

Haiti strike hits canceling of vote

BY NORTON SANDLER

A two-day strike paralyzed much of the business activity in Haiti's capital city Port-au-Prince December 7 and 8.

The strike was called in response to the November 29 cancellation of presidential elections and the disbanding of the civilian election commission following violence by army troops and terrorist gangs known as the Tontons Macoutes. The violence included shooting and hacking to death of dozens of people around the country.

The hated Macoutes were the armed thugs used by ousted dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier to terrorize the population and to murder opponents. Duvalier was forced to flee the country in February 1986 after sustained protests against his government. With Washington's blessing, Duvalier appointed a military junta, the National Council of Government known by its Creole-language initials KNG, to replace him.

On December 7 and 8, stores were boarded in Port-au-Prince and traffic was light throughout the city. Most factory workers stayed off the job the first day with some returning to work the second.

The strike, which also had considerable impact in Les Cayes, and Gonaïves, was called by four candidates from the canceled presidential election and by the Autonomous Confederation of Haitian Workers (CATH) and two other unions. The central demand was for reinstatement of the election commission. Protestors also demanded the resignation of the KNG government headed by Gen. Henry Namphy.

New York *Newsday* reported December 8 that 80 people had been killed in the capital alone during the November 29 rampage.

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Nicaragua: U.S. pilot nabbed aiding contras

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — A small airplane flown by U.S. citizen James Jordan Denby was shot down by Nicaraguan troops December 6 after illegally entering Nicaraguan airspace and flying over a military zone near the Costa Rican border. Forced to land his damaged plane, Denby was captured uninjured by Nicaraguan authorities, who found he had documents linking him to the U.S.-sponsored contras.

At a December 8 press conference here, Defense Minister Humberto Ortega reported that Denby had taken off in his Cessna 172 airplane from a Honduran airfield and entered Nicaraguan airspace without the permit required to do so. He flew 300 miles across Nicaragua without contacting Nicaraguan authorities or otherwise identifying himself.

At 3 p.m. that day, as Denby was flying low over naval installations in San Juan del Norte, near the Costa Rican border on the Atlantic Coast, Nicaraguan troops fired their rifles at the unidentified plane, damaging its fuel tank. Already low on fuel, Denby was forced to land on a nearby beach where he was captured, Ortega said.

Ortega also detailed evidence showing Denby's links to the contra mercenaries.

Denby owns a farm in northern Costa Rica along the San Juan River, which serves as a natural border between Nicaragua and Costa Rica. Ortega showed reporters a 1984 issue of the U.S. magazine *Farm Journal* that featured an article on Denby's activities in Costa Rica. It included a photograph of the armed mercenaries training on Denby's Costa Rican property and reported that as many as 1,000 contras were living there at that time.

An associate of Denby's, U.S. citizen



Militant/Roberto Kopec

One of Nicaragua's army battalions on patrol near Pantasma. Capture of U.S. pilot highlights U.S. government's efforts to keep contra war going.

John Hull, also owns land in Costa Rica along the Nicaraguan border and is known to have close links with the contras and the CIA.

A notebook found in Denby's possession mentions a meeting between contra head Adolfo Calero and John Hull, apparently also attended by Denby, Ortega reported.

Other documents found in Denby's possession include numerous color photographs of contra camps and helicopters, the business card of an international arms deal-

er, a State of Illinois permit to handle explosives, military insignia, and a rough sketch of the San Juan River area indicating contra camps.

Denby is the second U.S. citizen linked to the contras captured after being shot down flying over Nicaraguan territory. In October 1986 Eugene Hasenfus was captured when Nicaraguan soldiers hit a CIA plane delivering supplies to the contras. Two U.S. pilots were killed in the crash.

In September 1984 Sandinista troops shot down a helicopter that attacked a Nicaraguan army training camp with rockets and machine guns. The three crew members were killed and two turned out to be U.S. citizens, members of the right-wing paramilitary group Civilian-Military Assistance.

Light planes such as Denby's Cessna have also been used by the contras for military reconnaissance and in contra bombing attacks against civilian targets in Nicaragua, including an attack on Managua's international airport in September 1983.

As of December 8, Nicaraguan authorities were still questioning Denby. Ortega said that he would probably be charged and brought to trial soon.

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Book of Che's writings hailed in N.Y.

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW YORK — A meeting to celebrate the publication of *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution: Writings and Speeches of Ernesto Che Guevara* was held here December 6. Some 400 people attended the reception and program.

The book was published by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia, which is based in Sydney, Australia. The meeting was sponsored by Pathfinder in New York City. October 9 marked the 20th anniversary of Che's murder at the hands of the U.S.-backed Bolivian military dictatorship in 1967. A central leader of the 1959 Cuban revolution, Guevara had severed all official ties and left Cuba to participate in the guerrilla struggle in Bolivia in 1966.

The evening's guest of honor was Ambassador Oscar Oramas-Oliva, permanent representative of Cuba to the United Nations. The ambassador knew Che during the early years of the revolution.

Mary-Alice Waters, a member of the board of directors of Pathfinder, and Steve Clark, director and chief editor of Pathfinder, co-chaired the meeting.

Che, said Waters, "belongs to us all, including those right here within the borders of the United States who are fighting for the kind of world that Che lived and died for."

Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia collaborated with the José Martí Publishing House of Havana in publishing *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*. It is the most representative collection ever in English of Guevara's writings and speeches.

Five selections have never before appeared in English; all the others have been newly translated to make them as faithful as possible to Che's original words. The book includes 48 pages of photographs, a number of them never before published.

Waters pointed to the renewed interest in Che's ideas because of the relevancy and immediacy they have for fighters for national liberation and socialism everywhere, from Cuba itself to southern Africa, Central America and the Caribbean, and the Philippines.

"One of the things that the enemies of revolutionaries always try to do as soon as the revolutionaries are dead is to turn them into harmless icons," said Waters. "One purpose of this book is precisely to reclaim the legacy of Che Guevara, to restore him to his rightful place as one of the great Marxists of our century, as a central leader of the Cuban revolution, who was also a capable military strategist and a courageous fighter."

The event here was one of a series of meetings around the world to launch the book: six took place in Australia, three in New Zealand, and one in London, Montreal, and Toronto. Others are planned.

The New York meeting was itself an international gathering. Delegations were present from the Angolan, Cuban, and Vietnamese missions to the United Nations; the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) Permanent Observer Mission to the United Nations; Puerto Rican Socialist Party; and Socialist Bloc of the Dominican Republic.

Also present were Clinton Adlum, first secretary of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C.; Tseke Morathi, member of the African National Congress of South Africa and of the Sechaba Singers; and Noel Corea, director of international relations for the Sandinista Association of Cultural Workers in Nicaragua. Representatives from Pathfinder distributors in Australia, Britain, Canada, and New Zealand

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Trial of Ky. miners exposes frame-up by company, gov't

BY JIM LITTLE

ASHLAND, Ky. — The trial of four Kentucky coal miners has been marked by government misconduct since it began here November 24.

The unionists on trial are Donnie Thornsby, president of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 2496; James Darryl Smith; David Thornsby; and Arnold Heightland. They face life imprisonment on federal frame-up charges stemming from the shooting death of scab coal hauler Hayes West during the 1984-85 UMWA strike at A.T. Massey coal mines in West Virginia and Kentucky.

Paul Smith, also a member of the miners' union, faces the same charges but will be tried later.

In cross-examination of government wit-

nesses, attorneys for the miners are showing that Massey security guards worked closely with the Kentucky State Police, the FBI, and other U.S. government agencies to fabricate the case.

A blatant example of government misconduct came to light in the testimony of police "weapons expert" William McBrayer during the second week of the trial. He acknowledged during cross-examination that the government had hidden from the miners' attorneys the results of tests on shotguns the government had seized as evidence.

Even Judge Henry Wilhoit was forced to admit this was an example of government misconduct. But Wilhoit refused to declare

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Haiti strike protests gov't-backed massacre

Continued from front page

page. Army troops murdered 15 to 20 at the Argentine School (see eyewitness account page 2).

Haitian human rights organizations say 46 people arrested in a sweep of the working-class neighborhood of Carrefour Feuilles were also murdered. The military accused its victims of participating in defense groups that began to stand up to the Macoute violence in the days before the scheduled election.

Responding to international outrage over the killings and the cancellation of the election, Namphy is now saying that another election will be held in January.

As a way of trying to legitimize the election, he is demanding that the eight organizations designated by Haiti's constitution to serve on the election commission appoint new members. But Namphy is prohibiting members of the disbanded board from serving, accusing them of being communists who were trying to rig the election. Five of the organizations have turned down Namphy's request and the other three have yet to respond.

Washington has poured millions of dollars into supporting the KNG government

since the fall of Duvalier. This included providing the military trucks, radio communications, and riot gear. U.S. advisers were training Haitian soldiers in "crowd-control techniques" right up until the November 29 events.

In spite of this infusion of cash, the Namphy government has gotten weaker and weaker.

While continuing to support Namphy, Washington has pressed for elections in the hope that a more stable government will emerge. But the military has refused so far to relinquish control of the government.

The Organization of American States (OAS) adopted a resolution on December 7 urging the Haitian government to call new elections.

U.S. ambassador to the OAS, Richard McCormack, said it was important that new elections "go forward speedily."

"If these elections do not have credibility in the eyes of the people of Haiti," McCormack added, "it will be an invitation to utter disaster."

"I guarantee that the Haitian government will transfer power [to a civilian government] by February 7," Haiti's foreign

minister, Col. Herard Abraham, told the reporters.

Since November 29 there have been steady bipartisan demands in the United States for military intervention into Haiti. Those pressing this position argue that a "peacekeeping" force is necessary to guarantee elections and insure democracy. But what they really want is a force that can "stabilize" the situation and keep Haiti's working people from getting out of hand.

The resolution adopted by the OAS opposed outside intervention in Haiti. The next day a *New York Times* editorial said, "The Organization of American States was too timid yesterday in backing free elections in Haiti without endorsing an inter-American force to guarantee the process."

The editorial cited the example of the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965 as a "relevant precedent." U.S. troops also occupied Haiti itself from 1915 to 1934.

Rather than U.S. soldiers, the *Times* editors called for the occupation force to be made up this time of soldiers from Latin America and the West Indies.

Elliott Abrams, assistant U.S. secretary of state for Latin American affairs, has re-

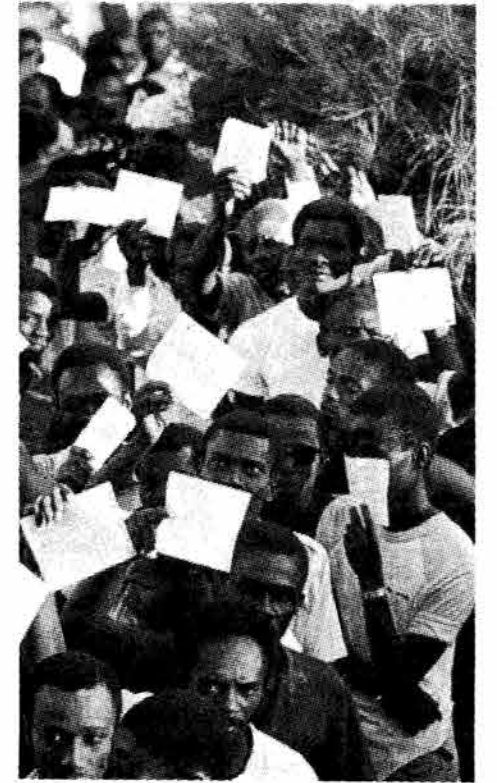
fused to deny that the U.S. government is considering intervention.

"It is wrong for Americans to act as if there is no government in Haiti," Abrams also added.

"Intervention has a momentum . . . it is unrealistic to think you could have a clear, surgical intervention that would be short-lived," an unidentified government spokesperson told the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Canadian government spokesperson Monique Landry said, "Canada is studying the possibility of participating in a peace force."

Nicaraguan Ambassador to the United States Carlos Tünnermann said his country would emphatically reject outside intervention in Haiti.



Haitians line up to vote in elections that were disrupted by massacre carried out by army and gangs of thugs.

Eyewitness: Haiti's election day

BY NORTON SANDLER

Freelance photographer Tony Savino was in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, from November 18 to December 2. In a telephone interview he told the *Militant*, "When I first arrived, it seemed pretty normal and relaxed. But then bodies began appearing on the street in the morning."

"The Macoutes started laying road-blocks in the city. They'd put trees across the road and set tires on fire to instill fear in the people."

"As we got closer to the elections," Savino explained, "they started shooting people on the street even in broad daylight. They would just drive by in a truck, sometimes in military uniform, sometimes not, and just shoot a vendor or someone else on the street."

Savino said the press "was pretty much restricted to Port-au-Prince, because the Macoutes had most of the roads outside the city blocked off to impede the flow of traffic. Their aim was to create chaos in general in the country and to prevent ballots from getting out to the countryside," he emphasized.

By November 23, Savino said, "the population spontaneously began to organize into vigilance teams to try to put the brakes on the Macoutes running around and shooting people."

"They actually caught Macoutes in a couple of different places. In Cité Soleil, one of the poorest sections of the city, the bodies of some Macoutes were found. They were members of a private security agency."

On November 29, the day of the scheduled elections, Savino said he went to one polling place "where there probably were 800 people lined up in a courtroom waiting to vote."

"The people seemed to have a lot of faith in the elections, and they were determined to vote," he said. "They knew the danger. They knew that the Macoutes had been threatening to come to the polling places and shoot at people. But they were very proud and determined to make some kind of change and were there ready to vote."

After visiting the polling place, Savino returned to the Holiday Inn where most of the press was staying.

"I spoke to quite a few members of the press who had been shot at by both people in and out of uniform. As we were discussing this, several cars drove by and started shooting the windows out of our cars with automatic weapons," Savino said.

"Two fire trucks drove right by the hotel. Six carloads of journalists followed them a few blocks to the Argentine School," Savino continued, "where we saw that there were dead bodies all over. We began photographing the 15 to 20 bodies. Three people were still alive. The military took away a couple of the bodies, and a couple ambulances came for the people who were alive," he said.

"Not three or four minutes later, two jeeps showed up carrying members of the military in green uniforms. They began shooting at the press with automatic weapons. At that point, a Dominican journalist was killed and a British journalist

was shot in the leg. We had to run in every direction, jumping over walls."

Savino hid out for 45 minutes to an hour before finally being able to work his way back to the Holiday Inn.

Savino said the U.S. State Department tried to cover up the role of the military in the election day massacres. "We heard a State Department communiqué saying the military was actually defending the people, but that there weren't enough military personnel to go around."

"After being fired on by the military, we know that's not the case."

10,000 join protest in Miami

BY LINDA JOYCE

MIAMI — Some 10,000 people — predominantly Haitians — poured into the streets of Miami December 5 to protest the canceling of the Haitian elections. Demonstrators also demanded the ouster of the Namphy military government, an end to all remnants of Duvalierism, and condemned the proposal of a U.S. or other "peacekeeping force" for the island.

Called and jointly built by the three main Haitian organizations active here, the demonstration was a strong show of unity by Miami's 50,000-strong Haitian community. In addition to thousands of Haitian workers, the spirited action involved students, activists in the Central America solidarity and anti-apartheid movements, and

artists. Several groups of unionists also participated.

Some of the slogans included "Stop murdering Haitians," "Down with Namphy. Down with KNG," "U.S. hands off Haiti," and "End Duvalierism." The demonstration followed nightly meetings of several hundred that have taken place in Little Haiti since the elections were canceled.

In Boston 300 people held a vigil at the Federal Building on December 2, then marched to the Haitian consulate. In both Creole and English the crowd chanted "U.S. invasion—no! Haiti—yes!" and "Hey, hey, CIA, Haiti is not for sale."

Similar demonstrations have taken place in Montreal and New York.

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The Militant

Closing news date: December 9, 1987

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Published weekly except one week in August and the last week of December by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Telex, 497-4278; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Militant, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S., Canada, Latin America: for one-year subscription send \$30, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$65. Britain, Ireland, Continental Europe, Africa: send £25 check or international money order made out to Pathfinder Press and send to Pathfinder, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England. Australia, Asia, Pacific: send Australian \$60 to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 37, Leichhardt, Sydney, NSW 2040, Australia.

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Jay strikers plan solidarity drive as company attacks mount

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — A meeting between the paperworkers' union and International Paper Co. called by federal mediators failed "to produce substantial movement on the company's part," Local 14 President Bill Meserve reported to hundreds of workers who have been on strike for six months at the Androscoggin mill here.

The giant paper company "will not engage in national bargaining," company spokesperson William Greener said at the December 2 meeting in Washington, D.C. Its presence there, he explained, was only a formality.

Members of the United Paperworkers International Union are also on strike or locked out at International Paper (IP) mills in DePere, Wisconsin; Mobile, Alabama; and Lock Haven, Pennsylvania. Union officials from those UPIU regions attended the D.C. meeting, along with Jim Dinardo, District 1 director, who represented the Jay strikers.

The same day, 154 Jay strikers received notice that they have been placed on "indefinite layoff." This move is part of the decision announced by the company in October to implement its final contract offer, which included a reduction in the work force at the mill. The proposal was rejected by union members when they struck June 16. Currently some 1,000 scabs are working at the plant.

Meserve reported these developments to the 1,200 strikers, family members, and supporters at the December 2 weekly union/family meeting. The layoffs would have no effect on union members receiving strike benefits, he said, or on their participation in the food bank or anything else.

This led to a discussion about the layoffs and about how to respond to the company's continued stonewalling of negotiations.

The only way to get serious negotiations going, Meserve said, "is to twist their arm and make them."

This arm-twisting, he said, is taking the form of high-visibility union mobilization tactics, including the union's decision to hire Ray Rogers' Corporate Campaign to help win solidarity for the strike. (Rogers spoke to a meeting of 700 strikers and supporters on December 1 in Lock Haven, along with Maine and Pennsylvania state AFL-CIO presidents.)

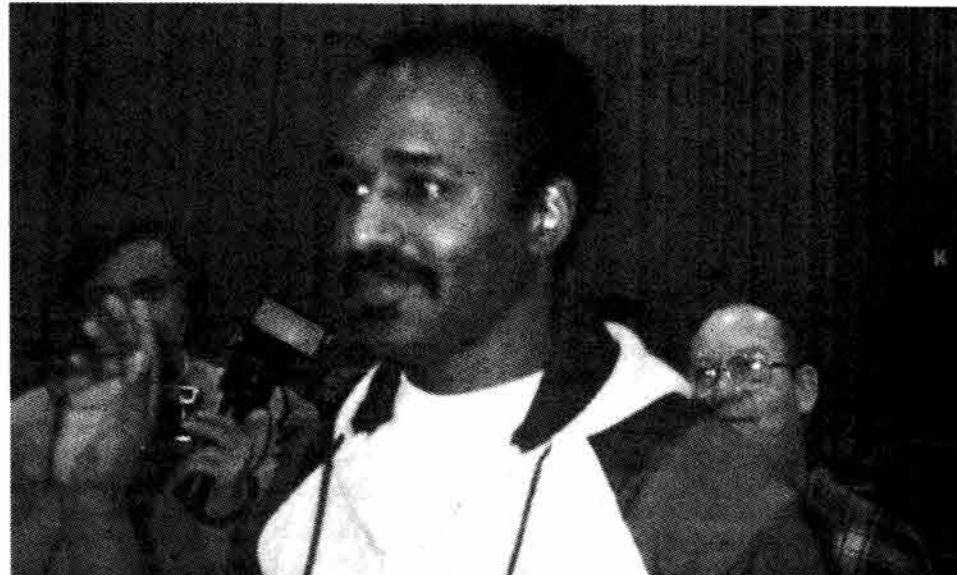
The Jay meeting also heard reports from the locals' "labor ambassadors," as their outreach speakers are called.

