

Salvadoran elections: cover for U.S. war

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The victory of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) in El Salvador's March 31 elections was welcomed by the U.S. government and big-business media as a triumph for peace, human rights, and social justice.

Far from marking any advance for the workers and peasants of that impoverished country, however, the elections were another weapon in the U.S. war in El Salvador. They were designed to provide further "democratic" cover behind which Washington can escalate its aggression against the Salvadoran people.

Following the elections, congressional Democrats and Republicans moved swiftly to do just that. On April 2 the House Foreign Affairs Committee, in a bipartisan vote, agreed to provide still more aid to the Salvadoran dictatorship. This is on top of the \$1.7 billion that Washington has supplied since 1980. This year's aid is expected to total at least \$557 million.

The elections to the National Assembly and municipal councils occurred in the midst of a steadily escalating civil war which encompasses the entire country.

On one side is a bloody dictatorship, kept in power by U.S. money and muscle. It represents the interests of a tiny handful of Salvadoran landlords and U.S. capitalists who have big investments in this Central American nation.

On the other side are the vast majority of the Salvadoran people — the workers and peasants. The Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FMLN-FDR) are leading the fight for social and economic justice, political freedom, and an end to decades of imperialist domination. These progressive social forces are combating the Salvadoran army in the countryside and, increasingly, confronting the government and the employers in the cities.

Pres. José Napoleón Duarte's Christian Democrats received approximately 54 percent of the votes. There were widespread pre-election predictions that the PDC would emerge as an even smaller minority than it already was in the national and local governments. Instead the PDC now has a majority of the seats in the 60-person National Assembly and control of 200 of the 262 municipalities, as well as the presidency.

The PDC's two main capitalist opponents — the Nationalist Republican Alliance, headed by rightist death-squad leader Roberto D'Aubuisson, and the National Conciliation Party — ran together in an electoral bloc. They called for throwing out the election results, citing examples of PDC and army fraud.

The army high command responded by calling a press conference to deny the charges and declare it was "neutral" in the elections. At the press conference the defense minister, General Casanova, declared, "We must overcome our differences and unite our efforts to destroy our common enemy, which is terrorist-communist subversion."

The electoral commission rejected D'Aubuisson's demand to throw out the results.

Despite the hostile tone of the contest between the PDC and its ultraright competitors — which included mutual charges of assassinations as well as verbal mudslinging — all the parties in the elections agreed on the need to crush the popular opposition in city and countryside. Where

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After April 20: more antiwar actions needed



U.S. helicopters near Nicaragua's border. April 20 action began to draw in labor, farmers, Blacks, and other social forces that can stop U.S. war in Central America.

Nicaraguans score major victory against 'contras'

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

OCOTAL, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan government has scored an important military victory against U.S.-financed counterrevolutionaries known here as *contras*.

On March 22, after a week-long battle, the Sandinista People's Army overran the headquarters of a contra Regional Command on a ridge known as La Explosión, 20 kilometers northeast from here.

La Explosión is of strategic military importance. Only one and a half kilometers from Honduras, it served as a forward staging area for terrorist attacks throughout much of Nueva Segovia province.

The main road linking this provincial capital to San Fernando, Murra, Jalapa, Quilalí — other important towns in Nueva Segovia province — lies only a few kilometers from La Explosión. Because it is much higher than the surrounding countryside, control of these heights allowed the *contras* to observe movements along that road and throughout large portions of the surrounding territory. They used this information to carry out countless terrorist attacks.

The Sandinista victory is all the more impressive for several reasons.

It was obtained against a well-entrenched enemy, occupying fortified heights. A Regional Command is the largest military unit of the CIA army, a force of 600 or more troops. La Explosión was connected by road to La Lodosa, an important counterrevolutionary base in Honduras. It could be easily resupplied and reinforced. Moreover, the existence of the border guaranteed that the *contras* could not be surrounded.

The main units involved in dislodging the base were the Rufo Marín Irregular Combat Battalion and an infantry reserve brigade from León. One of the companies of that brigade, called the Commander Verónica Lacayo Company, was made up completely of women.

