the marijuana revelations as the pretext to get rid of him.

The prevailing stance of ruling-class politicians to reject the course symbolized by Mecham, Bork, and Ginsburg allows space for working people at this time to discuss, assemble, and organize to defend their living standard and to press forward the defense and extension of democratic rights.



# Explosion danger unites workers against company

BY CLAIRE MORIARTY

MARCUS HOOK, Pa. — I am an operator on the Isocracker unit at the British Petroleum refinery here. BP, the third-largest oil company in the world, has just racked up another year of record profits.

Several months ago, BP refinery workers and residents of the surrounding community got a firsthand glimpse

## UNION TALK

into how BP makes these profits — putting production ahead of any concern for safety.

Local 8-234 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union led a struggle to try to prevent BP from jeopardizing thousands of lives in what could have been a catastrophic explosion and fire.

Since May a heat exchanger under 1,600 pounds of pressure had been leaking hydrogen gas. Hydrogen is extremely flammable. Tests with a gas meter registered the highest explosive limit. The hydrogen leak was located right next to a two-story-high furnace. Tanker cars filled with highly explosive liquified petroleum gas glide by on nearby rail lines. Oil storage tanks sit next to the unit.

We notified BP management of this serious leak last May. Weeks went by, and the company took no action. So we filed a formal safety complaint. Still no action. The union then appealed to the federal government's Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA).

BP still refused to shut down the unit in order to repair the leak safely. It would have cost them too much money.

Instead, they used the threat of discipline to try to force us to repair the leak using hydraulic guns and wrenches to tighten the bolts while the unit was still running. This would have made a dangerous situation even more dangerous as sparks could have easily ignited the hydrogen gas, resulting in a potential disaster.

The workers stuck together. We refused to let the company do this. We were determined to enforce the article in our contract that says, "No employee shall be required

to perform services that seriously endanger his physical safety, and his refusal to do such work shall not warrant or justify discipline."

On August 7 union volunteers distributed hundreds of booklets at the refinery gate about hazards in oil refineries.

But BP was determined to go ahead with its plan to keep the unit running and use hydraulic tools to repair the hydrogen leak. That same day, scaffolding and firefighting equipment were assembled. Pipefitters were clad in protective firesuits. Steam was turned on. Nitrogen lines were hooked up. And refinery management gathered on the unit.

We insisted that OSHA inspectors come down from the front office to the unit. They finally appeared on the scene. We confirmed in their presence that tests of the leak continued to register in the highest explosive range. We put the OSHA inspectors under intense pressure to remain on the scene and BP was forced to retreat. The hoses were rolled up and the hydraulic air guns dismantled.

BP's plan was now to contract a firm to install a temporary seal — a mechanical clamp filled with sealant.

But a week passed, and nothing had been done. The exchanger had been leaking hydrogen for three months. More disciplinary measures, including threats to discharge me, were attempted.

The next day, union volunteers were back at the refinery gate with a leaflet that began, "BP Puts Profits Before Safety." We explained, "BP is gambling with our lives," but that we could act together to make them stop.

During the next several days our battle was featured on the 6:00 p.m. and 11:00 p.m. TV news. Dozens of us were interviewed at the refinery gate. I joined TV news crews in Channel 10's helicopter filming the leaking exchanger, the heater, the rail cars, and nearby oil storage tanks. Workers waved from the units below. Unionists, including myself, were featured in interviews.

Just a week earlier, a fire at the tank farm at the Chevron refinery in Philadelphia burned out of control for two days. Sentiment was high in the community for prevent-

ing another potential disaster of this scope.

I explained before thousands of viewers, "If we're going to have a safe refinery, it's the workers who are going to have to fight to protect ourselves and the community from hazards like this."

The Philadelphia fire marshal told TV interviewers, "Hydrogen is one of the most dangerous gases and poses a big threat." He confirmed that the safest approach would have been to shut the unit down and then make repairs. OSHA officials explained BP had to seek a safer alternative to hydraulic wrenches.

Nonunion contractors had been brought in to install the clamp. But operators refused to let them use electrically powered tools that might also ignite the hydrogen. Pipefitters refused to work on a job we deemed was unsafe.

Day after day, every shift for two weeks, we held firm.

In an unprecedented move, the company violated its own procedures and on August 19 forced the nonunion contract employees to take the risk and do the job unsafely, without the operator-issued permits.