A contingent of electrical workers from half a dozen cities in Maine, representing unionists at Central Maine Power, brought nearly \$2,000 in donations. They also took the occasion of their attendance at the union/family meeting to swear in their newest local member, Derek Bryan.

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers business agent Dave Adams swore in the entire cheering meeting as honorary members of the union as well. "If it wasn't for you people coming to us, stirring us up," he said, "we wouldn't have a quorum at our union meetings."

Chuck Fullerton, vice-president of Firemen and Oilers Local 246, which is also on strike at the Jay mill, reported on the warm reception he and Local 14 executive board member Dick Dalessandro received at a recent meeting of the Connecticut AFL-CIO executive board. He thanked Local 14 for extending the paperworkers' strike fund to Local 246 and stressed the importance of the strikers' speaking campaign. "This business about solidarity," he said, "is very serious. We're talking about our lives, and coming up, our children's lives."

The next big outreach project is a 50-person statewide labor caravan, starting



Militant/Margrethe Siem

Solidarity contingent from electrical workers' union took occasion of attendance at paperworkers' weekly strike meeting to swear in their newest union member. Everyone at the meeting was sworn in as an honorary member of the electrical workers' union.

January 6, that will travel to 26 cities and towns throughout Maine. Participants in the caravan will speak at rallies, union and community meetings, and colleges and high schools. The strikers plan to organize similar caravans throughout New England.

Also on December 2, the unions' lawyers filed a motion against Maine Superior Court Justice Morton Brody's November 23 contempt of court verdict against the unions.

In November Brody had dismissed most of the charges against 18 union members whom IP accused of violating the court's injunction governing strike conduct. But he proceeded to fine the union locals \$10,000 for being in contempt of the injunction. The locals' motion is aimed at removing a series of findings made by Brody that link the union locals to actions against

scabs and company property not covered directly by the injunction.

At the November hearing Brody also found the company "technically" in contempt of his injunction, but levied no fines against it.

The paperworkers' International filed suit against IP in federal court in Mobile, Alabama, December 2, charging the company with "willful violation of collective bargaining contracts at 17 locations across the United States." The legal action is aimed at forcing the paper company to deduct voluntary dues from members' pay, a practice previously agreed to by IP and included in most union contracts. The company is refusing to deduct a voluntary dues increase that paperworkers voted for emergency assistance to striking and locked-out IP workers.

Unionists rally for striking Wyo. and Montana coal miners

BY JAY RESSLER AND TONY DUTROW

SHERIDAN, Wyo. — More than 500 strikers from the Big Horn and Decker coal mines and their supporters held a procession and rally here December 5. Many residents indicated their support for the strikers by raising fists and flashing "V for victory" signs as the procession passed by. After the action, United Mine Workers of America locals 1972 and 2055 organized a chile feed and dance.

Since October 1, UMWA Local 1972 has been on strike against Decker, just across the Montana border, and Local 2055 has been on strike at the Big Horn mine near here.

The march included a delegation of miners from UMWA Local 8880 in Beulah, North Dakota, who are on strike against North American Coal. A busload of hard-rock miners came from a United Steelworkers of America local in Rock Springs, Wyoming.

There were also contingents from the United Transportation Union, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Utility Workers Union of America, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.

Cecil Roberts, vice president of the UMWA, and John Faunce, executive secretary of the Wyoming AFL-CIO, were featured speakers.

The Decker mine is owned jointly by Peter Kiewit & Sons and Nerco Coal; the Big Horn mine by Kiewit alone. The companies demand a wage freeze, cuts in medical benefits, and the right to subcontract work now done by union members. The unions reject these demands and want to replace the previous one-year agreement with a three-year pact.

The owners are using scabs and have hired Baker & Associates, a professional union-busting outfit from Omaha, Nebraska. Baker has aided employers in 15 labor disputes in the past decade, including heading up Hormel's "security" in the 1985-86 meatpackers' strike in Austin, Minnesota.

In an attempt to undermine support for the miners, Decker Coal Co. purchased a full page newspaper advertisement that

laid charges of violence, intimidation, and attempted murder against the UMWA. The charges appeared in the November 25 *Sheridan Press*.

The company's latest accusations against the strikers stemmed from an antiunion provocation that took place early on November 22. An incendiary device set fire to part of a cabin belonging to Decker mine manager Leonard Skretteberg.

According to Skretteberg, he and his son were awakened by the fire and extinguished it within minutes with a fire extinguisher and water hose.

"This is nothing we condone," Local 1972 spokesperson Whitey Wells told the *Press* concerning the fire. Strikers volunteered to form a work party to repair the damage, but Skretteberg refused the help.

Instead, the company seized on the incident to smear the union as responsible.

Decker has used charges of strike violence to get a court injunction barring mass picketing at the mine and restricting pickets to four per gate.

Out of 270 Decker workers, 53 have returned to work. But no workers have crossed the picket line in more than a month.

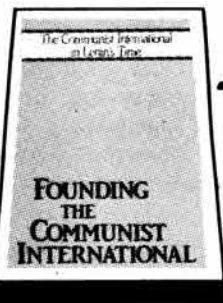
Miners have been picketing Burlington Northern trains that enter the mines, and crews belonging to the United Transportation Union refused to cross the line. Burlington Northern filed charges of illegal picketing with the National Labor Relations Board, but informational picketing by UMWA members is continuing. Some rail workers are now under court order to take trains into Decker property.

Members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers from Colstrip, Montana, donated five pounds of potatoes per striker and 280 turkeys to the union for Thanksgiving. Donations totaling thousands of dollars have come in to help strikers and their families.

A lot is at stake, UMWA Local 1972 President Larry Deeds told the *Militant*. The lower Powder River Basin is potentially one of the most productive coal mining regions in the world. Presently 14 nonunion mines operate in the basin.

"We're a major outpost keeping wages and working conditions up in the whole basin. We're fighting big multinational corporations," Deeds said.

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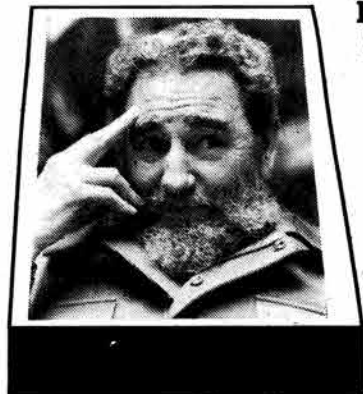
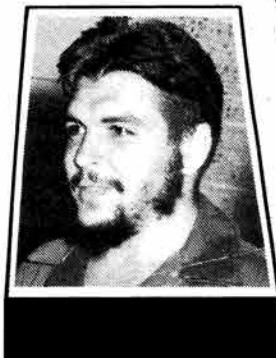
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Book of Che's writings hailed in N.Y.

Continued from front page

attended. Dozens of messages were received hailing publication of the book (see box).

'Wish you a large press run'

Waters opened the meeting with greetings sent by Rep. Mervyn Dymally (D-Calif.), head of the Congressional Black Caucus and co-author of another Pathfinder book, *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History*, an interview with Fidel Castro.

"As you prepare to celebrate the release of your new publication, *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*, let me commend you for making rare material of the kind it represents available to an English-speaking audience," wrote Dymally.

"I wish you a large press run."

The first speaker was State Assemblyman Roger Green, chair of the New York State Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus. Green was a leader of protests in New York City last January against a racist lynching in Howard Beach. He recently returned from a tour of Cuba with other state legislators.



Militant/Holbrook Mahn
Andrés Gómez, director of Areito magazine and leader of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, praised political breadth of Manhattan book launch.

Green congratulated Pathfinder "for having the vision, courage, and audacity to continue to print the truth."

He had also spoken at the meeting last January in New York to celebrate the publication of *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History*. He reported that at least nine members of his caucus had read that book, four while visiting Cuba.

Green said that uppermost on his mind while in Cuba were the wretched conditions facing the Black and Puerto Rican communities in this country. Green represents the Fort Greene section of Brooklyn.

"It was in the eyes of the children, in the Young Pioneers, that we realized for the first time the significance of the revolution of 1959; the significance of the social transformation that had occurred there; and juxtaposed that with the conditions that our people, and particularly our children, face here in the city of New York," said Green.

The infant death rate in Cuba is 13 for every 1,000 live births, Green said, lower than in his own district, where it is 27.

Green praised Cuba's support for "just revolutions abroad" such as the revolution in Angola.

Che's importance for Namibia

Monica Nashandi, SWAPO's deputy permanent representative at the United Nations, told the audience it was a great pleasure to see people coming together to celebrate the publication of "the words of a man who dedicated his life to the struggle of the people of Cuba. . . . His contribution gives us inspiration in our struggle for freedom and national independence."

Pointing to South Africa's recent invasion of Angola, Nashandi explained that

the apartheid regime was killing Angolans because "they have chosen to be like Che . . . because they are giving support to SWAPO, ANC, and other people who are struggling for their independence in that region of southern Africa."

Referring to the Cuban troops that are in Angola to defend that nation against South Africa, Nashandi said that the people of Cuba have not let Che down.

"Let's each of us become the Ches of this era," she urged.

"I would like to express our deepest appreciation to Pathfinder for this important initiative to publish a book on the ideas and thoughts of Ernesto Che Guevara," Cuba's Ambassador Oramas told the audience.

"Che is alive because you are here tonight to render homage to the work he had been doing for all mankind.

"Che is alive because people in southern Africa, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and elsewhere are struggling against oppression and for a new world," he continued.

Oramas pointed to Che as the source of inspiration for the voluntary work brigades that are sweeping Cuba today, building child care centers, housing, and hospitals. "Without voluntary work it is impossible to build up the consciousness of the human being of the future," he emphasized.

'Like talking with Che'

One featured speaker, Gus Newport, former mayor of Berkeley, California, and co-chair of the U.S. Peace Council, was ill and unable to attend.

He sent a message that read, in part: "Reading this book was almost like having a firsthand conversation with Che Guevara. It gave me a better understanding of why the Cuban revolution is so humani-

tarian in its scope and has created such an immensely warm and wonderful generation of people. . . .

"Thank you Pathfinder Press for having done each and every one of us a great favor."

Normalization of relations

Andrés Gómez is the director of *Areito* magazine, the voice of Cubans in the United States who favor normalization of relations with Cuba. He is also a founding member and long-time leader of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, which organizes young Cuban-Americans who want to work for normal ties between the United States and Cuba.

Gómez emphasized the political breadth of the meeting. "The fact that we're all gathered here tonight, from so many different places, organizations, and political parties reflects that even though it has taken us some time, we too have learned the spirit of Che and have understood the necessity of unity in the struggle against a most powerful enemy, imperialism."

Areito was first published in Miami in 1974, but right-wing threats and pressures soon forced it to move to New York, where it appeared until 1985. It began publishing again this summer in Miami. So far, 7,000 copies of the first issue of the new *Areito* have been distributed in Miami.

Gómez spoke about the current "rectification" effort going on in Cuba, led by the Cuban Communist Party. Cuba is trying to deal with the problem, said Gómez, of how revolutionary consciousness can be deepened among a generation born since the revolution that has never faced the harsh realities of life in a capitalist society. The rectification effort, stressed Gómez, is not

Veteran Cuban leader tours New Zealand

Mirta Muñiz, a veteran Cuban revolutionary who knew and worked with Che Guevara, toured New Zealand in November to promote *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*, a newly published book of Guevara's writings. It is distributed in New Zealand by Pilot Books.

David Deutschmann of Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia, who edited the book, accompanied Muñiz on the tour.

Muñiz was active in the struggle to over-

throw the Batista dictatorship in Cuba, and met Guevara on Jan. 1, 1959, the day the insurrection against the regime ended in victory. She worked closely with Guevara in the early 1960s as he played a central role in reorganizing Cuba's industry and led in organizing solidarity in Cuba with the Vietnamese liberation struggle.

Muñiz is now director of press and information for the National Assembly of People's Power, Cuba's governing body.

The first of the meetings to launch *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution* in New Zealand was attended by 100 people in Christchurch on November 16. A November 18 meeting in Wellington drew 60 people, and a November 20 gathering in Auckland was attended by 70 people.

"Che Guevara is one of the heroes of our youth," declared Susanna Ounei, a leader of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) at the Christchurch meeting. The FLNKS is fighting for the end of French rule in New Caledonia.

At the Wellington meeting, Muñiz was welcomed by Ken Douglas, president of the Council of Trade Unions.

"It is important for us to try to understand the ideas and principles that Che lived for and finally gave his life for," Douglas said. "He is truly a magnificent

example of what humanity is all about."

The Auckland book launching was chaired by Don Farr, chairman of the Auckland Trades Council, and Muñiz and Deutschmann were welcomed by Terry Law, president of the Auckland Cuba Friendship Society.

About 20 unionists attended a reception for Muñiz in Christchurch, and 20 women trade unionists attended a reception for her in Wellington.

"We think it was a very good idea to publish Che's writings and speeches, especially in English," Muñiz told an interviewer for the New Zealand newspaper *Socialist Action*. "This is the first time that many of these have been made available in English."

"The most important thing is that it is Che speaking for himself. It is Che's own thoughts."

"What most people know of Che is merely his image — the poster, the T-shirt — Che the guerrilla fighter who went to Cuba, then to Bolivia. But they don't know his deep thinking, why he acted the way he did."

(This article is based on reports published in the December 4 issue of the New Zealand newspaper *Socialist Action*.)

Broad interest in new book

Many prominent political activists artists, and writers attended the New York celebration of *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*, and many messages were received. Next week the *Militant* will print excerpts from some of the greetings.

The following is a list of some of the guests and those who sent messages not reported in the accompanying *Militant* article:

Alicia Varel, North America and Central America relations director, Sandinista Workers Federation of Nicaragua; **Dorotea Wilson**, Nicaragua's National Autonomy Commission and Sandinista National Liberation Front deputy in the National Assembly; **Jean-Marie Tjibaou**, president, Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front of New Caledonia; **Rafael (Fafa) Taveras**, general secretary, Dominican Socialist Bloc and president, Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America; **Solly Similane**, deputy representative, African National Congress Observer Mission to the United Nations.

Puerto Rican painter **Juan Sanchez**; Brazilian jazz musician and composer **Thiago de Mello**; folk singer **Pete Seeger**; Puerto Rican singer **Roy Brown**; **Mike Alewitz**, art director, Pathfinder Mural Project; **John Gerassi**, author, *Venceremos! The Speeches and Writings of Che Guevara*; **Gregorio Selser**, journalist and author of *Sandino*; **Jeffrey Elliot**, co-author, *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History*; **Margaret Randall**, U.S.-born poet and author facing deportation; **A.W. Singham**, author of *Nonalignment in an Age of Alignment*; **Paul Sweezy** and **Harry Magdoff**, editors of *Monthly Review*.

Elías Castro Ramos, one of the Hart-

ford defendants; **Rafael Anglada-López**, member of legal defense team for the Hartford defendants and central committee member of Puerto Rican Socialist Party; **José Martín Ramos**, president, New York branch Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Bruce McM. Wright, justice, Supreme Court of State of New York; **Ben Dupuy**, director, *Haiti Progrès* and coordinator, Committee Against Repression in Haiti; **David Abdulah**, education and research officer, Oilfields Workers' Trade Union of Trinidad and Tobago; **Don Rojas**, Havana representative, Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada; **Terry Marryshow**, Maurice Bishop Youth Organisation of Grenada; **Dessima Williams**, former representative to the Organization of American States of the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada; **Mad-nodje Mounoubai**, coordinator, Liaison and Information Bureau of Burkina Faso.

Ken Jones, Venceremos Brigade national executive committee; **George Harrison**, activist in Irish struggle; **Luis Miranda**, Casa de las Américas; **Sandra Levinson**, director, Center for Cuban Studies; **Bill Callahan**, director of Quixote Center and Quest for Peace; **Utrice Leid**, Managing Editor, *City Sun*.

Beverly Treumann, executive director, Nica School in Nicaragua; **Héctor Marroquín**, Mexican-born Socialist Workers Party member who has waged 10-year battle for right to stay in this country; **Elombe Brath**, Patrice Lumumba Coalition; **Roderick Thurston**, political science professor, Queens College; **Kai Crooks**, secretary, New York chapter, National Alliance of Third World Journalists; **Pedro Cabán**, political science professor, Fordham University; *New Americas Press*.



Militant/Ron Poulson
Mirta Muñiz, who knew and worked with Che Guevara, toured New Zealand and Australia to promote *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*.

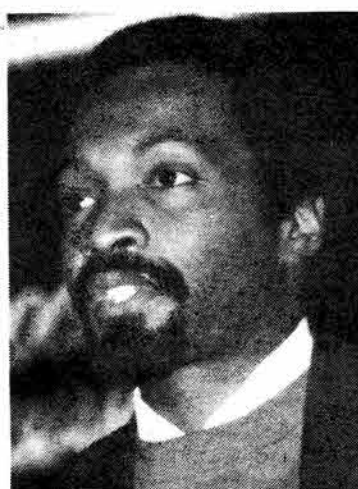
a sign of weakness, demise, or confusion, but rather "a sign of strength and resolution."

Ray Santiago, secretary-treasurer of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee in the Midwest, explained that Che's writings and speeches are an inspiration and a beacon to farm workers. Santiago, who visited Cuba in 1979 and 1982, was struck by the contrast in the working and living conditions of farm workers in the two countries.

Messages were also received from Carlos Hernandez, a leader of the 1986 canner workers' strike in Watsonville, California, and Javier Saucedo, organizer of the Arizona Farm Workers union.

"Our role as workers' organizations is to help promote and distribute" the valuable material in this book, wrote Saucedo.

Since 1969, the Venceremos Brigade has been the largest single group organizing U.S. residents to travel to Cuba. Teresa Walsh, from the Brigade's national office,



Militant photos by Holbrook Mahn
N.Y. speakers, left to right: State Assemblyman Roger Green, Ambassador Oscar Oramas-Oliva, Teresa Walsh, David Deutschmann.

pointed to the importance of *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*.

Walsh emphasized to the audience the need to step up the fight against Washington's restrictions on travel to Cuba as well as its denial of visas to Cubans who want to visit the United States.