The seizure of La Explosión marked a high point in a prolonged offensive being waged by Sandinista People's Army units throughout much of the mountainous north-central part of Nicaragua. According to Felipe Barreda García, head of the government in Ocotol, large numbers of contra

troops have been forced to retreat to Honduras from zones deep inside Nicaraguan territory that they had managed to penetrate.

"A very strong offensive was carried out here," Barreda told the *Militant*, "and really the Guards have been totally neutralized." The Guards are former members of deposed dictator Anastasio Somoza's National Guard, who form the backbone of the U.S. mercenary army.

A tour of the region by *Militant* reporters confirmed Barreda's comments. The main

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On April 20, tens of thousands are marching through the streets of Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, Houston, Denver, and other cities demanding peace, jobs, and social justice.

We are demanding an end to the U.S. war in Central America.

The April 20 mobilizations have united in action a broad variety of people and social and political forces: trade unionists fighting to defend the labor movement from government and employer attacks; farmers protesting land foreclosures; Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans fighting racist violence; women fighting to de-

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fend abortion rights; anti-apartheid fighters; sanctuary activists fighting for the rights of Central American refugees; and youth opposing draft registration.

These protests are exactly what's needed at this time. They are sending a powerful message to the rulers of this country.

We're also marching to let other working people know that the government is waging a dirty war in Central America today. And that war is central to all the social, political, and economic problems working people face. The same employers and government that is financing the counter-revolutionary (*contra*) army against Nicaragua are trying to bust our unions, cut social services, and undermine democratic rights.

A White House document on the CIA war against Nicaragua, which became known about on April 16, explained that "direct application of U.S. force" against Nicaragua "must realistically be recognized as an eventual option, given our stakes in the region, if other policy alternatives fail."

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After the April 20th march and rally, join us for discussion and refreshments



Andrea González

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party invite you to an open house to exchange views and enjoy refreshments. Join us in a discussion of the socialist view of how to continue the fight against the U.S. war in Central America, apartheid in South Africa, and anti-working class attacks in the U.S. Meet Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City; Göte Kildén, Swedish socialist and union leader; and others.

SOCIALIST OPEN HOUSE

Quality Inn Capitol Hill Hotel
415 New Jersey Ave., NW, Washington, D.C.
(corner New Jersey Ave. & D St., NW, 2 blocks north of Constitution Ave.)

Saturday, April 20, 1985 4:00-8:00 p.m.

Join our April 20 sales teams!

If you would like to volunteer to help sell the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, you can find us at the socialist press distribution center:

19th St. between Avenues D and C.

Or look for our literature displays at the assembly and rally sites.

NEW ORLEANS — The long early morning ride out to a plant-gate sale at the Amax Nickel Corp. in Violet, Louisiana, takes New Orleans *Militant* sales teams through the towns of Chalmette, Meraux, and Braithwaite. We pass Tenneco oil refinery, pastures where high priced thoroughbred horses and Brahman cattle graze, and the Violet Dock, where cargo ships as big as islands are painted and launched back down the Mississippi River.

During a recent sale at Amex, three cars stopped, two going in for the morning shift and one com-

ing off the midnight shift.

All three workers bought the *Militant* without discussion. They recognized the paper and their minds were already made up.

The *Militant* was first introduced at Amax during a special effort to get out information about the March 1984 Steelworkers contract discussion to workers in the New Orleans area. Then unexpectedly, last October Plaquemines Parish sheriffs harassed a *Militant* sales team, taking names, license numbers, and threatening arrest.

We responded by having a

lawyer write a letter to Amax and the Parish cops. The letter explained that impeding the distribution of the *Militant* denied certain inalienable rights to both Amax workers and *Militant* salespeople. It also warned that appropriate action would be taken if there was any future harassment. The next sales at Amax went off without a hitch.

Then last December there was more harassment from an Amax security guard who told the sales team members to leave, which they refused to do. The guard threatened to call the sheriffs but

the sales team stood its ground and no cops ever showed up.