The results: the temporary clamp is an ill-fitting mess with sealant dripping and bubbling from crevices. The hydrogen leak has subsided.

There was no fire, no explosion. There were no casualties. We were lucky — this time. But at what risk? And why? And what about next time?

We wanted to fix the leak promptly and safely. BP wanted uninterrupted production at any cost.

Union members stuck together. We put up resistance. We called public attention to BP's disregard not only for our safety but for the safety of the surrounding community. More of us learned how we must rely on ourselves and our union to fight for a safe workplace. Our union became a little bit stronger for that.

And no one ever says it's business as usual anymore at BP.

Claire Moriarty is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-234 at the British Petroleum refinery in Marcus Hook, Pennsylvania.

## LETTERS

### Symbol of hatred

On October 20 an event occurred in the town of Jay, Maine, that seems of little significance.

A Confederate flag was flown from the power plant smokestack at International Paper Co.'s Androscoggin mill, high above the Stars and Stripes.

I find it disconcerting that the management at the mill allowed this symbol of hatred to remain in place until told to remove it by U.S. Sen. George Mitchell. In doing so, they have revealed their true intent in the recent labor dispute: to incite the strikers to violence by any and all means, so that public sentiment in the area would be turned against them.

I am not a striker at International Paper, but the company has ignited in me an anger that will be long in dying. They have slandered the memory of every American, man and woman, who gave their lives in defense of this country. Their arrogance and greed have risen to the forefront, superceding any thought of right or wrong, moral or immoral.

John Georges has an ad on television telling the people of Maine that the strike is over. Mr. Georges, chief executive of International Paper Co., is wrong. The strike is not over, the war has begun. Any corporation that puts itself above the freedom that the flag represents should be shunned by every American.

Enough of our young men and women have given their lives because of the almighty dollar. It is time for it to stop!

Every American, man or woman, black or white, Catholic, Protestant or Jew has the right to fight for what they believe in, and no greedy corporate giant can deny that right.

Be it known that the fight will be brought to International Paper Co.'s front door.

Ronald Pineau  
Jay, Maine

### Capitalism

I have attended several forums at the Omaha Pathfinder Book-

store and invited friends to join me. One of my friends replied by launching into a major defense of the virtues of capitalism.

I have been employed at the University of Nebraska Medical Center in the social work department since last January. I sit at the front desk directing patients and their families to the social worker who can best serve their needs. Every day, the effects of capitalism walk through the door of our office.

There was the ex-farmer (recently lost his land) who could neither sit nor stand comfortably for any length of time due to a farm-related accident resulting in a back injury. This man was forced to wait for nearly an hour at each of the offices he visited. Why? No insurance, no money. After years of labor on the land, he was kept waiting and verbally probed about his personal affairs in order to determine his "eligibility" for decent health care.

Decent health care for all citizens is a right, not a privilege. If I'd been thinking a little more quickly while my friend was talking up capitalism, I would have invited him to join me on the job for a day. Yes, capitalism is working. It is killing us.

Lacy Hansen  
Omaha, Nebraska

### More in touch

Last year I was quite sad about the end of *Intercontinental Press*. Now, one year later, I can no longer feel it as a loss. I think the *Militant* has performed very well in replacing *IP* — I think it's even better because the *Militant* is more in touch with day-to-day political struggles than *IP* could be.

Lüko Willms  
Frankfurt, West Germany

### Nicaraguan mayor

Ray Hodgson, mayor of the town of Bluefields on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, spent October 15-25 in the Cleveland-Akron area explaining how Nicaragua is implementing the Central America peace accords.



Hodgson, who is Black, is a preacher in an evangelical Christian church. He was appointed interim mayor of Bluefields, a town of 45,000, and is running in the upcoming elections there.

He explained what the newly approved autonomy program is doing for residents of the Atlantic Coast:

"We have 10 percent of the population, but receive 15 percent of the national budget. Now our students go to college because of their aptitude, not because they have money. People of the east coast are given 10 percent of college entrances, to make up for past discrimination. The cost is \$1 a year. There are people going to medical school who are so poor they can't afford clothes."

Hodgson was especially proud of the bilingual program that went into effect two years ago. He, himself, attended schools under the Somoza dictatorship where Spanish was forced on English-speaking children. "From the first moment in first grade when the teacher said, '¡Siéntese!' (sit

down) we had no idea what was being said in school. Now children are taught in their native tongues with the right to choose which language they want to learn."