Leonard Boudin, the general counsel for the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and for the Cuban government, also attended the meeting and his written message was read by the chair. "Pathfinder has made an important contribution in the publication of *Che Guevara and the Cuban*

Revolution," Boudin said. "The contributions during Che's lifetime were very important; his death was a great loss. My own memories of him are personal, namely a chess match of three games at the Havana Riviera Hotel, room guarded against intruders, where the result was two draws and one win for me." But, Boudin added with great modesty, "this would probably have been reversed if we had had another round."

Che: a political leader

The final speaker was David Deutschmann, editor of *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution* and director of Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia.

The Cuban publishers who worked with Deutschmann on the book had stressed, he said, that the most important contribution this book could make is to help increase the knowledge of Che's political ideas.

In the 1960s, Che was a symbol of struggle that inspired radicalizing youth. Since then, "his image has become blurred outside of Cuba," said Deutschmann.

There have been lots of efforts to separate Che from Cuba, he said, to forget that he worked side by side with Fidel Castro, that he was a Marxist educator of the Cuban working people, that he was a model communist, that he was a central leader of the Communist Party of Cuba, that he helped lead Cuba's economic development, and that he helped to generalize the lessons of the Cuban revolution for people all over the world.

The purpose of this book "is to let the ideas of Che Guevara speak for themselves," said Deutschmann.

Deutschmann pointed out that in a recent speech marking the 20th anniversary of Che's assassination, Fidel Castro had urged everyone to study Che's writings, especially his economic writings, not only in Cuba, but in the imperialist countries and in the other socialist countries.

Deutschmann also quoted Thomas Sankara, former president of Burkina Faso, who was recently assassinated in a counter-revolutionary coup. Che is especially important for the "youth thirsty for dignity, thirsty for courage, thirsty for ideas," Sankara said.

If there's any one reason for the publication of this book, Deutschmann concluded, it is, as Fidel expressed it, the universal value of the political ideas of Ernesto Che Guevara. A theme that has come through clearly in Cuba in recent months, said Deutschmann, is "that Che Guevara's time has come again."

Cuban ambassador opens London rally

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — Over 300 people attended a public rally in Conway Hall December 2 to launch the new book *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*.

The meeting was chaired by Pathfinder/London representative Brian Lyons.

The opening speaker was the Cuban ambassador to Britain, Oscar Fernández Mell. Fernández had fought alongside Che in the mountains in the struggle to overthrow the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista. He was with Che when the victorious Rebel Army entered Havana in 1959, and he also fought at Che's side on an internationalist mission in the Congo.

He paid tribute to Che the "man of action," but emphasized that Che was much more than this. "Together with Fidel," he said, "Che had the sharpest mind of those in the *Granma* landing," referring to the boat that carried the armed Cuban revolutionaries from Mexico to Cuba in 1956 at the beginning of the revolutionary war.

He was not only a "courageous man, not only a victorious guerrilla, but a man of ideas, of advanced culture, a convinced Marxist-Leninist."

Che spoke a lot about how to build socialism in Cuba, stressing the role of consciousness in the process. "He did not rule out the use of material incentives, but he advocated moral incentives, seeing the new society as being associated with forging consciousness," said Fernández.

Bience Gawanas of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) said that Che "taught us that independence and sovereignty are not god-given — they must be fought for."

Gawanas spent two years in Cuba as a student at the Isle of Youth. "I have heard Cubans talking about volunteering to go to other countries. They go as doctors, as nurses, as teachers, not just as soldiers. But if they go as soldiers, they are ready to give

their lives in defense of sovereignty, as they are doing today in Angola."

African National Congress National Youth Secretariat member George Johannes said, "Che embodied love for people, not just for his own people but love for justice, peace, and progress of people throughout the world."

Jorge López Suazo, a member of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua, is a student leader who just completed two years of military service. He told the meeting that Che had argued that youth should be "the vanguard of all movements, the first to be ready to make the sacrifices demanded by the revolution, whatever they might be."

Dolly Kiffin of the Broadwater Farm Youth Association, a Black rights organization, explained how for Black youth in London, Che was a man who "above all else said that change was possible."

Labour Party Member of Parliament Tony Benn said that Che and Cuba taught not only the necessity of struggle but also how to build a new society. "They want to make Cuba the world's greatest medical

power," he said, contrasting this to the goal of imperialist countries who want to be "great military powers."

Benn said that Cuba was of immediate relevance for the class struggle in Britain. It proved that imperialism can be defeated.

Women Against Pit Closures leader Betty Heathfield said, "At the time when we're having to fight for the right to abortion, child care, health and transport facilities, we can identify with Cuba," where women have made big strides forward.

Her organization was founded by coal-field women during the 1984-85 British miners' strike. David Deutschmann, editor of *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*, also spoke.

Greetings were sent to the meeting from the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada; Angolan embassy; Vietnamese embassy; Faisal Aweda, Palestine Liberation Organization; Jaime López, Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front; Gerry Adams, president of the Irish revolutionary organization Sinn Féin; Communist Party of Great Britain; and the *Morning Star* and *Socialist Action* newspapers.

Int'l crowd at Montreal event

BY SUSAN BERMAN

MONTREAL — "In 1968 I was in one of the Palestinian bases near occupied Palestine. I met a young commando, his name was Guevara. I asked him, 'Why did you chose that name? You don't have the beret of Guevara. You don't have the beard of Guevara. You don't even smoke the cigars of Guevara.'"

"He said, 'Well, it is not the appearance, but rather it is the thought and ideas of Guevara that made me choose his name.'"

This is how Abdullah Abdullah, director of the Palestine Information Office in Canada, described Che Guevara's impact on the Palestinian liberation movement.

Abdullah was one of several speakers at the December 3 Montreal launching of the new book, *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*. Seventy-five people attended the event.

In her opening remarks, Pathfinder representative Carole Caron explained, "Most people know Che as the guerrilla, but not really as a political leader of the Cuban revolution." This book gives readers an accurate view of Che, she said.

Rolando Gutiérrez, a representative in Canada of the Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador, also spoke.

Gutiérrez explained, "To speak of Che is to speak of Cuba." He pointed out that the Cuban revolution opened a revolutionary period in all of Latin America. He said the experiences of the Cuban revolution are "a guide for all the revolutionary processes in Latin America."

One of the most important lessons to learn from Che, Gutiérrez explained, was that he "always sought at the center of his ideas and activities the will of the masses of people to take power."

Osvaldo Núñez, a leader of the United Electrical Workers union who was originally from Chile, explained Che's impact on the student movement there in the 1960s.

The meeting also heard greetings from Jean-Claude Parrot, national president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. The featured speaker was David Deutschmann, editor of *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*.

Activists from Burkina Faso, Haiti, Senegal, Honduras, El Salvador, and Chile, as well as representatives of the Cuban government in Canada, attended the meeting.

'Che lives in rebels in El Salvador'

BY MONICA JONES

TORONTO, Canada — "Right now and every day in El Salvador, Che Guevara lives in every combatant and militant person. His inspiration is every moment encouraging and giving us strength, which brings us closer to final victory. More than words, Commandante Che Guevara requires from us action and our commitment and courage to keep going in this fight."

Mauricio Pérez of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador spoke for the 150 people gathered December 4 to pay tribute to Che Guevara and launch the new book *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*.

The evening opened with music from Grupo Cayagunza.

Solly Similane, the deputy representative of the African National Congress of South Africa at the United Nations, declared, "We're here to assure you, Com-

rade Che, that your sacrifices were not in vain because the faces of many Afro, Asian, and Latin American countries have changed in favor of those who are on the borderline of deprivation. After tremendous sacrifices, South Africa is no longer surrounded by countries who are hostile toward the national liberation movement."

Pastor Valle-Garay, the consul general of Nicaragua in Toronto, brought greetings not only from his own country but also from the consul general of Cuba.

Other speakers included Allison Acker, a longtime Central and Latin American solidarity activist; John Foster, past chairman of the Interchurch Committee on Human Rights in Latin America; and David Deutschmann, editor of the Che book.

New Democratic Party Member of Parliament Dan Heap sent his regrets, as his plane was delayed. Written greetings were read from Jean-Claude Parrot, president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers.



G.M. Cookson
Cuban Ambassador to Britain, Oscar Fernández Mell.

Working farmers see little of subsidies, rich get a lot

BY FRED FELDMAN

To hear the media tell it, things have been looking up for farmers this year.

"Plenty of signs point to a recovery," the *Wall Street Journal* asserted last summer. "Hog prices have been high for months. The lower dollar has sent farm exports edging up again. . . . Partly as a result of federal subsidies, total farm net income will hit a record this year."

The facts show, however, that the upturn in the U.S. economy since 1982 is benefiting a layer of capitalist farmers, not the great majority of working farmers.

About 1 percent of all farmers have sales topping \$500,000 a year. In 1985 these produced about one-third of the crops and livestock and garnered more than 55 percent of farm profits. Less than half of 1 percent of farms — about 1,000 — have an income of more than \$5 million a year.

National Farms, a hog producer based in Kansas City, is an example of the capitalist outfits that have been gaining ground as working farmers are pushed under. By 1984 it was producing 300,000 hogs a year. It is owned by Bass Brothers Enterprises of Texas.

National Farms is counting on squeezing smaller hog producers out. "I'd say that within 10 years the hog business will be the

same as the broiler chicken industry is now, with fewer than 100 operators of any significance," William Haw, president of the company, was quoted as saying in the August 4 *New York Times*. Haw was a bank vice-president before moving to National Farms.

Big capitalist operations, such as National Farms, the *Times* reported, enjoy "advantages that are beyond the reach of small producers. They can buy feed, supplies, and equipment at lower prices, and they can sell at higher prices by dealing directly with packers rather than through middlemen."

The agriculture department reported in June that 10 of the nation's largest rice farms got government payments of at least \$1 million each. The handouts were provided through a subsidy program that pays exporters and some rice farmers the difference between the world price and a government set price of \$7.20 for a 100-pound sack.

Forty other rice farms were paid some \$400,000 or more.

The biggest recipient was Zumwalt Farms, a landholding company that leases land to 68 individuals and corporations who actually grow the rice. Zumwalt got \$2.3 million from the government.

The same pattern appears across the board. In 1985 the richest 1 percent of farmers received 13 percent of federal subsidies — \$1 billion out of \$7.5 billion.

Government farm programs are geared to strengthen the position of the richest operators. Subsidies are provided per unit of production (for instance, per bushel of corn) or per acre taken out of production. So the biggest subsidies go to the biggest producers.

The 1985 Food Security Act and a 1986 law on agricultural exports included provisions purportedly countering this. The maximum subsidy that a corn producer could receive, for example, was set at \$250,000. But millions have continued flowing to the capitalist farmers, while working farmers get little.

In many cases, the capitalist operators got around ceilings on subsidies by renting out their land to a number of operators. "In most cases where the fragments of big farms are being rented to new operators," reported the June 15 *Times*, "the tenants are local business and professional people rather than traditional farmers, and they commit the land to Government programs that pay them to leave most of it idle. They then hire operators known as custom farmers to do whatever farm work the programs require."

One farmer-landlord told the *New York Times* that he was receiving \$20,000 annual profit for each parcel rented out in this way.

Smaller growers, on the other hand, get much smaller amounts. "As a result," admitted the September 13 *Times*, "the programs are having almost no effect on the flood of foreclosures that have swept the



Militant/Michael Maggi

Minnesota farmer protests foreclosure of family farms. Capitalist operations and the wealthy get lion's share of federal farm program money.

country since the early 1980s. Last year, when programs cost nearly \$26 billion, nearly 400 commercial family farms went out of business every day, the American Bankers Association reported. This year bankruptcies appear to be continuing at the same pace. . . ."

Insurance companies doubled the value of their holdings of farmland through foreclosure in 1985 and continued accumulating farmers' land at a brisk clip in 1986.

Insurance companies now hold 4.1 million acres of farmland. About 3.4 million acres are held by the government's Farm Credit System and Farmers Home Administration.

Final Fall Sales Scoreboard

Area	Militant subscriptions		New International single copies		Perspectiva Mundial subscriptions		Totals		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goals	Sold	% Sold
Cleveland	105	120	20	24	15	17	140	161	115
San Diego	85	105	25	19	40	37	150	161	107
Los Angeles	300	354	100	75	175	180	575	609	106
Greensboro, N.C.	140	148	20	21	15	15	175	184	105
New York	600	614	350	375	200	217	1,150	1,206	105
Seattle	300	314	50	50	50	50	400	414	104
Morgantown, W.Va.	130	137	25	25	5	3	160	165	103
Omaha, Neb.	70	80	20	11	10	12	100	103	103
Atlanta	120	135	35	22	20	22	175	179	102
Des Moines, Iowa	125	147	35	27	15	4	175	178	102
Boston	225	279	50	41	100	59	375	379	101
Phoenix	140	153	25	12	100	101	265	266	100
Birmingham, Ala.	150	166	35	18	5	6	190	190	100
Twin Cities, Minn.	180	204	75	54	20	11	275	269	98
San Francisco	180	185	50	30	70	72	300	287	96
Austin, Minn.	85	87	10	1	15	16	110	104	95
Miami	120	137	40	24	40	28	200	189	95
Baltimore	140	148	40	23	10	5	190	176	93
Washington, D.C.	130	132	60	40	30	30	220	202	92
Price, Utah	48	47	10	4	2	4	60	55	92
Detroit	200	201	35	20	25	16	260	237	91
Milwaukee	115	119	35	24	15	7	165	150	91
Portland, Ore.	100	105	40	30	30	6	170	141	83
Kansas City	105	100	25	6	20	15	150	121	81
Salt Lake City	150	143	25	6	25	10	200	159	80
Chicago	225	187	50	37	75	52	350	276	79
Houston	200	180	50	18	40	27	290	225	78
St. Louis	175	142	50	26	10	11	235	179	76
Newark, N.J.	350	267	75	43	125	69	550	379	69
Charleston, W.Va.	125	85	20	9	2	2	147	96	65
Pittsburgh	175	98	30	24	10	3	215	125	58
Philadelphia	150	104	50	16	50	22	250	142	57
Oakland, Calif.	150	111	100	16	50	18	300	145	48
Albany, N.Y.	20	14						14	
Amherst, Mass.	5	6				1		7	
Annandale, N.Y.	20	11				2		13	
Cincinnati	10	10						10	
Louisville, Ky.	7	6						6	
San Jose, Calif.	75	43			50	19		62	
Coal Teams		39						39	
Other U.S. areas		33				3		36	
Australia		6		6				12	
Britain		118		141		7		266	
Canada		138		51		47		236	
New Zealand		33		19				52	
Puerto Rico						19		19	
Other Internat'l		16				8		24	
Totals	6,007		1,388		1,253		8,648		91%
Drive Goals	6,000		2,000		1,500		9,500		
Should Be								9,500	100%

New England rail workers strike

BY JON HILLSON
AND KATHERINE OWEN

WATERVILLE, Maine — Rail workers in New England began a strike over unsafe working conditions on Guilford Transportation Industries rail lines after a worker was killed on the job November 9. The 1,200 strikers are members of United Transportation Union Local 1400.

The walkout began three days after R.L. Hopkinson, a veteran of 21 years on the railroad, was killed when a locomotive driven by a young engineer crushed him as Hopkinson was trying to stop another rail car.

The tragedy was "the last straw," United Transportation Union local representative Peter Greene, a conductor out of Portland, Maine, told the *Militant*. The young engineer — who had had only 13 days of training — was "traumatized" by the accident, he said. "It was his first day at the throttle."

Since acquiring the old Boston & Maine and Maine Central railroad lines in 1981, Guilford Transportation has been on a drive against the rail unions.

In 1986 Guilford owner Timothy Mellon provoked a two-and-a-half month strike by 3,000 track crew workers in New England by demanding a 20 percent wage cut. The strike was ended by congressional intervention.

Since then, Mellon leased the B&M and Maine Central to another Guilford subsidiary, the Springfield Terminal Railway, with the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Such a transfer allows the new carrier — Springfield Terminal, in this case — to tear up old union contracts, rewrite work rules, and ignore seniority, explained Greene.

Mellon has been advertising for scabs with little success. And efforts by Mellon to blame the union for a runaway locomotive incident on November 16 backfired when it came out that a Guilford supervisor had left the locomotive idling while he bought a candy bar. Union workers helped bring the train to a stop before any damage was done.

"This [strike] is a purely safety action," Greene said. Mellon has cut the work force in half since 1981, which has meant a reduction of mechanics and electricians, "so

trains are in bad shape."

"The company was telling people they had to work 12 hours," one striker explained. "They'd tell a 60-year-old worker with 20 years on the railroad that he had to work a 12-hour shift. If he couldn't do it, they'd fire him."

"Instead of having people do separate jobs," another striker added, "like brakeman or engineer, they're creating a job called 'railroader,' which increases the chances for accidents. For example, Greene explained, a conductor was ordered to take out a 100-car train, which also had no radio equipment, or be fired.

Ignoring seniority, the company has been telling new hires to do difficult work with little training or "be fired for insubordination."

Tax burden on workers goes up

People with lower incomes will pay more taxes next year than they did 10 years ago — and those with high incomes will pay less. This conclusion of a recent Congressional Budget Office report will come as no surprise to any working person who looks at their paystub each week or worries about taxes each spring.

The poorest 10th of the population will pay nearly 10 percent of their income in taxes — a 20 percent increase since 1977. The richest 10th of the population will pay 25 percent of their income — a cut of more than 6 percent compared to 1977. The richest 1 percent have had their taxes cut by almost 20 percent in the last decade.

Increases in Social Security taxes and the monthly premium Medicare recipients must pay for coverage are part of the reason working people have been hit harder than the rich.

Not only is the tax burden for working people going up, but income of those in the lower-paid sectors is going down. The CBO reports that 80 percent of families will have seen their income decline since 1977. The richest 10 percent, on the other hand, have seen their income increase by 16 percent, the top 5 percent have had a 23 percent rise, and the richest 1 percent have gotten 50 percent richer since 1977.

ANC youth leader tours to promote Pathfinder mural

BY SARAH HARRIS

MORGANTOWN, W.Va. — A rally here in the coal region of Appalachia greeted a speech by Victor Mashabela of the African National Congress with a standing ovation.

Mashabela is a member of the Youth Section of the organization that is leading the liberation struggle in South Africa. He is touring on behalf of the Pathfinder Mural Project, a political effort to create a six-story mural on the wall of the Pathfinder publishing house building in New York City. The mural features the portraits of revolutionary leaders whose writings are published by Pathfinder.

Mashabela urged participants at the December 5 rally to get involved in an African National Congress petition campaign to protest the imprisonment of those fighting apartheid in South Africa. There are 32 people currently on death row, he explained, many of them young.

Mashabela was joined by an international panel of speakers.

A Chilean antiwar activist explained that there were no socialist bookstores in his country. His first opportunity to study Marxist classics came when he was jailed in Chile. The first book he read was falling apart because it had been read by so many political prisoners.