At a February sale, a steelworkers union steward drove through the gate and stopped to introduce himself. He told the sales team how much he liked the *Militant*. He said that he'd heard that Amax had been harassing us and that we should let him know if the company bothered us again. The same steward later came to New Orleans to hear a Salvadoran unionist appeal for solidarity from workers in the United States with the struggle in El Salvador.

Recently a sales team took the

Militant out to the community of Violet to sell it door-to-door. We sold about 25 papers and one resident who works at Amax told us, "I've seen the *Militant*. Every copy gets passed around the plant. The only ones who don't like it are the company."

Recent rumors have it that Amax is going to shut down in September. Contract negotiations are coming up and it's possible the company is trying to soften up the union for wage concessions. If a fight is brewing, workers have a voice to appeal to for solidarity. The *Militant* is their paper.

Charlottesville NAACP fights discriminatory housing

BY MIKE FITZSIMMONS

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. — Under the guise of "integration" the city government has been placing whites ahead of Blacks on the waiting list for subsidized public housing.

The city claims that if Black occupancy were to exceed 65 percent in any of its six subsidized projects, whites would avoid them. Therefore, whites are placed ahead of Blacks to maintain 35 percent white occupancy.

According to the Charlottesville National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the waiting list for the city's 371 housing units has over 200 Black families on it, or nearly 75 per-

cent of the total number of families seeking public housing.

The NAACP has been pressing the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) for over a year to rule the city in violation of the Civil Rights Act, thereby forcing it to change its policy. HUD has been dragging its feet, claiming to support the city's integration efforts while wanting to proceed carefully.

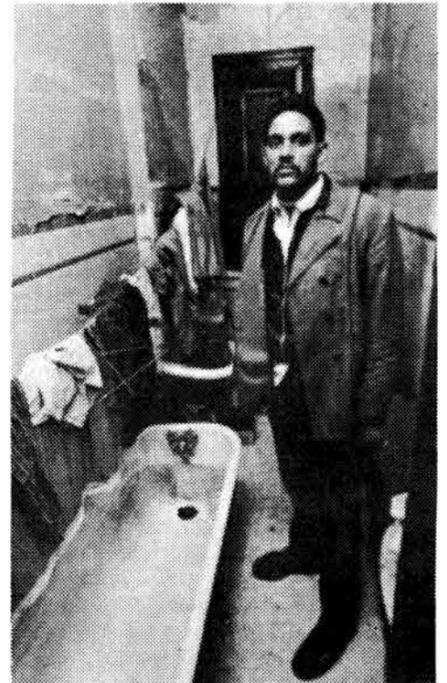
This "proutegration" stance is in stark contrast to the initiatives Washington has taken to strike down affirmative action and busing programs around the country.

Priscilla Whiting and Cindy Stratton, president and vice-president of the NAACP, explained their position to the

Militant. While supporting integration their first priority is "providing affordable housing based on need." They explained that Blacks face discrimination in jobs and housing in the private sector and they don't need another point against them in public housing.

In Charlottesville, Blacks are concentrated in the lowest paying jobs at the University of Virginia, the city's largest employer. Landlords continue refusing to rent private housing to Black families.

The history of public housing in Charlottesville sheds more light on its "integration" policy. In the 1970s Charlottesville started pumping working people's tax money into reconstruction of the downtown commercial areas. Since Blacks were displaced by this "urban renewal" the city constructed small housing projects in several places around the city. While this was supposed to "integrate" the city, many people here believe that the city government did this more as a way to disperse Blacks, and at the same time, prevent their influx into the white neighborhoods. Whiting and Stratton explained that the NAACP can't support an integration policy that worsens already unacceptable conditions for Blacks.



Blacks, who suffer discrimination in housing, make up nearly 75 percent of total number of Charlottesville families seeking public housing.

National Organization for Women announces abortion-rights campaign

BY PAT GROGAN

The National Organization for Women (NOW) has announced the launching of a "full scale effort to preserve safe, legal abortion."