Marty Pettit  
Cleveland, Ohio

### Support

I have been interested in politics viewed from the perspective offered by the *Militant* since the Nicaraguan revolution, which was the basis of my political education.

In Birmingham there is a significant failure in the readily available news sources, which your publication attempts, often quite successfully, to remedy. I just wanted to add one more quiet voice of support and encouragement.

L.G.  
Birmingham, Alabama

### Abortion

A jury in a federal case recently issued a verdict against Woman-care Clinic, a women's health-care clinic in San Diego. Five antiabortion demonstrators were awarded

damages of \$59,000.

They had been arrested in October 1985 by Woman-care staff members for violating a court injunction the clinic had obtained in 1984 to enable it to protect clients entering the clinic for a variety of services, including abortion.

Woman-care has been the target of antiabortion groups since 1984, which had picketed the clinic and harassed women seeking its services. There has been violence against family-planning and abortion providers in the area.

Woman-care plans to appeal the court ruling. Legal fund donations and messages of solidarity can be sent to: Woman-care, 2850 Sixth Ave., Suite 311, San Diego, Calif. 92103.

Debra Madden  
San Diego, California

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.



## S. Africa: ANC leader wins release

BY SAM MANUEL

Govan Mbeki, a veteran leader of the African National Congress of South Africa, was released November 5 after 23 years behind bars in South Africa's notorious Robben Island prison. Mbeki was charged and tried, along with Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the ANC, in the 1964 Rivonia Trial for "conspiracy" and for plotting the violent overthrow of the apartheid regime. They were convicted with six others and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Mbeki's release is a victory for the growing international campaign to win the release of the ANC leaders and all political prisoners of the apartheid regime. It has raised hopes of securing the eventual freedom of Mandela. Mbeki was flown from Robben Island to the nearby Poolsmoor Prison in Cape Town where he met with Mandela for an hour.

Commenting on the release of Mbeki in the South African newspaper *Rapport*, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said, "In one sense you can say it is a trial run but it naturally places a very heavy onus on Mr. Mbeki." According to the *Johannesburg Star*, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Stoffel Van der Merwe said, "The future of Mandela and others is to some extent in Mr. Mbeki's hands."

South African officials have also said that Mbeki's release is based on humanitarian grounds because he is 77 years old and is reported to be in ill health. Mbeki is the second of those convicted in 1964 to be released. Dennis Goldberg, the only white defendant in the case, was released in 1985.

South African President Pieter Botha had stated that he would consider releasing all of the ANC leaders if they would renounce the armed struggle against the white minority government. The ANC leaders have refused to accept any condi-

tions upon their release.

At a news conference in Port Elizabeth, Mbeki reaffirmed his support for the ANC and for the use of every means in the fight to end apartheid, including armed struggle. Mbeki said, "I am a member of the African National Congress. The ideas for which I went to jail and for which the ANC stands, I still embrace."

As a member of the ANC and the South African Communist Party, Mbeki is "listed" by the apartheid regime, which means that he cannot be quoted in the press. Justice Minister Coetsee waived the restriction so that Mbeki could appear at the news conference.

The South African regime has passed a myriad of such gag laws known as banning orders. They are designed to restrict the travel, place of residence, and numbers of people who may speak with or be in the presence of opponents of the regime. A campaign to unban the ANC has made these laws increasingly difficult to enforce. The campaign has been led by ANC leaders such as Winnie Mandela, who has defied these laws by traveling throughout the country and speaking to rallies of thousands of people.

Mbeki stressed that his release was without conditions. He announced that he would soon apply for travel documents to visit his son Thabo, a member of the ANC executive and its director of information and publicity in Lusaka, Zambia, where the organization has its headquarters.

A statement released by the ANC from Lusaka said, "The release of Comrade Govan Mbeki is an important event in the long and bitter struggle of our people, and a victory for the democratic forces throughout South Africa and the international community who have fought relentlessly for the unconditional release of our leaders and all political detainees in South Africa."



Govan Mbeki, with wife Epainette, after release from Robben Island, where he was imprisoned by apartheid regime for 23 years.

## Caribbean groups to discuss proposal for unified state

BY STEVE CLARK

HAVANA, Cuba — A meeting of member organizations from English-speaking countries in the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America will take place on the island of St. Vincent November 20-22.