A student from India talked about how the writings of revolutionary leaders to be depicted on the Pathfinder mural had influenced him. An anti-apartheid activist from Britain said this was a good time to celebrate the Pathfinder's mural project because it coincides with the celebration of the 75th anniversary of the African National Congress.

The rally sent a telegram of support to five coal miners, four of whom are currently on trial in Ashland, Kentucky, and one who is to be tried soon. They are being held in jail without bail on a frame-up murder charge connected with the 1984-85 strike against A.T. Massey Coal Co. The telegram was read by a coal miner and

member of United Mine Workers Local 1949.

BY STUART CROME

GREENSBORO, N.C. — On December 6 several textile workers met with Victor Mashabela at the Highland Yarn Mills, in Highpoint, North Carolina.

Mashabela told of how he became involved in the African National Congress. He described the difficult conditions workers face under the apartheid regime and heard from Highland workers about conditions they face on the job. There was a rich discussion on how to fight back.

That night, at a meeting at the University of North Carolina here, Mashabela addressed the need to demand U.S. government sanctions and corporate divestment against the South African regime. The meeting was sponsored by the Student Government Association.

The day before, the 6:00 p.m. edition of Channel 2 news covered a press conference by Mashabela at the Pathfinder Bookstore in Greensboro.

To become a sponsor of the Pathfinder mural project, for more information, and to contribute financially, clip and mail the coupon below to the project at 410 West St. New York, N.Y. 10014.

- ☐ Please add my name as a sponsor of the Pathfinder Mural Project.
- ☐ Enclosed is a tax-deductible contribution of \$_____. Make checks payable to the Anchor Foundation.
- ☐ I would like _____ copies of the mural project brochure.
- ☐ I would like to work on, paint, or document the project.
- ☐ Please send me a catalog of Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

Name _____
Phone _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Signature _____
Organization/union/school _____



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Nicaraguan artist Arnoldo Guillén painting portrait of Carlos Fonseca, founding leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, on Pathfinder mural.

NYC harasses mural project

NEW YORK — The project to paint a six-story high mural on the Pathfinder Building in Manhattan is being harassed by the city administration. On December 3 an agent of the city's Environmental Control Board hand delivered 35 citations to the Pathfinder Mural Project for "illegally" pasting leaflets on lampposts in the community where the Pathfinder Building is located.

According to the citations, which carry a maximum penalty of \$100 each, the Environmental Control Board received reports on November 24 and November 30 of "illegally" posted leaflets in a 14-block area. The leaflets advertised an open house at the Pathfinder Building held on November 22. This event drew 80 people in the neighborhood to view the mural, learn firsthand about the project, and talk to some artists working on it.

Mike Alewitz, director of the mural project, told the *Militant* that the citations were "an outrage." This "clearly is a case of selective harassment against the mural project because of its political character," he said.

Alewitz stated that a survey of the Greenwich Village neighborhood where the Pathfinder Building is located revealed dozens of signs and leaflets pasted next to or near those of the Pathfinder Mural Project. They include, among others, leaflets

for a bookfair, theater, restaurants, towing companies, school activities and a florist shop.

The citations weren't the first harassment against the mural project. A few weeks before, police called up the New York City Department of Buildings to register a complaint from "a local citizen" who objected to the political character of the mural.

The buildings department sent out an inspector, who at first said permits for the mural's scaffolding weren't necessary. But he called his boss who said a citation should be given if the permit requirements weren't met. But a clear answer as to whether the permits were necessary was never given by the city. The project obtained permits for the scaffolding anyway.

Alewitz indicated that a Jan. 19, 1988, court date has been set to hear the charges on the "illegal" leaflets.

Between now and then, he said, "We are organizing a public campaign to protest this violation of our rights and to demand the citations be dropped."

The campaign is being organized through Pathfinder Books at 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone (212) 226-8445.

Protest messages should be sent to Mayor Edward Koch, City Hall, New York, N.Y. 10007.

Houston young socialists defend rights

BY GREG ROSENBERG

HOUSTON — The Young Socialist Alliance here has turned around an attempt to prevent it from engaging in political activity at the University of Houston.

In early November the YSA was decertified as a student organization and the campus police were harassing individual YSA members. Through a campaign to mobilize the support of other students for democratic rights, the YSA has forced university officials to back down.

Attempts to force the YSA off campus as an organization began October 28 when this reporter was sitting at a YSA literature table at the University Center. A student who disagreed with the YSA's opposition to the U.S. war against Nicaragua and the organization's anti-apartheid stand approached the table and began to scream that the YSA had no right to be on campus.

Officer Moore, a university cop, accompanied by Rosie Cala, campus reservations office manager, told the YSA to shut the table down, citing technical violations of campus rules. The organization's campus status was revoked.

Miki Akano, a member of the YSA and a student at the university told the *Militant*, "When we sat down with representatives of other groups at a meeting, we found that recently there have been a number of at-

tacks on the rights of students to be political."

The YSA won immediate support from the National Organization for Women campus chapter, the General Union of Palestinian Students, officers of the Black Student Union, Concilio (a Chicano student organization), the Gay and Lesbian Alliance, and the Democratic Socialists of America Youth Section campus chapter.

Intimidation of politically minded students had gone too far for one *Militant* subscriber and graduate student in the Department of Philosophy.

He had been speaking at a forum against President Reagan's "Star Wars" plan when an FBI agent got up in the middle of the event, flashed his badge, and began to hand out pro-Star Wars literature.

This student eagerly joined the fight to defend the YSA's rights. He began to organize support among students and faculty. Professors and department heads started to call the administration demanding an explanation and insisting that the YSA's recognition be reestablished and that the harassment stop.

Feeling the heat, it didn't take long before the assistant director of campus activities reinstated the YSA's right to function on the campus and promised a written reprimand to the University of Houston Police Department.

Area	Goal	Pledged	Paid
Atlanta	3,300	3,565	3,330
Austin, Minn.	1,555	1,697	1,586
Baltimore	1,700	1,700	1,600
Birmingham	4,000	4,310	4,130
Boston	5,000	5,426	4,726
Charleston, W.Va.	2,875	2,958	1,928
Chicago	5,000	4,993	3,568
Cleveland	3,000	3,536	3,476
Detroit	2,000	4,425	3,390
Des Moines	2,000	2,199	2,169
Greensboro, N.C.	1,700	1,762	1,762
Houston	6,000	7,093	6,573
Kansas City	2,500	2,298	2,038
Los Angeles	15,000	15,233	15,233
Morgantown, W.Va.	2,000	1,985	1,860
Miami	3,000	3,053	3,053
Milwaukee	2,400	2,344	1,968
Newark	7,000	7,285	7,035
New York City	15,000	16,815	15,141
Oakland	8,000	8,657	8,357
Omaha	1,600	1,762	1,537
Pittsburgh	2,600	2,778	2,553
Philadelphia	5,500	5,860	4,910
Phoenix	1,500	1,798	1,768
Portland	2,300	2,822	2,522
Price, Utah	500	550	500
San Diego	2,500	2,698	2,513
Seattle	6,000	8,255	7,700
San Francisco	6,000	6,240	5,930
Salt Lake City	3,000	3,483	3,483
St. Louis	5,500	7,145	6,890
Twin Cities, Minn.	6,000	6,306	6,056
Washington, D.C.	7,000	6,905	6,210
Other		7,745	6,185
International		1,244	1,056
Totals	143,030	166,924	152,736

Over the top!

\$150,000 Socialist Publications Fund

This fund, launched at a rally August 13, has been successfully met. As of December 9, \$152,736 has been collected from 1,100 readers of the *Militant* who responded to our appeal for support.

In all, \$166,924 has been pledged to the fund.

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.

I wish to help the fund, enclosed is:

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— \$25 — \$ — other

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

With a Sandinista platoon in northern

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

PANTASMA, Nicaragua — The sun was already blazing the morning of November 25 when a platoon of spirited, young Sandinista soldiers marched off single file into the hills surrounding the Pantasma valley in northern Nicaragua. The platoon was part of the army's Francisco Estrada Irregular Warfare Battalion.

Their mission was to pursue Washington's contra troops, to keep them on the run and on the defensive, and — if possible — force them into an engagement. An estimated 400 contras were operating in the immediate area, about 30 miles north of Jinotega.

The Pantasma Valley is in the heart of northern Nicaragua, which has been the main theater of the contra war.

The platoon, one of several sent out, marched for three days through rough terrain in hot pursuit of a contra unit. A handful of reporters accompanied the Sandinista troops.

The soldiers, all in their mid-to-late teens, came from all over Nicaragua's Pacific Coast. They were confident and eager to engage in combat. Some had been in the army only a few months, but already had a dozen battles under their belts.

The operation they were participating in was part of a sustained offensive being carried out by the Nicaraguan army. The objective is to push the contras out of populated areas and drive them toward isolated regions along the Honduran border.

In carrying out this military offensive the Sandinista government is acting on the conviction that, whatever may happen with the Guatemala accords, every blow to the contras on the battlefield brings peace closer.

Under intense pressure to demonstrate their viability as a military force, the con-



A young Sandinista soldier of the Francisco Estrada Irregular Warfare Battalion takes a break during unit's pursuit of contras.

tras had begun infiltrating units into areas near the main population centers of Jinotega, Sébaco, and Estelí at the end of October, as a limited 30-day cease-fire decreed by the Nicaraguan government ran its course. The cease-fire expired November 7.

The contras in the cease-fire zones were heavily resupplied by U.S. airdrops during October. They tried to move into position to attempt to take over towns, carry out terrorist attacks, and sabotage the coffee harvest, which is now beginning. Coffee is

Nicaragua's major export, and this region supplies two-thirds of it.

The government offensive began in earnest the last week of October. In a November 1 meeting with war veterans in Jinotega, President Daniel Ortega announced that Sandinista army troops had been "fighting nonstop since October 24 against the bulk of the mercenary forces trying to infiltrate the region." Ortega added that "this is the most important battle" the country is engaged in right now.

Lt. Col. Manuel Salvatierra, commander of the Sixth Military Region, reported November 21 that after three weeks of in-

tense combat, the mercenary groups had been pushed back. The army was keeping them on the run, he said. The contras keep moving, not by choice, but because they are forced to do so by the army offensive, Salvatierra explained.

Forcing the contras out of populated zones and into isolated mountainous regions bordering Honduras has made it possible for the Sandinistas to employ air power to pound them without risk to civilians.

Minister of Defense Humberto Ortega confirmed at a news conference November 26 that Sandinista planes were heavily bombing the isolated area north of San Andrés de Bocay and the Amaka River, near the Honduran border, where the contras were trying to establish a base. This is an area where there are no towns or economic activity, Ortega stressed.

"They just keep on fleeing"

The three-day patrol through the area around Pantasma confirmed the intense pressure on the contra units in the region.

Peasants reported a force of 50 to 100 contras moving rapidly through the zone. The contras had forced one peasant to give them a calf, which they promptly slaughtered. But they were in such a hurry that they left much of the cooked meat behind. The platoon chasing them had veal for breakfast.

That afternoon, as the Sandinista troops marched, the stillness was broken by loud explosions and bursts of gunfire coming from the direction of the Coco River, about an hour away. But none of the other platoons in the area, with whom there was constant radio communication, reported being involved in any fighting.

That evening an advance force recovered a body from the river. A young peasant militiaman with his face blown off by a rocket grenade. One soldier somberly shook his head. "A cowardly ambush"

U.S. vets visit areas heavily hit

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — A group of U.S. war veterans recently completed a one-week fact-finding tour of Nicaragua. The tour was sponsored by the Veterans Peace Action Teams and the Veterans Peace Coalition, which organize tours to Nicaragua and construction brigades to help rebuild the country.

The veterans visited areas heavily hit by the U.S.-organized contra war, including El Cuá and San José de Bocay in the north-central part of the country. U.S. volunteer worker Ben Linder was murdered by the contras last April near San José de Bocay.

War veterans from the United States have been participating in construction brigades in the area for several months. The brigades are coordinated with the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG). The veterans have rebuilt a health clinic destroyed by the contras in the village of Los Cedros, and now plan to build a school there.

Duncan Murphy, a veteran of World War II, brought greetings from U.S. antiwar activist Brian Willson. Murphy was with Willson and other demonstrators at the U.S. Naval Weapons Station in Concord, California, last September when a military train ran over Willson, severely injuring him and making it necessary to amputate his legs. The protesters were demanding a halt to arms shipments to the contras.

Raúl Valdez, a Chicano who served in Vietnam, said that the veterans had been able to see for themselves the destruction caused by the contras' attacks on civilians in rural Nicaragua.

Valdez is a member of Chicanos Against Military Intervention in Latin America (CAMILA), from Austin, Texas.

Foster Phillips, a World War II veteran, called on the U.S. government to stop "all overt and covert operations against Nicaragua."

Also among the veterans in the tour were Chris Matthews from Santa Cruz, Califor-

nia, who served in Panama in the 1960s; Robert Livesy, a Vietnam veteran from Boston; Michael Job, a Vietnam veteran and a founding member of the gay veterans organization Lavender Veterans for Peace; Wayne Wittman, who fought in World War II; and Tim Andruss, a veteran of the 1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada.

Daniel Núñez, president of UNAG, talked with the veterans in Managua, at a meeting reporters were invited to observe.

Núñez thanked the veterans for their efforts on behalf of peace in Nicaragua. He

Contras specialize

BY LARRY SEIGLE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — More than anything, it is the children.

The young victims of Washington's "freedom fighters."

Three thousand youngsters killed since the contra war began. Four thousand disabled. Eleven thousand orphaned.

Translated into statistics proportional to the U.S. population these figures would be: 180,000 youngsters killed, 240,000 disabled, 660,000 orphaned.

"Those criminals killed my little boy," cried Luvila Rivas. Her 10-month old grandson Domingo was among the latest victims claimed by the terror squads armed and financed by the U.S. government. Rivas' daughter and granddaughter were also critically injured in the predawn attack November 21.

The contras descended on two peasant settlements, "Las Palomas" and "Never Oporta," outside the town of San Miguelito, in southern Nicaragua. They murdered 11 civilians, among them five little boys and girls. Twenty-nine others were left wounded, including 15 children under the age of 12.

The contras attacked the civilian settlement with heavy weapons, including rocket launchers, grenade launchers, and 81



Nicaragua's national book distribution company, IMELSA, held a one-week book fair celebrating 70 years of the Russian revolution. Participants in the November fair in Managua included publishers from the Soviet Union, East Germany, Bulgaria, Cuba, Nicaragua, Argentina, and the United States. Shown here is the table of the U.S. publisher Pathfinder. Its best-selling book was a Spanish edition of speeches by African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela. Other Pathfinder best-sellers included *Women and the Nicaraguan Revolution* by Sandinista leader Tomás Borge, *Sandinistas Speak*, *The Sandinista People's Revolution*, and issues of the monthly magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Nicaragua

cowardly ambush," he said.

Apparently a group of militia members from a nearby settlement had been ambushed while bathing in the river.

"They just keep on fleeing," a young Sandinista soldier bitterly explained. "They avoid confronting us, but when they run across a settlement or a farming cooperative, they kill as many civilians and cause as much destruction as they can."

In his press conference November 26, Defense Minister Ortega blasted the U.S. government for demanding that the Sandinistas negotiate on an equal basis with the contras. The contras are "a force that does not rule, does not control any territory, and that is constantly kept on the run in increasingly isolated areas," he said.

Defense Minister Ortega stressed that the Sandinista government "is taking steps toward peace" in fully complying with the Guatemala accords. But, he emphasized, "should we not achieve peace, should the efforts of the Central American presidents fail, then let the Nicaraguan people understand that the Sandinista government did all it could, and that the U.S. government and its allies will have to bear the historical responsibility."



Militant/Roberto Kopec

Crossing a river in Pantasma Valley

Nicaraguan cattle ranchers discuss problems, gov't policies

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

BOACO, Nicaragua — Cattle ranchers from throughout the country met here recently to talk over problems they face and to discuss government policies affecting their branch of agriculture. The meeting was attended by 300 ranchers, representing cattle associations affiliated with the pro-Sandinista National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG).

These associations include big ranchers

— who have upwards of 500 head of cattle and who rely on hired labor to tend their herds — as well as medium and small ranchers.

Government representatives attended the meeting to explain measures aimed at increasing beef production and to listen to grievances and proposals of the ranchers. The officials also sought to win support for the government's land distribution program, which was sharply criticized by some of the ranchers present.

In 1979 the revolutionary government expropriated all lands that had belonged to the dictator Anastasio Somoza and his close supporters. These lands were turned into state farms or given to poor peasants to work. The government also expropriated the big slaughterhouses and established a state monopoly in the export of beef. Local slaughterhouses operated by municipalities and private butchers continue to supply a large part of the beef for the domestic market.

The production of cattle in Nicaragua today remains predominantly in private hands, according to Gastón Ramírez, director of the Ministry of Agriculture's National Beef Program. The state sector plays "only a small role in ranching," he said. Precise figures are not available.

Steps to expand cattle herds

The Ministry of Agriculture and UNAG organized the ranchers' assembly here to seek to improve cooperation between the government and the ranchers in taking steps to increase the number of cattle.

Ramírez told the *Militant* that the number of cattle in Nicaragua has dropped from 2.7 million in 1978 to 1.6 million today. Beef exports, once an important source of foreign exchange, dropped from 45 million pounds in 1978 to 7 million in 1986, he added.

Ramírez said that part of the cattle loss occurred in 1978 and 1979, when some ranchers took large herds of cattle to Honduras and Costa Rica. The U.S.-backed contra war led to the slaughter of more cattle and the abandoning of many ranches, he said. Much of the grazing land is in areas heavily affected by the fighting.

In addition, per capita beef consumption increased by more than 40 percent from 1979 to 1985.

The increased demand and the supply problems caused by the war have led to a sharp rise in the price of beef. The result has been widespread slaughter of cattle without regard for future production.

In response, the government has sought to use its control over the major slaughterhouses to limit the number of cattle killed. This has provoked some conflicts with ranchers, some of whom oppose these restrictions.

In January 1986 the government adopted a law prohibiting the slaughter of cows suitable for breeding and limiting the slaughter of calves. Slaughterhouses have reduced the amount of beef supplied to the domestic market and have raised exports to nearly 15 million pounds this year. One result has been still higher prices for beef and less beef served in government-supplied cafeterias. The government hopes to compensate for this with increased production of chicken, pork, and fish.

Complaints from ranchers

At the assembly here, the ranchers complained that the prices offered by state-run slaughterhouses are too low. They also said that government inspectors arbitrarily prevent them from slaughtering injured cattle that are supposed to be exempt from the restrictions established under the law.

Several ranchers commended the government and UNAG for increasing the farm supplies available in the countryside, but criticized the fact that state farms receive preferential treatment in the distribution of such supplies.

In response to the complaints, Ministry of Agriculture officials announced an increase in the price the state slaughterhouses will pay. They also promised to make more of the farm and veterinary supplies imported by the government available for purchase by the ranchers.