A front-page article in the March/April issue of the *National NOW Times* describes the "Campaign to Save Women's Lives" as a "massive grassroots, organizing and media blitz to solidify and mobilize pro-choice support."

Noting that a strong majority of Americans support a woman's right to decide whether and when to have children... NOW President Judy Goldsmith said that "through the Campaign to Save Women's Lives, we will turn that strong public support into an organized force that will turn

back the opposition and protect women's right to make their own reproductive decisions without government interference."

According to the *National NOW Times*, components of the campaign include press conferences, forums and speakouts in many cities; a June 8 national action in Washington, D.C., at the Vatican embassy to protest the role of the Catholic Church hierarchy in opposing a woman's right to abortion; joint efforts with other pro-choice groups to sponsor speakouts in local communities "to dramatize the effects on women's lives of illegal abortion before 1973 and safe, legal abortion after 1973."

Other activities include a campaign to answer the lies presented in the anti-abortion propaganda film, *The Silent Scream*; continued recruitment of volunteers to serve as escorts at abortion clinics; stepped-up lobbying; and continued pressure on the Justice Department to investigate the ongoing harassment and intimidation of women seeking to obtain abortions.

It was also announced that the 1985 National NOW Conference will be held July 19 through 21 at the Fairmont Hotel in New Orleans.

For further information write to P.O. Box 7813, Washington, D.C. 20044, or contact your local NOW chapter.

What's featured in the May 'ISR'

The next issue of the *Militant* will include our monthly supplement, *International Socialist Review*. It will be four-pages.

This *ISR* will include two articles: a background piece on the revolution in the West African country of Burkina (formerly known as Upper Volta) against imperialist domination; and a speech titled, "The Relevance of Sandino's Thought," by Nicaragua's vice-president, Sergio Ramirez.

Ernest Harsch, who recently traveled to Africa and met with leaders of the Burkina revolution, explains what led to the anti-imperialist upsurge that brought to power the National Council of the Revolution on Aug. 4, 1983. Burkina is a former colony of France. For 23 years, after winning for-

mal independence in 1960, it suffered under neocolonial rule.

Harsch, who is the managing editor of the biweekly *Intercontinental Press*, interviewed Burkina's president, Capt. Thomas Sankara. The *ISR* will reprint a short excerpt from that interview.

The speech by Sergio Ramirez was first published in the July-August 1984 issue of the English-language edition of *Tricontinental*, a magazine published in Cuba by the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Ramirez explains the relevance of Augusto Cesar Sandino's ideas and actions for Nicaragua's ongoing battle to defend its national sovereignty from imperialist attack.

Reagan's War on Women's Rights: A Strategy to Fight Back

by Margaret Jayko

38 pp., 95 cents. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.

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The Militant

Closing news date: April 17, 1985

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Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the *Militant* (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The *Militant* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for airmail rates to all other countries.

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Protests halt sale of Minnesota farm



Militant/Peggy Winter
March 18 protest in Glenwood, Minnesota, that stopped foreclosure sale of dairy farm.

BY SUSAN APSTEIN
 AND LISA AHLBERG

GLENWOOD, Minn. — Three thousand farmers, unionists, students, and other supporters of family farmers rallied here April 1 to celebrate the third postponement by the Travelers Insurance Co. of a foreclosure sale of Jim and Gloria

Langman's dairy farm. The protestors came from across Minnesota to demonstrate their united determination to carry out a "people's moratorium" on farm foreclosures.

Glenwood was the site of a March 18 protest that stopped a foreclosure sale for the first time since the 1930s. This occurred when Travelers was forced to reschedule the Langman farm sale for April 1. Farm organizations and supporters immediately began organizing a protest rally against this threatened sale also.

But two days before the April 1 sale was to take place, Travelers announced their decision for a second postponement, stating, "we were not given adequate assurance that law enforcement would be available to prevent injuries." The 30 deputies from the sheriff's department made available to them were not "adequate," they said, "in light of the large crowd that was predicted."