Participants will set a Caribbean people's agenda as part of the debate on a unified Caribbean state opened last summer by proposals issued by James Mitchell and John Compton, prime ministers respectively of the Caribbean islands of St. Vincent and St. Lucia. Their proposals were made last May at the annual conference of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States. The OECS embraces seven smaller English-speaking islands and together with the larger islands of Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad makes up the Caribbean Community (CARICOM).

The bourgeois leaders of the OECS governments have aired the unity proposal to advance their own class interests and those of Washington in the Caribbean, according to Don Rojas, a leader of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations. Rojas, who lives in Havana, represents Grenada's Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement on the coordinating committee of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations.

These Caribbean politicians, Rojas said, hope to pave the way for a Caribbean army that can crush protests by working people against attacks on their living conditions and democratic rights. These bourgeois figures hope that greater integration will enable them and their class to get more of the crumbs from U.S., British, and Canadian economic domination of the region.

The goal of Caribbean unity, however, has long been an aspiration of fighters for true national sovereignty, democracy, and the interests of working people, Rojas said. In the debate opened by Mitchell and Compton, he explained, the floor cannot be left to the ruling political and economic elites. Democrats, anti-imperialist leaders, and socialists have to present a perspective that addresses the need for independence, economic development, and peace throughout the Caribbean.

The St. Vincent meeting, Rojas said, has been called to begin that process. The secretariat of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations in Georgetown, Guyana, has issued invitations to some 18 of its member par-

ties and organizations in the CARICOM countries. The gathering is being hosted by the United People's Movement of St. Vincent. Also attending will be the representative of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party on the organization's coordinating committee.

The St. Vincent meeting is the first such subregional gathering of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations since its founding at a conference here in Havana in June 1984. The organization today encompasses some 37 political parties and movements from 22 countries in the English-, French-, Spanish-, Dutch-, and Creole-speaking Caribbean and Central America.

According to Rojas, the St. Vincent meeting will also discuss recent developments in the struggle for democracy in Haiti; efforts by the Nicaraguan government to compel Washington to abide by the terms of the Guatemala peace accords; and the ongoing demand that the Caribbean be recognized, in word and deed, as a zone of peace and national independence.



Don Rojas

Militant/Ernest Harsch

## Anti-apartheid, peace, socialist groups condemn S. Africa at UN

As we go to press, the first of two days of hearings on the policies of apartheid and the South African government, conducted by the special Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, has concluded.

Among those testifying are Harry Belafonte, Congressman George Crockett, Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson, and representatives of the World Peace Council, the American Committee on Africa, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and others.

Mac Warren spoke on November 11. His statement will be printed in full along with further coverage of the hearings in the next issue of the *Militant*.

BY SAM MANUEL

UNITED NATIONS, Nov. 11 — "Based upon our experience in South Africa and in the region, we ask that the international community impose mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa," said Ralston Deffenbaugh, permanent representative of the Lutheran World Federation at the United Nations.

In 1984 two of the smaller churches affiliated with the federation, one in South Africa, the other in Namibia, were expelled after refusing to publicly reject apartheid and continuing to maintain racial segregation of the church.

"The racist regime has targeted Black children, who are in the forefront of the liberation struggle, as the special enemy," said Vicki Erenstein of the National Lawyers Guild. "Black children in South Africa must endure a daily life of military occupation and state terrorism," she added.

The National Lawyers Guild was a participant in the International Conference on

Children, Repression and the Law in Apartheid South Africa held in Harare, Zimbabwe, in October.

Beatrice von Roemer of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions condemned attacks on the trade unions by the apartheid regime. She pointed to the example of Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, whose passport was confiscated by South African authorities as he was about to travel to Melbourne to attend the congress of the Australian Council of Trade Unions.

José Soler of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party explained, "Puerto Rico, a Latin American and Caribbean country that the government of the United States has wanted to isolate from the international community through a colonial policy, has not been hindered, nonetheless, from joining the international struggle against apartheid and for the independence of Namibia."

"The apartheid structure of the modern-day slavocracy, the South African government, is an affront to all humanity," Mac Warren said. "Every government and institution the world over must immediately halt all economic, diplomatic, cultural, sporting, and military ties with this regime. This has been the opinion expressed by repeated votes in the General Assembly of this United Nations. This is the will of the overwhelming majority of humanity."

Warren emphasized that the people of the United States have a particular interest and responsibility in fighting against the apartheid system. "The U.S. government, despite ritual statements deploring apartheid," he said, "has been and remains the most powerful source of economic, political, and military support to the racist regime."