UNAG President Daniel Núñez urged the ranchers to strengthen the UNAG-affiliated associations. He called on them to collaborate with the government to improve supplies to ranchers, fight cattle rustling, and discuss any government policies they think hurt ranching.

Núñez also appealed for unity in opposition to the contra war and cited cases of ranchers who were killed or driven off their lands by the mercenaries.

Sharp discussion on land distribution

A sharp discussion took place over the land reform program. Some ranchers said that the government had unjustly taken land from some big ranchers and given it to landless peasants. They demanded that such properties be returned to their former owners.

Under the agrarian reform law enacted in 1981, the government can confiscate land that has been abandoned or that is not kept in production, as well as land worked under sharecropping and tenancy arrangements.

In 1986 the law was amended to authorize the government to take over any property if the land is needed "for public necessity or the interests of society." Compensation for such land is to be negotiated with the former owner. This clause has been used to take land from some capitalist

farmers and ranchers for distribution to peasants.

The strongest complaints about land redistribution heard at the assembly came from ranchers from the Boaco-Chontales region, where the land reform accelerated in 1986 and 1987.

Before 1979, some 70 percent of all farm and grazing land in this region was held by landlords and capitalist farmers and ranchers who owned more than 865 acres each. Nearly 20 percent of the land belonged to Somoza and his cronies. Poor peasants had only 5 percent of the land.

The land belonging to Somoza and his cronies was confiscated in 1979. Almost all such land in this region was turned into state farms, and until early 1986 little land had been given to peasants. There were then an estimated 13,000 peasant families without land in this area. In late 1985 and early 1986, thousands had organized demonstrations to demand that the government give them land.

During 1986 and the first half of 1987, 220,000 acres were given to 3,000 families in this region. Part of the land came from state farms, part from property abandoned by the owner, and part from capitalist farmers and ranchers.

'Unjust confiscations'

In a typical protest in the ranchers' assembly, Douglas Alemán said that he supported the confiscation of Somoza's properties, but other land had been "unjustly confiscated" and should be returned.

Other ranchers told the *Militant* that they saw no need to give up land to help landless peasants.

"There is enough land available in Nicaragua," said Aaron Guerrero, the main spokesman for the cattle associations in the Boaco-Chontales region. "The peasants should get it from the state farms or move to another part of the country."

One capitalist rancher, who owns 500 head of cattle and 2,000 acres of land, said the problem was not a lack of land, but that "no one wants to work." Most of the peasants who received land were not really producing anything with it, he argued.

José Andres Marín, who has 400 head of cattle, complained about the shortage of farm workers. He said that peasants who wanted land should look for it in the mountains.

Gov't backs land distribution

Horacio Cuadra, head of the land reform program in the Boaco-Chontales region, defended the measures taken to get land for poor peasants. He pointed out to the assembly that there are still 10,000 landless families in the region and that "the revolu-

Continued on Page 12

by mercenaries

appealed for more veterans to come to work and live with the people of El Cuá and to share their experiences.

The Veterans Peace Action Teams are sent to Nicaragua for one month to carry out construction projects in El Cuá. Although they are composed primarily of veterans, they are also open to others, especially those with particular skills or who speak Spanish.

For more information on the brigades, write to Veterans Peace Action Teams, P.O. Box 586, Santa Cruz, Calif., 95061, or call (408) 426-7822.

in killing children

11mm mortar. They completely destroyed the Rural Children's Center, where 300 kids from the area went to school, got meals, and received medical attention.

The assailants were driven off by militia members, along with young veterans of the Sandinista army who have returned home since completing their tours of duty. Together with army units, they pursued the contras, killing nine.

"Las Palomas" and "Never Oportá" are purely civilian targets. They have no military significance. Yet it is settlements like these that are increasingly the targets of the contras as they seek to avoid engagement with army units, even small patrols.

As long as the contras survive, with their lifeline of air-dropped supplies provided by the U.S. government, they will continue to carry out attacks like the one that killed the children of "Las Palomas" and "Never Oportá."

More than anything, it is the slaughter of the children that steals the determination of Nicaragua's people to do all in their power to deal further blows to the contra forces.

And to ask, in the name of humanity, what kind of government is it that can carry out a policy of killing a nation's children in cold blood?

U.S. court rules mine safety violated in Wilberg disaster

BY DAVE HURST
AND FRANK PAVELKO

PRICE, Utah — Nineteen union coal miners and eight company personnel were killed on Dec. 19, 1984, in a fire at the Wilberg mine near here.

Recently, the U.S. appeals court in San Francisco ruled that the federal Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) "overstepped its bounds" by allowing only two-entry mining in the Wilberg and Deer Creek mines prior to the 1984 disaster.

In their push for higher profits, the operators have been trying to reduce the number of entries or tunnels used to set up a longwall mining section. (Longwall mining is the newest, most productive method of extracting coal in underground mines).

Under federal law, two-entry mining is only allowed in mines constructed prior to 1969, or if MSHA grants a "variance."

The court said MSHA violated the Federal Mine Safety Act by disregarding the rights of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) members when it did not include them in decision making on two-entry mining at Wilberg. It further states that UMWA members should have been allowed an avenue to appeal the two-entry decision once it had been made.

The Wilberg and Deer Creek mines are owned by Utah Power & Light Co. (U.P.&L.). They were operated by Emery Mining Co. at the time of the fire.

The court findings support many conclusions contained in the UMWA's "Report on the Disaster at the Wilberg Mine." That report, which is a valuable contribution to the fight for mine safety, was summarized in the July 1987 *UMW Journal*. It was based on extensive research conducted by the UMWA International working in conjunction with union members in UMWA Locals 2176 and 1769.

The report also helps put the lie to claims by the company, the news media, and right-wing politicians that the UMWA is to blame for the Wilberg deaths.

Two-entry mining is dangerous because both entries are ventilated by the same air current. This creates a situation where smoke or deadly gases can quickly contaminate all of a mine's escapeways.

The report also cites MSHA for granting "the operator a waiver that allowed con-

tinued mining without having the return entry open."

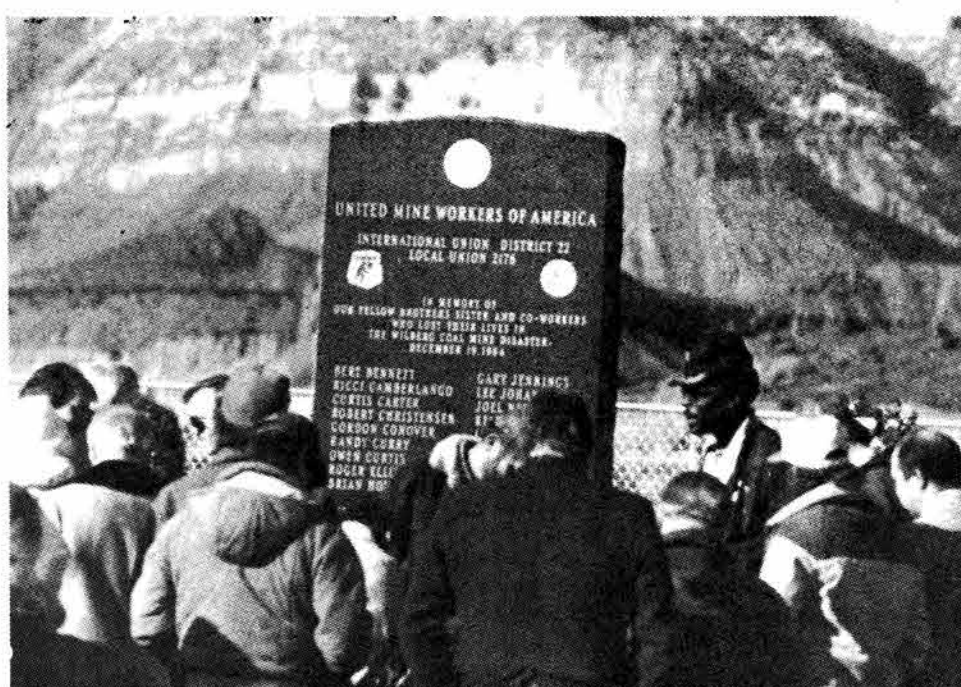
About six weeks before the fire, Emery notified MSHA District 9 that the return entry of the Fifth Right Longwall section (the name and location of the area being mined) was blocked by a massive roof cave-in. Behind the union's back, MSHA officials let Emery continue mining with that escapeway blocked.

"With the stroke of a pen, a crucial escape route off Fifth Right was gone," the union report states. Three miners died during the fire in the area of the blocked escapeway.

The report continued: "and the operators both knowingly allowed the bleeder entry to deteriorate." Bleeder entries, set up at the back of a longwall panel, are used to ventilate gases from mined-out areas. Although not primarily designed as escapeways, the bleeders can be used that way in an emergency. Because of deteriorating roof conditions, the bleeders on Fifth Right had been closed for weeks. If the bleeders had been maintained, it is possible that some of the miners could have escaped.

The union investigative team also found that the fresh-air intake entry on Fifth Right had been mined with a bend in it to save the company money.

MSHA concluded that the fire was sparked by an air compressor that had been tampered with and operated without all safety equipment intact. The UMWA investigators, who carefully followed the pattern of heat and flame damage, pointed



Militant/Dave Hurst

Memorial meeting in Orangeville, Utah, for coal miners killed in 1984 fire in nearby Wilberg mine.

to the conveyor belt as the likely area of ignition.

MSHA tried to limit its investigation to the cause of the fire. "Such preoccupation [with the cause of the fire] is analogous to focusing attention on the bullet, rather than the person who pulled the trigger, as the cause of the murder," the union report states.

The UMWA's recommendations for congressional action to "prevent more Wilbergs" include elimination of two-entry mining altogether, increased gas monitoring systems in ventilation entries, and increased training for miners in the use of self-rescue equipment.

These recommendations are all the more important because two-entry mining has become an issue at other area mines. At Castle Gate mine, UMWA Local 8622 members have signed a petition against two-entry mining.

The company's variance for two-entry mining at Wilberg has expired and no new variances have been granted. But the company is still carrying out a form of two-entry mining.

Utah Pacific & Light is also floating a trial balloon about bringing diesel-powered shuttle cars into the mine. Diesel cars would compound the problem of bad air in the mine and greatly increase the fire danger. A piece of diesel equipment is blamed for a 1983 fire at U.P. & L's Des-Bee-Dove mine.

Meanwhile, the union continues to demand that those responsible for the 27 deaths in the Wilberg disaster "be brought to justice."

Dave Hurst is a member of UMWA Local 1769 on layoff at the Deer Creek mine. Frank Pavelko works at the Wilberg mine and is a member of UMWA Local 2176.

Meat-packers gain victory over ConAgra

BY RAÚL GONZÁLEZ

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — "It's taken over three years but we've won some justice. Whoever goes back to work in the plant now has the job of getting the union back in."

This is how a former meat-packer at Armour processing plant here described the recent victory in a four-year-old unfair labor practices suit brought by the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) union.

The suit was brought against ConAgra

Inc., Armour's current owner.

After ConAgra purchased Armour in 1983 it closed 12 of its 13 plants, only to open them days later with a new, nonunion work force. The suit stemmed from these moves.

The meat-packer was speaking at a meeting of more than 120 current and former employees at Armour's Kansas City plant. Other meetings attended by more than 250 meat-packers were also held September 30 and October 1.

The settlement reached on September 16 provides a formula whereby former union members will receive a total of \$6.6 million in back pay. It also provides for many of the former union members to get preferential hiring rights with retroactive seniority.

In late 1983 Armour offered its workers a contract proposal that included steep wage cuts as well as cuts in medical and other benefits. ConAgra promised it would honor the takeback contract when it took over the company. But the pact was rejected by a 2-to-1 margin.

Armour closed the doors on Dec. 16, 1983, but the plant opened again three days later. Now ConAgra was the owner.

"The aim of the whole thing," meat-packer Bob Flores explains "was to lower wages and bust the union; and that's what they did."

For several years management told newly hired workers that it would protect their jobs and not let the ex-union members return.

But on September 16 this year the out-of-court settlement between the union, National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), and the company was reached.

Workers here first began hearing that a settlement might be in the works last spring.

Instead of hiring off the street, the company began utilizing Kelly Service temporary workers who were paid \$4.20 an hour.

In July a few of the former union members were rehired. The reappearance of these workers in the plant and news of the settlement has provoked a big discussion. Many of us in the plant view the settlement

as a victory that can help push forward getting the union back.

Others aren't so happy. One worker, referring to the former union members, said, "Those people were greedy, so they lost their jobs; the union was too greedy, now the job is mine."

But workers who are currently against the union have no love for Armour. Some of them are afraid the company will close the plant if the union is voted in. "This place sucks, but it's better than humping hamburgers," is how one worker described it.

There have been three attempts to reorganize the union in the plant since 1983.

The first ended after only 20 percent of the new work force signed cards for the UFCW.

Another effort was launched in 1986 and met with more success. This time the UFCW sent in a team of organizers to help. But the Carpenters union tried to organize the mechanics in the plant at the same time. This led to a three-way election last December, where workers could vote for the UFCW, the Carpenters, or to keep the plant nonunion.

After no position won a majority of the work force, a run-off was scheduled and on February 5, 94 workers voted for the UFCW, in spite of a highly organized anti-union campaign promoted by the company. Ninety-nine voted for no union.

Two weeks later workers at Armour's Mason City, Iowa, plant voted to be represented by the UFCW. Armour is challenging the election results with the NLRB.

A union representation election was also held recently at the company's Nampa, Idaho, plant.

The company here in Kansas City cut wages for workers at the top of the pay scale the day after the vote last February. Since then the fight has expanded. And another election will be held here December 10.

Coming on the heels of the court victory, union supporters believe we'll win this time around.

Raúl González was recently fired from his job at the Armour plant in Kansas City. He has been active in trying to reorganize the union there.

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Arab summit dealt blow to Palestinians

BY FRED FELDMAN

The recent summit meeting of the Arab League registered important gains for the U.S. rulers and their allies — particularly the government of Israel.

In addition to lending support to Washington's drive to isolate Iran, the conference marked a setback for the Palestinian people, driven into exile or living under Israeli occupation, and to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which has fought for their aspirations.

Over the nearly four decades since the state of Israel was founded through the expulsion of the Palestinian people from their land, meetings of Arab heads of state have always taken strong public stands on the central importance of the Palestine issue. The main resolutions have denounced the Israeli occupiers, criticized Washington's support to them, and promised strong support to the Palestinian liberation struggle.

But not at the meeting that ended November 11.

"For the first time since the Arab League was founded in 1945," crowed Daniel Pipes, director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, a right-wing think tank, "the Arab leaders agreed that the conflict with Israel mattered less than something else: the Iraq-Iran war. . . ."

"Arab governments are now working with Washington in ways no one would have imagined a few years ago (for example, they are beginning to offer real military cooperation in the Persian Gulf). The old stumbling block of United States backing for Israel," Pipes wrote in a guest column in the November 29 *New York Times*, "hardly seems to matter now as, in effect, a United States-Arab alliance against Iran has taken shape."

The main resolution adopted by the conference called for all-out support to the Iraqi government in the war it launched by invading Iran in 1980 and all but openly

backed Washington's massive naval build-up against Iran in the Persian Gulf region.

Consistent with portraying Iran rather than Washington and the Israeli rulers as the threat to the people of the region, the summit authorized governments to reestablish diplomatic relations with the government of Egypt. The Egyptian government was suspended from the Arab League after it signed a separate treaty with the Israeli government in 1979, a blow to the Palestinian struggle. The league at that time urged Arab governments to break relations with Egypt, and all except three did so.

The shift at the latest meeting stemmed from the Egyptian government's large-scale military and other aid to the Iraqi war, which includes \$1 billion annually in arms and many personnel to fill jobs left vacant by conscripted Iraqis.

Following the conference, the governments of Iraq, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, and other states reestablished diplomatic ties with Egypt.

The demotion of the Palestinian struggle to a poor second among the issues at the summit has spurred efforts to isolate and ultimately destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The English-language version of the resolutions adopted at the summit, evidently prepared and distributed by Jordanian officials, dropped the reference to the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This reference appeared in the Arabic-language version.

Jordan's King Hussein has been putting pressure on Palestinians both in Jordan and on the Israeli-occupied West Bank to accept his supporters, rather than the PLO as their representatives in any Middle East negotiations.

Encouraged by the summit, Hussein hinted at a November 11 news conference that PLO representation at a possible future diplomatic conference on the Middle East might not be necessary.



Palestinian youths protest Israeli occupation. At Arab League summit, their struggle took a back seat to supporting imperialist-backed Iraq against Iran.

Political rights hit in moves to shut pro-PLO offices in U.S.

BY HARRY RING

In a serious blow to free speech, a federal judge upheld the State Department decision to shut down the Palestine Information Office in Washington.

The PIO makes information available in this country about the struggle of the Palestinian people for emancipation and the activity of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the central leadership of that struggle.

Meanwhile, Congress is considering a broadly supported, bipartisan bill to also shut down the PLO Observer Mission to the United Nations.

On December 7 UN General Secretary Javier Pérez Cuéllar joined representatives of several Middle Eastern countries in protesting the congressional move against the PLO's observer mission.

The American Civil Liberties Union, which is representing the PIO in its fight against the closure order, said it will appeal the court ruling.

The PIO has functioned for 10 years in this country and has never been accused of any kind of illegal activity. To totally conform to all requirements, it registered itself with the government as the representative of a foreign organization.

Indeed, when members of Congress first demanded that the information office be closed down, Secretary of State George Shultz responded, "So long as that office regularly files reports with the Department of Justice on its activities as an agent of a foreign organization, complies with all other relevant U.S. laws, and is staffed by Americans or legal resident aliens, it is en-

titled to operate under the protection provided by the First Amendment."

How then did Shultz make his subsequent decision to shut the PIO down?

Simple. He arbitrarily designated it a "foreign mission," which assertedly gives the State Department the authority to determine its fate. This despite the fact that the PIO has never had, or sought, diplomatic status.

Commenting on the court's approval of this crude maneuver, ACLU representative Morton Halperin warned, "If this decision is allowed to stand, the secretary of state would have the unfettered and unreviewable authority to close down the office of any group of Americans who are associated with a foreign political movement."

The demand to shut down the PIO was first made by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. The Israeli government has persistently promoted the smear charge that the Palestine Liberation Organization and those associated with it are "terrorists."

This vile smear was echoed by senators Robert Dole (R.-Kan.) and Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.).

In their joint radio program, Dole called for closing down the PIO because, "There's just no room in this great land for international terrorists."

Responded Kennedy: "Right on, Bob. If the Reagan administration won't take away their welcome mat, Congress will."

The Senate bill to do this has 49 sponsors from both parties, ranging from extreme right-wing to liberal.

The aim is not to deal with terrorism but rather to discredit, and stifle, the views of representatives of the Palestinian people, who are waging a just fight against the 40-year Israeli occupation of their homeland.