This attempt to smear farmers and their supporters as violence-prone had been echoed in the daily press throughout the week as it became clear there would be a large turnout in Glenwood.

Gerry Blonigan of the National Farmers Organization denounced the press attacks. "But why do they need the police here? What's the crime? The real crime is that farmers aren't getting a fair price. And we have to stand together to prevent that crime," he said.

Jesse Jackson was the featured speaker at the rally. Press reports implied that it was Jackson's presence and plans to ask Minnesota governor Rudy Perpich to appear that had influenced Travelers' decision to postpone the sale again. But speakers and supporters at the rally celebrated the fact that it was preparations for a big turnout that really scored the victory.

Jackson had met with both Minneapolis mayor Don Fraser and Governor Perpich

while in Minnesota. Jackson defended Perpich's refusal to declare a foreclosure moratorium saying, "We have something more important than a moratorium — his personal support of this coalition."

Among those present were union members from the United Steelworkers; the International Association of Machinists; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; and the International Union of Electronic Workers. Many unionists brought messages of support and signatures on petitions circulated in plants in Minneapolis-St. Paul. One IUE local had sent a resolution with over 400 signatures calling on labor to unite with farmers in the fight for a moratorium on foreclosures and against the drive to destroy the unions.

Jim Guyette, president of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers, likened the farmers' struggle to the fight by meatpacking workers in Austin, Min-

nesota, against Hormel. "Like you we have chosen to fight back," he said. "The corporations, banks, insurance companies steal from you. And they steal our wages. Theft is a crime. We're here today to put an end to crime."

Speakers from farm organizations blasted the refusal of the state legislature to pass a foreclosure moratorium bill. Norman Larson, speaking for Groundswell said, "We will not stand idly by and watch the state and federal government play games with farmers anymore." He urged supporters to join a car convoy travelling to the state capitol after the rally to mass lobby for a moratorium bill and "let them know we mean business." He called for the "people's moratorium" on foreclosures to continue in the absence of such legislation.

Because of the pressure mounted, Travelers has agreed, for now, to negotiate with the Langmans as well as several other farmers in the area.

2,000 protest foreclosure

BY KATHIE FITZGERALD

PLATTSBURG, Mo. — Close to 2,000 farmers, unionists, and civil-rights activists gathered here April 8 to protest the sale of the remaining land and home of Perry Wilson, Sr., a 73-year-old farmer. The bulk of Wilson's land, 700 acres, was sold on March 15. That sale ended when the state troopers attacked the crowd of 1,000, arresting eight demonstrators and injuring about a dozen.

Despite the media's attempts to blame the March 15 police attack on the protestors and rumors of mass arrest at the April 8 rally, the crowd was larger at this action than at the previous one. In addition to more farmers, there were more Blacks and unionists from the United Auto Workers

(UAW), the United Steelworkers, the International Association of Machinists, the Communication Workers of America, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

State troopers in riot gear set up a police line blocking the courthouse steps where the sale was to take place. Inside the courthouse were an additional 150 troopers. This reporter saw M-16 machine guns and police dogs.

Monitors composed of farmers, unionists, and civil-rights activists formed a line between the police and the crowd. Roger Allison, of the North American Farm Alliance (NAFA) and chair for the rally, told the crowd that no violence would come from the protestors.

The rally speakers reflected the growing alliance of farmers, unionists, and civil-rights activists. In addition to farm leaders such as Merle Hansen, president of the NAFA, and Marvin Porter of Missouri Groundswell, other speakers included Rev. Mac Charles Jones, chairperson of Kansas City Operation PUSH, and Matt Snell, chairperson of the Kansas City UAW Community Action Program Council.

The growing unity among farmers, unionists, and Blacks was echoed in a number of speeches. Rev. Dave Ostendorf of Iowa Farm Unity told the crowd, "This gathering here today is a sign of hope. Standing here rural and city, farmer and labor, Black, white, and Brown, and we're saying we're not going to take it any more. What we can't take is our government spending billions of dollars to kill people. We need corn in our silos, not those damnable missiles. What we can't take is farm-

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Fund helps us expand news team in Nicaragua

BY PAT GROGAN

We are happy to announce that we are expanding our *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* bureau in Nicaragua.