Nor will Washington rest with trying to silence the Palestinians. Other liberation movements, such as the African National Congress of South Africa, have been tarred by the White House and members of Congress as "terrorists." The PIO decision can be used as a weapon against ANC partisans, too.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Kampuchea official, Prince Sihanouk meet

Prime Minister Hun Sen of Kampuchea held three days of meetings with former Kampuchean ruler Norodom Sihanouk in France during the first week of December. Sihanouk has been on leave of absence as head of a U.S.-funded counterrevolutionary coalition based in Thailand, which stages terrorist attacks on Kampuchea.

The talks were a preliminary effort to negotiate an end to the right-wing guerrilla war.

Sihanouk became hereditary ruler of Kampuchea (then known as Cambodia) in 1941, when the Southeast Asian country was a French colony. After independence was gained, in 1954, Sihanouk governed until 1970, when he was ousted by a military coup. Washington backed the coup because Sihanouk had not lined up behind the U.S. war in Indochina.

The coup was followed by the May 1970 U.S. invasion, civil war, and massive U.S. bombing that devastated the countryside.

After the U.S.-backed regime was ousted in 1975, Sihanouk briefly served as titular head of state in the Pol Pot regime, which was responsible for the deaths of more than one million people.

When Pol Pot was ousted in 1979 by Vietnamese troops and Kampuchean resistance fighters, Sihanouk fled. He later joined the U.S.-sponsored coalition, including Pol Pot and others, formed to combat the Kampuchean government.

In preparation for the meeting, the Kampuchean government issued a declaration October 8 offering Sihanouk "a high position in the state leading apparatus" and welcomed all "individuals and groups in the opposition — except Pol Pot and some of his associates — who will return to take part in the national reconstruction."

"Following the withdrawal of the Vietnamese army from Kampuchea," the statement declared, "general elections will be held with foreign supervision, and then a coalition government will be set up. . . ."

The Vietnamese government reiterated its intention of withdrawing all its troops from Kampuchea by 1990, or sooner if a political settlement is achieved.

Austerity plan set in Poland despite vote

In a referendum held November 29, the Polish government failed to win approval of measures calling for an austerity program and promising "deep democ-

ratization" of the government.

Of the country's eligible voters, 68 percent turned out, 44 percent voted yes on the austerity proposal, and 46 percent on the "democratization" pledge. The law requires that more than 50 percent of eligible voters cast yes ballots to adopt a referendum proposal.

Government officials said the austerity plan, stemming in part from the regime's \$36 billion debt to imperialist governments and banks, would include tripling rent and heating costs and doubling prices of bread, milk, and meat.

In the port city of Gdansk a march estimated by some at 3,000 people protesting the referendum was broken up by police. Marchers reportedly shouted, "If you want to starve, go and vote." Protests were also reported in other cities.

Cardinal Jozef Glemp, head of Poland's Catholic church, had indicated support for the austerity plan.

In the wake of the vote, officials insisted that price increases and other austerity measures would proceed, although at a slower pace than initially projected.

Panama gov't expels U.S. 'aid' agency

The government of Panama has ordered the U.S. government to shut down the operations of the Agency for International Development and has ordered the agency's 48 U.S. personnel and their dependents to leave the country.

The November 30 move followed the U.S. government's cutoff of most economic and military aid to Panama in July, and the November 19 vote in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to end all but "humanitarian" aid to Panama.

The U.S. government has pressed for the replacement of the current Panamanian government dominated by Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega, the country's top military commander.

The Panamanian government says the U.S. goal is to modify or reverse the 1977 treaty requiring the U.S. government to give up control of the Panama Canal in the year 1999.

On November 8 an article in the Panama City newspaper *La Republica Dominicana* cited 50 U.S. violations of the treaty that indicate a pattern aimed at preventing Panama from exercising a voice in operating the canal and discriminating against Panamanian nationals.

The Agency for International Development administered \$7.7 million in aid for private firms and organizations. In the past, the agency has sometimes provided cover for Central Intelligence Agency and other U.S. government covert operations.

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CALIFORNIA

Oakland

Classes in Socialism. The Secret Police and the Struggle for Democratic Rights. A class series based on Larry Seigle's article, "The 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation" in issue No. 6 of *New Internationalist*. Translation to Spanish. Held every Wednesday at 11 a.m. or 7 p.m., Dec. 16, Jan. 6, 13, 20. 3702 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$1 per class. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (415) 420-1165.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

To Make a Revolution It Takes Revolutionaries. A Socialist Educational Conference.

"South Africa: the Coming Revolution." Sat., Dec. 12, 2 p.m.

"United States: the Wall Street Crash and the Decline of U.S. Capitalism." Sat., Dec. 12, 7 p.m.

"Cuba and Nicaragua: Workers and Farmers in Power." Sun., Dec. 13, 11 a.m.

Speakers: leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. Informal "Join the Young Socialist Alliance" discussions after classes. Translation to Spanish. 6826 S. Stony Island Ave. Donations: \$2 per class or \$5 for conference. Sponsors: Chicago YSA and SWP. For more information call (312) 363-7322.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Cuba's Revolutionary Policy in Africa: The Fight Against South African Aggression in Angola. Speakers: G.I. Johnson, United Steelworkers of America District 8 Civil Rights Committee; Ken Morgan, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m.; dinner, 6 p.m. 2913 Greenmount

Ave. Donation: forum, \$2; dinner, \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

The Peace Process in Central America. Where Does It Stand? What's at Stake? Speakers: representative of Comité Guatemala "Iximché"; Bob Livesy, Veterans Peace Action Teams; Jon Hillson, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis

Education, Commemoration, and Celebration of Namibian Women's Day. Educational-cultural program. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. People's Center, 2000 S. 5th St. Sponsor: Namibian Women's Day Coalition. For more information call (612) 822-3670.

What's Behind U.S. Intervention in the Persian Gulf? Public forum and speak-out. Tue., Dec. 15, 7:30 p.m. University Lutheran Church of Hope, 6th St. SE and 13th Ave. SE. Donation: \$2. For more information (612) 827-5364.

St. Paul

Glasnost. Do Gorbachev's Reforms Mean Better Days Ahead for Soviet Working People? Speaker: Wendy Lyons, Socialist Workers Party and meat-packer member of United Food and Commercial Workers union. Sat., Dec. 19, 7:30 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Haitian Elections: Democracy or Dictator-

ship? Speaker: representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 12, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

Black and Indian Rights in Nicaragua. Speaker: Hilary Shelton, participant in Martin Luther King Peace Brigade in Nicaragua; Greg Preston, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 19, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Rally in Defense of Political Rights. Speakers: Dan Cobos, ex-U.S. Air Force sergeant who recently won conscientious objector status in protest of U.S. Nicaragua policy; Bill Hearndon, BLAC; John McFarland, president, United Steelworkers of America Local 8729; Bob Schwarz, Omaha Political Rights Defense Fund. Sat., Dec. 12. Reception, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. Unitarian First Church, 3114 Harney. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Apartheid Must Be Destroyed! Protest the outlaw South African regime. Speakers: representative of African National Congress; Karen Kopperud, member of United Transportation Union Local 800 reporting back from the Rail Against Apartheid Conference held in Britain. Translation to Spanish. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Oppose U.S. Military Intervention in Haiti and the Haitian Military Junta. Sat., Dec. 19, 1 p.m. Eastern Parkway and Nostrand Ave. Sponsor: Committee Against Repression in Haiti.

Manhattan

A Report on the Howard Beach Trial: Stop Racist Attacks. Speaker: Michael Baumann, *Militant* reporter at the Howard Beach trial. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Dec. 11, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Un Saludo Navideño. A Christmas Concert with Roy Brown. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. Casa de las Americas. 104 W. 14th (between 6th and 7th avenues). For more information call (212) 675-2584.

OHIO

Cleveland

An Evening for Art/Against Apartheid. The Struggle Against Apartheid in South Africa Today. Speaker: Victor Mashabela, African National Congress Observer Mission to the UN, speaking in support of the Pathfinder Mural Project. Sun., Dec. 13, 5 p.m. reception; 6 pm, "A Third World Collage" presented by the Arts Network, followed by Mashabela. Spaces Art Gallery, 1216 W. 6th St. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: TransAfrica, Arts Network, Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information on this event and other Mashabela programs in Cleveland call (216) 861-6150.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Socialist Educational Conference. Cuba and the Struggle of Working People in the United States and Worldwide.

"A Concise History of the Cuban Revolution:

San Francisco

Celebrate publication of 'Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution'

Speakers: Luis Flores, Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador; Carlos Hernández, leader of the Watsonville cannery strike; David Deutschmann, editor of *Che* book. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 12, 7 p.m. Media Art Gallery, 360 9th St. (btw. Harrison and Folsom). Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Pathfinder bookstores of San Francisco and Oakland. For more information call (415) 282-6255 or 420-1165.

the Forging of a Revolutionary Working-Class Leadership." Speaker: Dick McBride, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 12, 3 p.m.

"Cuba and the Struggle of Working People in the U.S. and Worldwide." Speaker: Jim Little, SWP, member United Food and Commercial Workers Union. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m.

"Cuba Today: An Eyewitness Report." Speaker: Elizabeth Stone, participant in recent tour of Cuba by U.S. journalists. Sun., Dec. 13, 11 a.m.

"Women in Cuba Today." Speaker: Elizabeth Stone. Sun., Dec. 13, 1 p.m.

All events at 4905 Penn Ave., Donation: \$5 for conference, \$2 per class. Sponsor: SWP. For more information call (412) 362-6767 or 661-9109.

UTAH

Price

Why Working People Should Oppose the Aryan Nations. The struggle against racism and fascism in Utah. Speaker: Judy Stranahan, Socialist Workers Party, member International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

Solidarity With United Mine Workers of America Strikes at Decker and Big Horn. Report back from Dec. 5 solidarity rally in Sheridan, Wyoming. Speakers: Charlene Adamson, Socialist Workers Party, member International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Sat., Dec. 19, 7:30 p.m. 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

Salt Lake City

Celebrate A Victory for Democratic Rights. Speakers: Bill Arth, Political Rights Defense Fund; Nancy Jones, American Federation of Government Employees Local 2199; Andrew Hunt, editorial board of University of Utah *Daily Chronicle*; John Sillito, professor Weber State College. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. Northwest Multipurpose Center, room 17, 1300 W. 300 N. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (801) 363-5380.

Labor news in the Militant

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

Nicaragua cattle ranchers meet

Continued from Page 9

tion is committed to finding an answer for them."

Some of the land taken over recently has been used to establish collective farms, whose members are armed and organized to fight off contra attacks. These armed peasants provide protection for everyone in the region, Cuadra added.

Cuadra emphasized that the government is willing to negotiate compensation with landowners in such cases. Discussions are currently under way with several affected ranchers, he said.

Alonso Porras, the national director of the agrarian reform, backed up Cuadra. He said that confiscations would be carried out "only out of deep necessity, when there is no other way out." But, he stressed, there are still tens of thousands of peasant families without land in Nicaragua, and

"the revolution is obligated to give them an answer."

Victor Tirado, speaking for the Sandinista National Liberation Front National Directorate, acknowledged that redistribution of land "brings social antagonisms to the countryside." But, he argued, without such changes "it is impossible to end underdevelopment."

Tirado urged the ranchers to differentiate themselves from "the counterrevolutionary private sector . . . that ignores the problems of the peasant masses."

He stressed that "small, middle, and big private producers have a place in the revolution" and urged the ranchers to cooperate in defeating the contra war and developing Nicaragua's agriculture.

"We want a new agriculture," Tirado said, "one that is developed on the basis of modern technology and puts behind us [our inherited] backwardness."

Ranchers will have a bigger role and more opportunities as the economy grows and is modernized, Tirado said, urging them to support the changes in land ownership and land use initiated by the revolution.

"We know there are ranchers who think with ideas from the past," Tirado told the assembly. "But we also know that there are new ideas in this sector. There are those who interpret the social changes with an eye to the future because they are convinced that the past offers no answer to today's most pressing problems."

New Salvadoran magazine launched in the U.S.

A new magazine, *Venceremos*, has been launched in the United States. It is an English-language, bimonthly publication of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador.

Subscriptions and bundles can be obtained by writing: *Venceremos*, P.O. Box 2104, Church St. Station, New York, N.Y. 10008.

A one-year subscription costs \$20.

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LOUISIANA: New Orleans: YSA, P.O. Box 53224. Zip: 70153. Tel: (504) 484-6418.

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

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o David Warshawsky, P.O. Box 1383, Hampshire College. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 549-4843. **Boston:** SWP, YSA, 605 Massachusetts Ave. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

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

MINNESOTA: Austin: SWP, YSA, 407 1/2 N. Main St. Zip: 55912. Tel: (507) 433-3461. **Twinn Cities:** SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4725 Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0224.

St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

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

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341. **New Brunswick:** YSA, c/o Keith Jordan, 149 Somerset St. Zip: 08903. Tel: (201) 828-1874.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Lisa Sandberg, 120 Lark St. Zip: 12210. Tel: (518) 463-8001. **Mid-Hudson:** YSA, Box 1042, Annandale. Zip: 12504. Tel: (914) 758-0408. **New York:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668. Pathfinder Books, 226-8445. **Stony Brook:** YSA, P.O. Box 1384, Patchogue, N.Y. Zip: 11772.

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

OHIO: Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. **Columbus:** YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202.

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, c/o Mark Mateja, Edinboro University of Pa. Zip:

16412. Tel: (814) 398-2754. **Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 4905 Penn Ave. Zip: 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** SWP, YSA, 147 E. 900 South. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

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

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3165 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699, 797-7021.

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

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

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

Makes ya proud — "UNITED NATIONS (AP) — The General Assembly has voted 154 to 1 to oppose an arms race in outer space and the U.S. cast the single dissenting ballot."



Harry Ring

We never did trust them — With FBI agents in New York grumbling they don't make enough, an assistant director of the spook agency warned that while none of them as yet had become foreign spies, the fact that they av-

erage only \$35,000 "makes agents vulnerable."

The American Way (I) — Maya Ying Lin, who designed the central feature of the D.C. Vietnam Veterans' Memorial, the black granite wall bearing the names of those who died in the war, received a \$20,000 prize when her design was selected in a competition, with a no-copyright, no-royalties proviso in the award.

The American Way (II) — Frederick Hart, who sculpted "Three Fightingmen," the addenda to the Vietnam memorial, received a \$330,000 fee, plus a shared copyright which, so far, has netted him \$85,000 in royalties on the sale of T-shirts, belt buckles, etc.

Decided to clean up their image — Hit with wide publicity and protest, operators of Boston's plush Copley Hotel rescinded an order that maids dispense with mops and scrub floors on their hands and knees.

Theological experts — A Wichita, Kansas, woman, whose child was fathered by a Catholic priest, is trying to get his order to provide adequate support since he pleads a vow of poverty. The Redemptorist Fathers, and the priest, respond that he's an "independent contractor," not an employee of the order.

Culture Inc. speaks — Commenting on Sony's decision to buy CBS' record division, one platter company exec sniffed, "The fostering of great artistic creativity

has yet to be demonstrated as a hallmark of Japanese corporations."

See, just be patient — At 98, Clara Escobedo de Martínez of Brownsville, Texas, is the oldest person to gain legal residency under the "amnesty" provision of the recent immigration law. She's lived here 60 years, and when she turns 104, she'll be eligible for citizenship.

Probably so — Officials in Chester, Pennsylvania, made a cash settlement with three teachers who filed suit for being strip searched after being arrested for allegedly violating an injunction limiting pickets in a school strike. Cops said the search was in line

with standard police procedure.

Nutrition expert — Rhode Island's manager of school food services decided to put Twinkies on the lunch menu for 70,000 youngsters but backed off after parental objection. However he insisted that "there are many children out there who need sugar."

Reagan speaks — "I think of this as a gigantic gas mask." — The prez explaining the Star Wars plan to a group of high schoolers.

Please honk — Some recently reported bumper stickers: "Deaver was sober enough to cash the checks" and "How much bull could a bull market market if a bull market could market bull?"

Cop and FBI terror used against Ky. mine family

BY DUNCAN WILLIAMS

ASHLAND, Ky. — Most of the time, up to 10 of the defendants' wives, companions, and close family members are attending the trial here. They are not allowed to touch or speak to the men.

One of the most outspoken is Barbara Thornsby, of Canada, Kentucky. She is married to David Thornsby, one of the defendants and a member of UMWA Local 1440. During a lunch break at the trial she gave the *Militant* a short interview.

Five of the men were arrested on August 7. "This was about six in the morning," Thornsby said. "The police and FBI agents said they came and banged on our

window. But we didn't hear them.

"Then they went to my 18-year-old son's room. They got him up and pointed a gun at his head and told him to open the front door.

"After they were inside and we woke up, they said David was under arrest. They didn't show any I.D. or warrant or anything, they just said he had to go with them.

"There were six of them, four FBI agents and two Kentucky State Police. One of them just followed David around the house the whole time they were there."

Since the arrests, the men have been transferred from one jail to another in Iron-ton, Ohio, and Lexington, London, and

Mt. Sterling, Kentucky. The moves have been arbitrary, for no apparent reason except to make it more difficult for them to receive visits and to confer with their lawyers.

"Till the trial," Barbara Thornsby said, "I was driving four hours every Sunday to Lexington to see David for 15 minutes."

Canada is a close-knit community and it is solidly in support of the defendants, according to Thornsby. "We had a petition circulated so they could get bail. Two thousand people — almost everybody — signed it. But the judge wouldn't listen."

Since the arrests the UMWA International has continued strike benefits of \$200 a week and medical coverage for all the men's families.

"Moral support and community support is crucial right now," she added. "I know it makes a difference to them, to their spirits, when they get letters," Thornsby said, adding that messages could be sent to David Thornsby, Donnie Thornsby, James Darryl Smith and Arnold Height-land.

In a telephone interview, Charles "Hawkeye" Dixon, chairperson of Citizens for Jus-

tice told the *Militant*, "Defense attorneys have shown that the law enforcement officers, both state and federal, have conducted the investigations with closed eyes. They had their minds made up that the UMWA and or its members are responsible, and they overlooked any evidence that did not lead that way."

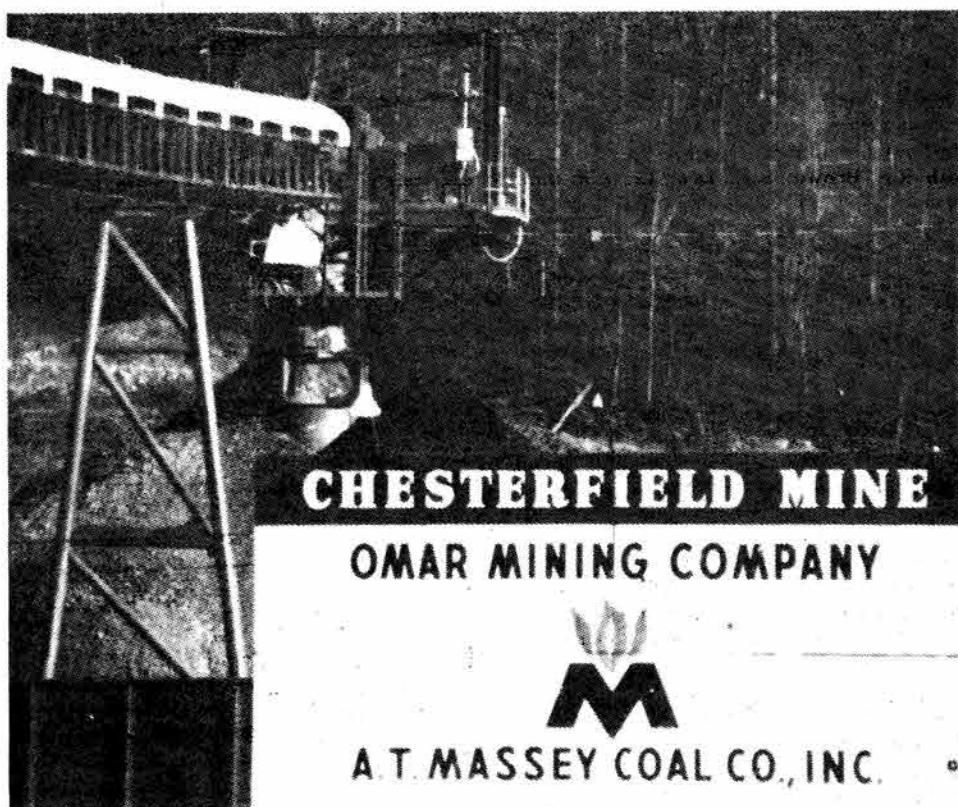
Dixon is a member of the UMWA's International Executive Board from District 30.

"It is common knowledge that companies create violence to make the union look bad and to get court orders against the union in a strike situation," Dixon said. He noted that one witness for the prosecution will reportedly be paid \$40,000 to \$50,000 for testifying against the union members.

Dixon said help is needed in raising funds for the miners on trial. He also urged people to come to the courtroom to attend the trial.

Contributions for legal expenses or mes-sages can be sent to Citizens for Justice, Box 8, Canada, KY 41519.

Send letters and messages of support to any one of the defendants at: Montgomery County Regional Jail, 751 Chenault Lane, Mt. Sterling, Ky. 40353.



Massey mine near Van, West Virginia. During 1984-85 strike, Massey hired gun thugs to harass miners. Thugs are now being called as witnesses in trial against min-ers.

Trial of Kentucky miners exposes U.S. gov't frame-up

Continued from front page
a mistrial.

Earlier, Donnie Jack Phipps, the detec-tive in charge of investigating West's death, testified that he was taken to a spot where several used bullet cartridges had been "found" by George Snodgrass, chief of security at the Samoyed mine in Canada, Kentucky. Snodgrass is a former military intelligence officer.

Company security people then directed the cops to a nearby home where the guns that fired the spent cartridges were "found."

Other weapons found at the site of the killing were never checked. This includes the gun of Phillip West, brother of Hayes West and owner of the scab coal hauling

company. Also unchecked was the gun of Roy Lee Johnson, another scab hauler who was driving in the armed convoy with Phil-lipp West and Hayes West at the time of the shooting.

Police and FBI agents have refused to gather evidence from witnesses on the scene whose testimony might refute their case. For example, residents of a house in plain view of the shooting were never inter-viewed.

It has also come out in court that the Kentucky State Police put out a memoran-dum during the strike telling cops to be on the lookout for "violent" activity from 11 members of the miners' union and their supporters. Two years later, five of the 11 are on trial in this case.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25¢
Dec. 16, 1977

On December 6, 130,000 miners went on strike when their contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association expired. About 50,000 other members of the United Mine Workers with separate contracts also walked off the job.

Negotiations between the union and the BCOA are reportedly still stalled. The key issues the BCOA has refused to discuss are a local right-to-strike clause and restoration of the miners' health benefits. The industry is insisting on a contract provision to force wildcat strikers to pay penalties.

The coal industry openly provoked this strike — threatening to destroy the United Mine Workers unless the union accepts the mine owners' demands for a "stable" work force.

The coal miners are targets in the same big-business offensive that has hit millions of other workers with layoffs, strikebreak-ing, speedup, and soaring prices.

So far, this union-busting assault has singled out relatively weaker or isolated unions, such as public employees and the craft-divided printing trades, building trades, and rail unions. In lashing out at the UMWA, the corporations have escalated their offensive — taking head-on a power-ful, long-established industrial union.

The UMWA has been singled out for at-tack for several reasons. First is the impor-tance of coal in President James Carter's energy program. Having wrapped his energy plan in the Stars and Stripes, Car-ter, along with other Democratic and Re-publican politicians, will accuse miners of jeopardizing "national security" with their demands for job rights and safe working conditions.

The second reason is the big-business hatred for union democracy. The industry claims that the democratic gains of the Miners for Democracy movement weak-ened the union and brought it to the brink of "chaos."

The other fundamental issue is the right to strike. A cumbersome grievance proce-dure that the coal operators have used to trample on the union contract has moved the right-to-strike issue to the fore during the life of the 1974 contract.



Nearly two years have passed since the Angolan people took the road of armed struggle against Portuguese imperialism. It was not until February 1961, with the Luanda revolt, that the world was informed of the atrocious nature of Portuguese im-perialism.

Hitherto a mysterious silence had sur-rounded Portuguese colonialism, but the sweep of the African liberation movement inevitably penetrated the iron bars of the Angolan prison house. With the Congo's independence in 1960, the Portuguese, fearing unrest spreading across into their West African colony of Angola, hastily de-ployed their military forces to crush any re-volt.

But in February 1961 Angolan nation-alists, under the leadership of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, assaulted jails and police headquarters in Luanda in an attempt to free their leaders who had been rounded up over the previous two years.

Reagan talks peace, wages war

The summit "could not come at a more symbolic moment," President Reagan stated December 7, shortly after Mikhail Gorbachev arrived in Washington. Reagan, who was officiating at the annual lighting of a Christmas tree on the White House lawn, proclaimed that "[Gorbachev] and I will meet in hopes of promoting peace for our peoples and all the people of the Earth."

The world has been blanketed with news and commentary about the summit meeting, much of it conveying the impression that the talks will open a new era of peace.

Reagan is basking in the image of being a peacemaker, having signed the first arms control agreement to involve the destruction of some nuclear weapons. (The *Militant* will carry further coverage on the treaty and other aspects of the summit in forthcoming issues.)

Yet, even as Reagan and Gorbachev were raising wine glasses to celebrate the pact, Washington was deeply involved in wars and acts of aggression in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Angola, Mozambique, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, the Persian Gulf, Lebanon, and other countries.

Far from bringing even a moment of peace to the people of these countries, Reagan is using the summit to camouflage a step-up in Washington's use of military force around the globe.

In the Persian Gulf, Washington and its European imperialist allies have sent a huge naval armada to attack and threaten Iran. The armada, which includes 15,000 U.S. personnel, is intervening on the side of the Iraqi regime in the war that began seven years ago when Iraq invaded Iran. Dozens of U.S. sailors have already lost their lives in the gulf conflict.

The intervention marks a massive escalation of one of the half dozen bloodiest wars of the 20th century, widely estimated to have cost 1 million lives.

A grim reminder that Washington continues to press ahead with its mercenary war against Nicaragua managed to break through the avalanche of coverage on the summit. This was the news that Nicaraguan troops had shot

down a U.S. plane over Nicaraguan territory on December 6 and captured pilot James Denby. The incident took place, said Nicaragua's Defense Minister Humberto Ortega, while Denby was "clearly engaged in enemy activity against our country."

Denby is the owner of a farm in Costa Rica, near that country's border with Nicaragua — part of a network of U.S.-owned "farms" used to aid the contra terrorists against Nicaragua.

The U.S. government and its allies are also considering using military force in Haiti. The *New York Times* weighed in with a December 8 editorial calling for sending an "inter-American force" to that country. The *Times* asserted that Washington's need to restore stability justifies "armed infringement of national sovereignty."

Washington is funneling hundreds of millions of dollars and sophisticated weaponry, such as Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, to reactionary outfits that are fighting to topple governments in Angola, Afghanistan, and other countries.

The continuing stagnation of the U.S. economy, and the approach of a major economic crisis signaled by the stock market crash, are intensifying the trend toward more war. The U.S. rulers' economic difficulties will spur them to try to squeeze ever more out of the workers and peasants of Asia, Africa, Latin America.

Washington's use of military force will rise as it confronts resistance to this drive to make working people pay the costs of the crisis. Hard times will not lessen the U.S. rulers' drive to hold on to every corner of their vast empire.

By inundating the public with promises that the summit opens the road to world peace, the administration is gaining some leeway to step up its acts of aggression.

This underlines the necessity of opponents of the U.S. wars in Central America, the Persian Gulf, and elsewhere to redouble our efforts to get out the truth and mobilize opposition to them.

Why profit reports are deceptive

For a decade or more, U.S. big business has been telling workers and farmers that we were the cause of the problems afflicting the U.S. capitalist economy. If we would take lower wages, work longer hours, stop demanding safe working conditions, and let bankers or "more efficient" agricultural operations take over our farms, the economy's problems would soon fade away and prosperity for all would be right around the corner.

In the wake of the October 19 crash and near disintegration of the stock markets, the U.S. rulers have begun admitting facts about their economic problems that give the lie to these claims.

Under the deceptively cheery headline, "Corporate Profitability Rising, Reversing a 15-Year Downturn," a front-page article in the November 30 *New York Times* took note of one of the root causes of the difficulties.

The annual or quarterly profit reports issued by corporations are often deceptive, the *Times* reported. "Over the past five years, announcements of sharply higher net incomes each year have been common."

But at the same time the *Times* points out, the rate of profit on the capital invested in firms has been on a long-term decline. "The Commerce Department says that, for corporate America as a whole, the after-tax return on its factories, machinery, and many other holdings fell from an average of 8 percent in the mid-1960s to about 3.5 percent in the late 1970s and early 1980s."

It is this rate of profit on invested capital that determines where profiteers put their money.

The article cites the example of the Weyerhaeuser Co. whose workers make wood and paper products. The company reported a \$277 million net profit last year — a 38 percent jump over the year before.

But this figure presented only a 5.8 percent return on the billions invested in the company's network of plants, equipment, and labor power. "At this rate of return," the report stated, the company "could have earned more money if it had sold off all those holdings and invested the proceeds in Treasury notes or bonds, which paid above 7 percent last year."

"We just don't build a \$400 million paper mill at today's profit margins," said a company official.

And such decisions against expansion have been made by many capitalists. The profits they have scored during the five-year upturn in the business cycle have, for the most part, not been poured into expanding plants or even into introducing the most up-to-date technology, but on mergers, stocks, bonds, futures, currency operations, and other more profitable financial operations.

The decline in profit rates stems from the fact that on a world scale, more steel, autos, computers, food, and other goods are being produced than can be sold at a rate of profit acceptable to the capitalists.

The *Times* asserts that since 1983 profits have been on a rebound that "has brought the average back up, but only to 4.2 percent through 1986." A graph accompanying the *Times* article, however, punctured the suggestion that a long-term upsurge in profits may now be beginning.

The upturn in profit rates the graph shows, was not unique but one of several cyclical upturns that have taken place since the long-term decline in profit rates began in the late 1960s. The peaks of these upturns have not equalled the low points of the 20 years after World War II.

The upturn in profits since 1983 was powered in part by brutal attacks on the jobs, wages, working conditions, and union rights of U.S. workers. None of this, the article glumly concedes, has reversed the tendency of profit rates to drop.

The current rates "do not demonstrate much of a payoff," the article comments, "for all the plant closings, layoffs, wage hold-downs, and other cost-cutting measures that have reshaped American industry in recent years — and the huge sums that have been spent on automation and modernization, mostly in 1984 and 1985. Since then, capital spending has weakened."

Coming as the recent economic upturn appeared to have passed its peak, the stock market crash signaled a deep lack of confidence of the U.S. rulers about their economic prospects. That loss of self-assurance stems from their failure, even during the current upturn, to decisively regain lost ground in world competition, restore former profit rates, and roll back worldwide overproduction and overcapacity.

Why 'workfare' is a modern form of the workhouse

BY DOUG JENNESS

In 1842 a young German revolutionary, who had just turned 22, went to Manchester, England, to work as a clerk in a textile plant partly owned by his father. The father thought that if the young man got away from Germany he would lose interest in revolutionary politics. Moreover, he had hopes his son would learn about commerce and business management.

But the youth had other plans. In the evenings after work and on Sundays he visited working-class neighborhoods, talked to many workers, and attended workers' meetings.

After nearly two years in England, the young man returned to Germany, not only more convinced of the need for social revolution, but armed with the recognition that it could only be led by the working class.

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

He put down his observations in a book titled, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, published shortly after his return.

This youth was Frederick Engels, who along with Karl Marx, first explained that communism is not a doctrine, but a movement. Communism is the accumulated experiences and lessons of the working class in its struggle against the exploiting classes.

Although Engels' book on English workers was written 140 years ago, it can be fruitfully read today. Not only to learn about the origins of the industrial working class, but to help shed light on some problems workers face today.

One example is Engels' description of the reform of the Poor Law. The old Poor Law, based on acts going back to the 1600s, started from the notion that it is the duty of the parish to provide for the maintenance of the poor. Whoever had no work theoretically received relief. It was considered a right, not a favor.

But in the early, 1800s capitalists found this very disagreeable. As the number of pauperized workers increased many of them received relief when wages were too low to live on.

Engels quoted a report by a commission set up by the employers that found that this system, was "a check to industry, a reward for improvident marriages, a stimulant to population, and a blind to its effects on wages; a national institution for discountenancing the industrious and honest, and for protecting the idle, the improvident, and the vicious; the destroyer of the bonds of family life; a system for preventing the accumulation of capital, for destroying that which exists, and for reducing the ratepayer to pauperism; and a premium for illegitimate children."

The new Poor Law adopted in 1834 attempted to overcome the employers' objections by abolishing all relief in money or provisions. The only aid offered was admission to the workhouses where horrible conditions prevailed.

Today we hear the same refrain — public relief protects the lazy, undermines the family, and increases teenage pregnancy. Under this banner, government-financed aid programs have been battered for the past 20 years. In terms of real buying power of the dollar, monthly payments from programs like Aid to Families with Dependent Children have declined since 1970.

Liberals and conservatives used to conflict more over public relief. Liberals tended to be for, conservatives against. But there is now a growing consensus that the entire concept of relief should be overhauled with making aid contingent on doing some work in exchange as one of its key elements.

Many states have already adopted such stipulations. And a bill is pending in Congress that would replace existing aid to families with a program requiring all welfare recipients, except for those with children under three, to work.

This is a modern form of the workhouse. There's no relief unless one accepts admission into the "workfare" program. But this is impossible for many women who can't afford safe and adequate child care, especially on the pittance paid for the jobs being proposed for them. And no steps to expand child-care facilities are being taken.

The conclusion is clear — if the poor are unable to work, let them live in misery and starve. And this is what is happening. A section of the working class that is disproportionately Black is becoming chronically unemployed paupers. They don't appear in the unemployment figures. And they are increasingly joining the army of homeless people who live in the streets or packed into hellish welfare hotels.

Engels noted that the opponents of relief drew the wrong conclusion. We should conclude, he said, "that our present social conditions are good for nothing," not that "poverty is a crime, and, as such, to be visited with heinous penalties which may serve as a warning to others."

From our readers behind bars

The *Militant* receives many letters from our readers who are in prison. Unfortunately, space permits us to print only a portion of these letters, and some of them are abridged.

We receive letters from prisoners on a wide range of subjects, from letters of appreciation for receiving the *Militant*, which is made possible by our prisoners' fund, to letters from prisoners engaged in struggles to defend their democratic rights and letters describing political discussions. This week we devote the entire letters column to the brothers and sisters behind bars.

The *Militant* special prisoners' fund makes it possible to send subscriptions to prisoners who can't afford them. Where possible, the fund also tries to fill prisoners' requests for other literature. To help in this important effort, send your contribution to the *Militant's* Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Che Guevara

The only possible reward we can ever give to those who are physically dead is the gift of not letting them die in vain, by continuing on with the cause for which they gave their lives.

Thus spoke Ernesto Che Guevara when he said, "Wherever death may surprise us, let it be welcomed if our battle cry has reached one receptive ear, and another hand reaches out to take up our arms."

This October 8 marked the 20th anniversary of the murder of this beloved comrade, who was a vanguard of the Cuban revolution and champion of all the world's oppressed people.

Because I am in prison, I may never get to read the new book about his political philosophies, *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution* [published by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia in Sydney, Australia, this year]. But I am glad that one has finally come along so that others won't have to wait as long as I.

The lives of people like Che Guevara have shown us how to redeem our society from the outrages of the killings of people such as Eleanor Bumpurs and Michael Stewart; the Bernhard Goetz mentality; and Howard Beach atrocities, not to mention the tragedies of places like Nicaragua, Libya, and South Africa!

The struggle continues!

A prisoner
Jefferson City, Missouri

Prisoners in Nicaragua

I'd like to praise Harvey McArthur for your article earlier this year in the *Militant*, "In Nicaragua, human rights for prisoners is a principle."

When I read your article about conjugal visits in Nicaragua, it burned me up. Because prisons here don't have these visits, they are overcrowded.

This system over here isn't working. It needs reform, and they need to hire inmates once they're out.

Prisoners in Nicaragua, you wrote, go out on furlough and come back. Thus they can maintain a family. The beautiful revolutionaries have their own system of rights, laws, and ideas of justice.

A prisoner
Bellefonte, Pennsylvania

Very informative

I find your paper to be very informative. The articles on Burkina Faso have been very interesting. I

have not seen the same in-depth coverage by other newspapers of the North American left.

A prisoner
New York, New York

Cold-blooded murder

In regard to the article printed in the November 6 *Militant* titled "Georgia cops claim fourth victim," I am moved to comment.

It is plain to see that two murders by the notorious Atlanta cops, concerning the police killing of 29-year-old Lamar Bradley on October 15 and of Eddie Lee Callahan on September 10, are clearly acts of cold-blooded premeditated racial murder.

Both stories given by the killer cops are really an insult to the intelligence of the public in general and a direct insult and slap in the face to all Black people in Atlanta and the nation.

One cannot read a newspaper without finding an article about a racist cop killing of some poor Black youth somewhere in America, and every story of how it happened is fabricated by the cops!

A prisoner
Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

Pass it around

Just these few lines to let you know that I have been getting the *Militant* regularly and pass it around to as many prisoners here as I possibly can.

Also, I wanted to let you know that I am paroling soon and will not be here any longer, but I plan on getting a subscription as soon as I'm out.

A prisoner
Tamal, California

In Spanish

I was wondering if you could send me your paper. Also if you have your paper written in Spanish, could I receive it? I would like to learn more about the struggle.