Bill Gretter, a long-time member of the Socialist Workers Party, will be joining José G. Pérez and Ellen Kratka as the third member of our reporting team in Nicaragua. Gretter went to Nicaragua last January as a *brigadista* to help with the coffee harvest.

Ever since the triumph of the Nicaraguan revolution in 1979, we have had a bureau in Nicaragua. It has brought our readers the most complete news, interviews, speeches, features, and first-hand reports on the unfolding revolution.

The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are the only publications on the left with a full-time press bureau in Nicaragua. Just looking over the coverage we have run from our Nicaragua bureau in the last few months drives home how invaluable it is.

While Reagan was calling the *contras* (counterrevolutionaries) "freedom fighters," we ran an interview with two young Nicaraguan peasants who had been kidnap-

ped by the *contras*. Their story of terror and rape at the hands of the U.S.-financed and -armed mercenaries told the truth about the *contras* in a way that no reporting from afar could accomplish.

The same is true of our other reporting. In recent months, for example, we have carried firsthand reports on Fidel Castro's trip to Nicaragua, major speeches by Sandinista leaders on the economy, on the mobilization of the workers and peasants against the U.S.-organized *contra* war, on a conference of Nicaraguan Miskito Indian organizations, to name just a few.

This costs a lot of money. But we think it is worth every penny to be able to print the truth about the Nicaraguan revolution. And we know that our readers, and the many people who depend on reports from our bureau to keep abreast of events in Nicaragua, agree with us.

As the U.S. steps up its war against Nicaragua, and as the revolution deepens, our job becomes even more important.

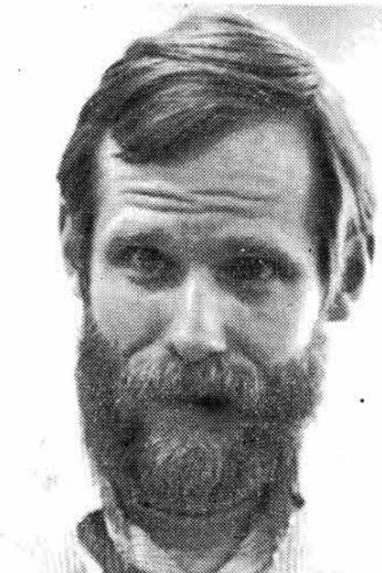
Opposition to the U.S. war in Central America, and opposition to U.S. government backing for the vicious apartheid re-

gime in South Africa, is growing. This is shown by the support for the April 20 anti-war actions and numerous anti-apartheid protests around the country. This means that more and more workers, farmers, students, Blacks, Latinos, and women's rights fighters are looking for a newspaper that tells the truth. For example, last week 100 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold at the student anti-apartheid protest at Columbia University and 125 copies were sold at the anti-apartheid actions at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Last week we appealed to our readers to contact us with pledges to the fund drive that can be paid off in installments through June 15. We have started to get a good response with our readers in California leading the way. For example, *Militant* supporters — members of the International Association of Machinists — at the FMC armored personnel carrier plant in San Jose, California, have pledged \$1,000.

Help us to continue providing in-depth coverage of the Nicaraguan revolution from our expanded bureau by sending us what you can today, and contacting us with a pledge to the drive.