A prisoner
Bellefonte, Pennsylvania

Capitalism is threat

I've read many articles in the *Militant*. I have no money to buy your beautiful books. Yesterday I finished George Jackson's book *Blood in My Eye* and he spoke about Che Guevara's book *Guerilla Warfare*. I would really like to have this book if you could get it to me, and also the new book of Che Guevara's writings and speeches.

I know that capitalism is a threat to all of mankind.

A prisoner
Dillwyn, Virginia

The other side

I am a prisoner in the Texas Department of Corrections, where I am indigent and yet seeking the other side from what is in the capitalist-printed newspapers.

There seems to be something very important missing, and I want to find out by subscribing to the *Militant*.

A female hostage in Texas,

A prisoner
Gatesville, Texas

Attica

We the prisoners here at Attica would like to bring a matter to public attention, to you outside the prison walls, concerning the racist tactics being perpetuated against us here by racist prison officials.

Such are the violent attacks upon us: beatings and assaults inflicted on a daily basis by correctional officers, and stabbings of prisoners by these same officers.

These new terrorist attacks are to plant fear within prisoners here

at Attica, and the statement they live by is "Remember Attica '71."

Investigations by high-ranking officials amount to nothing because the officers are always right, just as perpetuated in the Bumpurs and Howard Beach masquerades. Then we are given years in longterm (solitary) confinement on these alleged crimes that I and every other prisoner never commit.

Everyone from the racist commissioner on down to the correctional officers here are participants in these acts. Even the courts in Wyoming County are racist. They have refused to let us represent ourselves in court. They refuse our petitions. The medical staff helps cover up these attacks by not making medical reports and by falsifying them.

Recently a brother was beaten with sticks, kicked about while handcuffed, and thrown down a flight of stairs, breaking his arm. And he was convicted of assault and given 180 days in solitary.

The conditions that gave birth to the Attica uprising have not changed. Rather, they have worsened.

We appeal to all of you out there in society for support in our struggle to change the barbaric conditions here at Attica, especially solitary confinement. We seek letters to be sent to Warden Walter R. Kelly, Box 149, Attica, N.Y. 14011-0149 and to prisons Commissioner Thomas A. Coughlin, DOCS, State Office Building, Albany, N.Y. 12226.

A prisoner
Attica, New York

Youths

I really look forward to getting the *Militant* every week. I pass my copy down to others I know who are not afraid of the facts.

I met a guy in his 50s here, and I was shocked when he told me that he sold the *Militant* when he was a youth. I was shocked to learn that your paper has been out all those years and I'm just learning of it.

I'm going to see to it that as many youths as possible can be made aware of your paper.

A prisoner
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

U.S. criminal actions

We are trying to educate as many prisoners as possible on the U.S. criminal actions and policies throughout the Americas that are leading us into another Vietnam.

A prisoner
Pendleton, Indiana

Opened my eyes

Thank you for sending me your newspaper. I make it possible for other brothers to read the *Militant*. This paper opened my eyes.

A prisoner
Stormville, New York

The truth

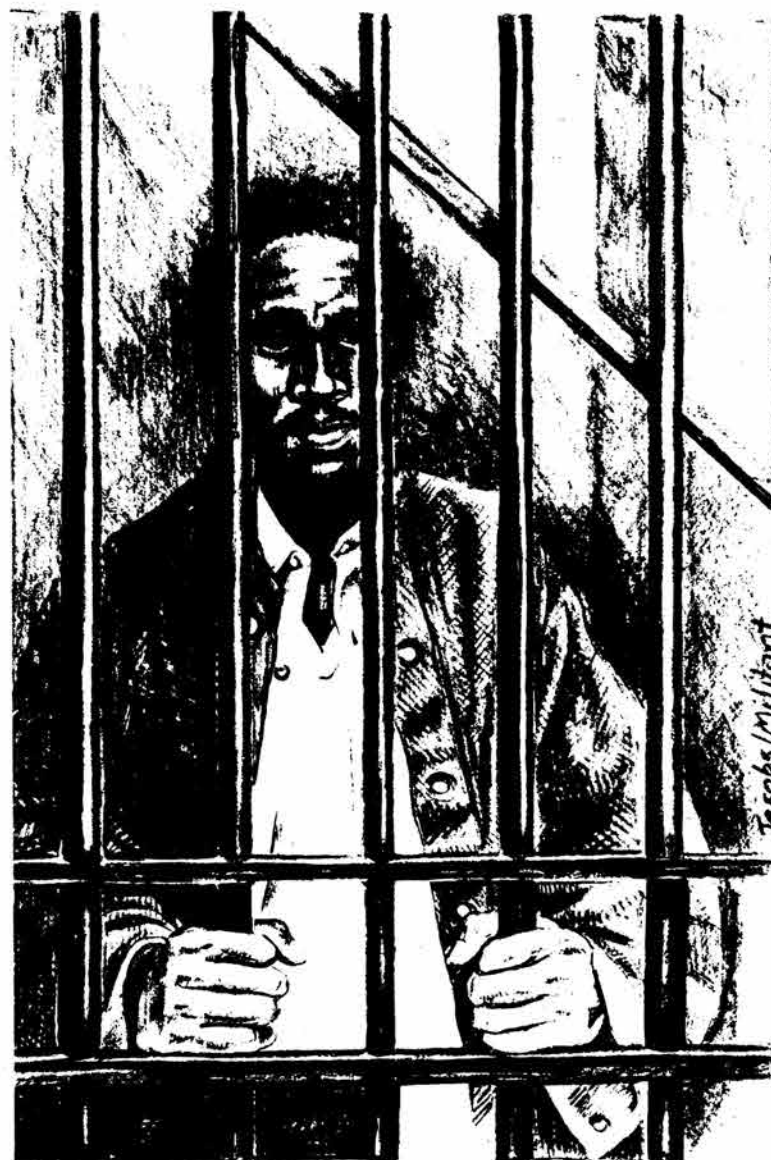
I would like to know if it is possible for you to send me your publications free. I feel that it is very important for people to know the real truth as to what is going on in America and around the world.

A prisoner
Dallas, Pennsylvania

Victory against FBI

I would like to give you all my congratulations upon your victory in the lawsuit against the FBI and other political police. I honestly feel that a victory for one is a victory for all.

I am currently reading *Cointelpro: the FBI's Secret War on The Bill of Rights*, and up until now I was unconsciously aware of the tactics and maneuvers they use to



try to disrupt, discredit, and mislead the American people.

I hope you continue to publish the truth concerning these and other maneuvers.

A prisoner
Pendleton, Indiana

A great introduction

Thanks for having continued to send me the paper for almost six years now.

The first *Militant* I ever saw was an April 1981 issue. I got that paper in somewhat bizarre circumstances. A Chicano comrade slid the paper under my cell door and continued on down the catwalk without so much as a "Here ya go buddy."

It was a great introduction! That issue had Martin Luther King's speech attacking the U.S. war against Vietnam (a radicalism I was surprised to find that MLK had). On the front page, Margaret Winter, Malik Miah, and some others were standing outside the federal courthouse in New York representing the Socialist Workers Party's lawsuit against the FBI's Cointelpro spy apparatus.

The print was larger then, but the quality of coverage is still the same — great!

A prisoner
Huntsville, Texas

MOVE

The *Militant* has been my source of information and truth for many years, and I still remember the time the late and great Brother Malcolm X said, "Whenever you see it up here in Harlem, I would advise you to buy it."

However, I would like to see in today's *Militant* some articles on the MOVE Family Africa. We all know how wrongly they were treated by the system.

MOVE must not be forgotten, and we should advertise support for MOVE to free Ramona Africa and the MOVE family, and free Mumina Abu Jamal, who we all know is on death row here in Huntingdon Prison in Pennsylvania for being an outspoken MOVE supporter. He was framed with a cop killing.

A prisoner
Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

Goetz

I am presently sentenced to 15 years to life after being found guilty of one single charge — possession in the second degree, intent to use. With regard to intent, it is alleged that I merely pointed a gun, no shots fired.

Now we have the Bernhard Goetz case. Here we have all the facts to support intent. And he deliberately shot these youth. Yet he was only charged with possession in the third degree.

A prisoner
Napanoch, New York

Working people

Your newspaper lets me know of the working people's struggles here and around the world. In truth, the *Militant* is the best and most informative paper that I ever laid hands on.

Also I would like to thank all persons who made contributions to make the prisoners' subscription fund possible.

A prisoner
Midway, Texas

Jamaica

I am of the Rastafarian background, and I am being held captive here in Attica Correctional Facility because of the pigmentation of my skin.

My reason for writing is to congratulate you for putting together the best newspaper in this country. I am from Jamaica, West Indies, so I was wondering if you could run a column on Jamaica.

A prisoner
Attica, New York

Will pass it on

I'd like to join the prison subscribers' program. A friend turned me on to the *Militant*. It tells the truth, and I love it and will pass it on.

A prisoner
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

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.

New Caledonia presses independence fight

UN vote backs decolonization; French army troops bring 'reign of terror'

BY SUSAN LaMONT

The small island country of New Caledonia — more than 1,000 miles off the East Coast of Australia in the vast South Pacific — was at the center of an important vote that took place in the United Nations General Assembly on December 4. The vote was on whether New Caledonia should remain on the UN Decolonization Special Committee's list of countries that should be decolonized.

The outcome of the vote was a victory for the independence movement of New Caledonia, and a defeat for France, which has ruled the island since 1853. Sixty-nine countries voted yes; 29 voted no; and 47 abstained.

On December 5 the *Militant* spoke with Jean-Marie Tjibaou, president of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) of New Caledonia about the discussion and vote at the UN. The FLNKS is the organization leading the struggle for in-

Caledonia, along with nearly 54,000 French settlers and some 30,000 immigrants from other parts of the South Pacific, Southeast Asia, and elsewhere. In 1972 the French government began encouraging renewed immigration to New Caledonia — termed "whitening" — in the face of growing pressure for independence.

The treatment of the Kanaks resembles that of Blacks in South Africa. Following colonization, the Kanaks were massacred, stripped of their tribal lands, herded onto small, reservations with infertile land, denied political rights in their own country, and pushed to the bottom of the economy. Some 50 percent of the island's unemployed are Kanaky; of those who can get work, most are laborers or domestic servants. The country's wealth — it is one of the largest nickel producers in the world — remains in the hands of a few French settler families.

Meaning of UN vote

"The vote in the UN signifies the non-recognition of the results of the referendum," explained Tjibaou. "The international community considers that the referendum organized on September 13 has no validity. That's the most important thing. And that means that for the activists of our movement, we are correct to continue the struggle. The support of the international community means a better situation in our fight for self-determination, which must lead to independence for our country."

The French government's role in the UN vote showed how determined it is to hold onto New Caledonia as a colonial outpost in the Pacific. Not only did the French delegation vote against New Caledonia being listed as a territory for decolonization. It also organized a pressure campaign directed at countries that it formerly ruled, especially in Africa, to get them to vote against the Kanaky independence forces. (See accompanying article.)

Tjibaou explained, "There was discussion [by the French], but above all there was pressure. Last year, when the same vote was taken, we had 89 votes. This year there were only 69 votes in favor. That's a big difference, and that was the result of the pressure. The number of abstentions also grew."

"Many countries were subject to very severe financial pressure from France. Sometimes it was more than that, as in Chad and other parts of Africa where the French army is present."

"What was interesting was that of those countries that voted against us, not a single one gave an explanation of why they were voting in support of France."

Struggles in the Pacific

The struggle of the Kanak people for the right to control their own country is part of a wave of struggles for independence, social and economic justice, and for a nuclear-free Pacific that have swept that part of the world in recent years.

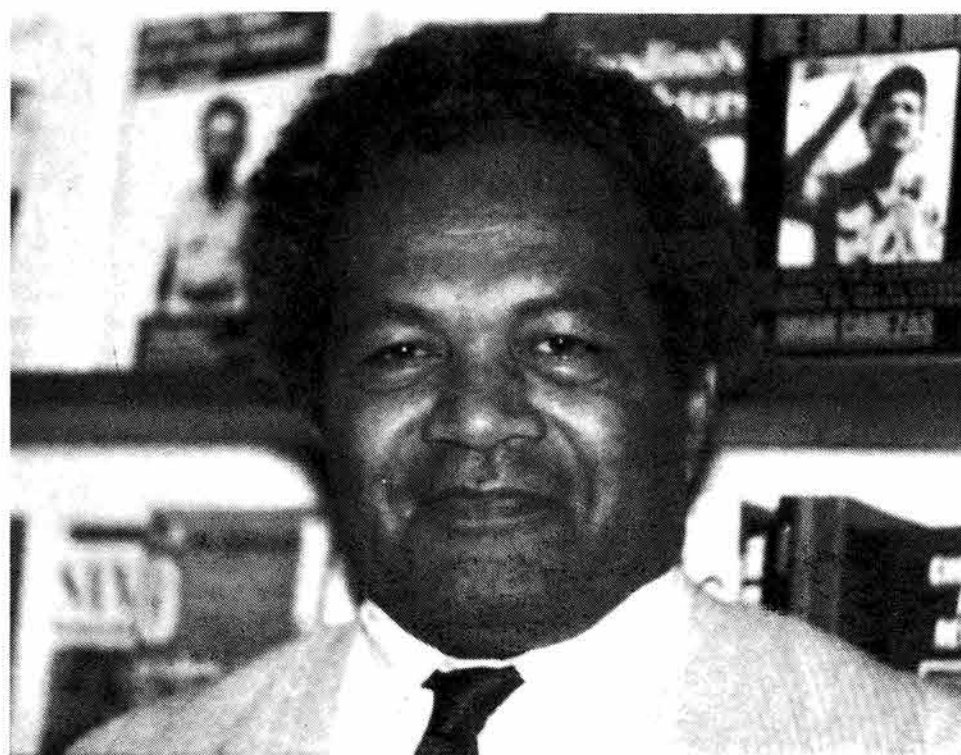
For its part, the French government tries to maintain its presence in the Pacific with imperial force and violence.

In New Caledonia, there are 8,000 French army troops, state cops, elite paratroopers, and riot and security police on an island whose population is 140,000.

In the countryside, the military are everywhere. There are frequent roadblocks, and soldiers armed with automatic weapons stationed in the bushes along the road. Tanks and amphibious vehicles lumber along the country roads.

In the capital of Nouméa, police vans and buses cruise the streets. The security police patrol every block with clubs, pistols, and helmets hanging from their waists. Others stand with automatic rifles and tear-gas equipment.

This occupation force terrorizes and



Militant/Selva Nebbia
Jean-Marie Tjibaou, president of Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front, the organization leading independence fight on Pacific island of New Caledonia.

murders Kanaks and turns a blind eye to anti-Kanak racist vigilantes who feel some wind in their sails since the September referendum.

Tjibaou described how the French army uses tactics learned in its earlier unsuccessful struggles against the colonial people of Vietnam and Algeria. "They have a policy of 'nomadization,' where they send the army into the villages to 'help' the people, to live with them, to get to know them. It is called 'nomadization' because the troops move around from village to village."

"They watch everywhere; they get to know everybody. So they can intervene very quickly, and kill people or grab people."

This fall, seven racists — who admitted their guilt — were acquitted in the cold-blooded massacre of 10 unarmed Kanak independence fighters in December 1984. Those killed included two brothers of Jean-Marie Tjibaou.

"We can't count on the police to protect us; we have to organize ourselves to protect ourselves," Tjibaou explained. "Whenever there's the slightest incident, the police come into the villages, and they collect all the arms possessed by the Black [Kanak] people. Not of course by the whites, just the Blacks."

On November 6 the French occupation forces murdered another Kanak independence fighter, 17-year-old Leopold Dawa. Tjibaou, in a statement released the next day, said, "The shooting season for Kanaks has begun. We said that on the

night of the verdict [releasing the seven racists]. White men have permits authorizing hunting and thus to massacre Kanaks. Kanaks must be fully aware of this state of affairs and recognize that no one will come to their aid. They must organize to defend themselves. . . ."

Because of their call for self-defense in the face of this savage repression, four leaders of the FLNKS were charged with incitement to murder and violence by one of the pro-France, anti-independence parties in November. The FLNKS, Tjibaou explained, has decided not to respond to these charges. "The courts let the criminals go, so the courts can't judge anymore."

"The French government has just adopted a new autonomy status for New Caledonia," following the September referendum, Tjibaou explained. "They are planning to hold elections [for a local governing body] sometime in the spring, after the French presidential elections."

"The meaning of the UN vote for the activists of the independence movement is that we will reject these elections. We insist that elections run by the French have always been bad news, always brought misfortune to Caledonia. . . . We must boycott these elections, as they flow directly from the September referendum."

The continuing violence of the French forces was demonstrated December 8 when they attacked a proindependence demonstration on the first day of the South Pacific Games, held in Nouméa. The FLNKS and other supporters of Kanak independence had called for a boycott of the games.

Burkina Faso: new regime backs off support for Kanak independence

Burkina Faso's new regime took part in the December 4 United Nations vote on the status of New Caledonia by abstaining.

This was a departure from Burkina's previous solid support for New Caledonia's independence under the Burkinabè government of President Thomas Sankara. Last year, Burkina not only voted for New Caledonia to be listed for decolonization; it was a sponsor of the UN resolution.

On October 15 the government of Thomas Sankara was overthrown in a counter-revolutionary coup led by Capt. Blaise Compaoré. Sankara, the outstanding leader of Burkina Faso's democratic anti-im-

perialist revolution, and 12 aides were executed. The Sankara regime, which came to power in 1983, advanced policies in the interests of, and worked to mobilize, Burkina's workers, peasants, youth, and women. His regime also solidarized with anti-imperialist struggles throughout the world, including the Kanak independence movement.

A measure of the economic and military pressure that France put on its former colonies in Africa, including Burkina, can be seen in the vote. Senegal, Chad, Ivory Coast, Central African Republic, and other former French colonies voted against decolonization for New Caledonia. — S.L.



dependence in New Caledonia. (Kanak is the name of the indigenous people of New Caledonia for their country.)

Tjibaou and another leader of the FLNKS were in New York for several weeks prior to the vote, speaking with UN representatives from many countries about the struggle for independence, and why New Caledonia should remain on the decolonization list.

September referendum

The UN vote took on special importance because of the results of a September referendum that the French government of Jacques Chirac organized in New Caledonia to try to legitimize its ongoing colonial domination of the island and the brutal oppression of the Kanak people.

While a big majority of those who participated in the September referendum voted that New Caledonia should remain part of France, the overwhelming majority of Kanaks did not vote at all in the referendum, responding to the FLNKS' call for a boycott. In spite of this, France's position is that the referendum settled the question of independence for New Caledonia once and for all.

More than 60,000 Kanaks live in New

New York City

A Young Socialist Alliance forum. . .

The Stock Market Crash and the International Fight for a New Economic Order

Hear Jack Barnes, Socialist Workers Party National Secretary. Sat., Dec. 19, 7 p.m. 79 Leonard St., Manhattan (5 blocks south of Canal St.). Sponsor: YSA and Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.