<p>In the March 22 issue of the <i>Militant</i>, we launched the Socialist Publication Fund with the goal of raising \$75,000 by June 15.</p> <p>A major purpose of the fund is to help finance publication of the <i>Militant</i> and our Spanish-language sister publication <i>Perspectiva Mundial</i> and other socialist publication projects.</p> <p>Checks should be made out to: Socialist Publication Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, NY 10014.</p> <p>Enclosed is my contribution to the Socialist Publication Fund of \$ _____</p> <p>I pledge a contribution of \$ _____ to the Socialist Publication Fund to be paid by _____</p> <p>Name _____</p> <p>Address _____</p> <p>City _____ State _____ Zip _____</p> <p>Phone _____</p> <p>Organization/Union _____</p>	<p>\$75,000</p> <p>Collected: \$5,100</p>
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Bill Gretter

Militant/Cindy Jaquith

National fund set up to defend Kan. farmers charged in protests

Four Kansas farmers face criminal charges stemming from a protest against the forced sale of the farm of David and Virginia Jensen in Gove, Kansas, on February 15. The charges were filed on April 3.

At the protest, 100 farmers attempted to stop the sole bid offered by the Federal Loan Bank of Wichita, which had foreclosed on the Jensens' land. Those charged include Darrell and Margaret Ringer of Quinter, Kansas; Harvey Both; and David Jensen. They have been charged with obstruction of justice, incitement to riot, and battery against a law enforcement officer. A hearing is set for April 22.

Darrell Ringer is a leader of the American Agriculture Movement and the North American Farm Alliance (NAFA). He termed the charges "frivolous" and "malicious." Ringer said, "If they would charge obstruction of justice, I'd accept the charge." Margaret Ringer added, "It is imperative that we defend the rights of farmers and our supporters to protest injustice and violence against farm families."

A national defense fund has been established. For more information on the case, contact the North American Farm Alliance, Box 2502, Ames, Iowa 50010, or call NAFA at (515) 232-1008.

Salvadoran elections: cover for U.S. war

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they differed was over how best to accomplish their common goal.

Elections 'Made in USA'

Washington kept a lower profile during these elections than during the 1984 presidential race, where Democrats and Republicans alike openly backed Duarte — financially and politically. Despite rumors that the U.S. embassy in El Salvador supported Duarte's opponents this time around, Washington was clearly pleased with the PDC's victory. In an April 4 news conference Reagan declared, "Democracy and freedom are winning in El Salvador. President Duarte is pulling his country together and enjoys wide support from the people."

The fact that Washington's involvement was less visible in this election does not change the fact that the U.S. government played a big role in the victory of the PDC. A theme of the PDC's campaign in the March 31 elections was the boast that Duarte had succeeded in getting \$1.2 billion in foreign aid this year. A full-page newspaper ad for the Christian Democrats featured a photo of a PDC government official receiving money from U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering.

Washington has been bankrolling Duarte's government to the tune of a whopping \$1.5 million per day. And it has been promoting his image internationally as a champion of peace and democracy.

Democratic elections?

Like its 1982 and 1984 predecessors, this round of elections was far from being democratic.

They were held under a state of siege — instituted by Duarte when he headed the government in 1980.

Death squads linked to government security forces — squads that the CIA helped set up — operate with impunity, murdering thousands.

Although the legal penalty for not voting was eliminated this year, all Salvadorans must carry identity cards which are stamped when they vote. Not having a stamped card can get you in trouble if stopped by security forces.

Leading up to the elections and during

them, the army mobilized 10,000 troops under the phony cover of defending the polls against alleged threats of violence by the FMLN.

State-organized terror made it impossible for popular forces to participate in the elections. The FMLN called them a farce.

'Won't solve fundamental problems'

A February 23 broadcast on the FMLN's radio station, Radio Venceremos, explained, "None of the political parties that are participating in the next electoral process have presented a serious social, economic, and political plan to solve the fundamental problems of the country."

During the elections, the rebels distributed a statement repeating the FMLN-FDR's long-standing call for a dialogue with the government. Rebel forces later proposed April 21 as the date for a meeting with the regime to continue the talks that Duarte suspended last November. To date, his regime has not responded to the proposal.

Many of those who cast their vote for Duarte did so, no doubt, as a protest vote against D'Aubuisson and his death squads. The key to the PDC's victory, however, appeared to be the Duarte government's two meetings with the FMLN-FDR last year, and its promises to negotiate an end to the war.

Despite government threats and intimidation designed to get people to vote, the turnout for this election was down one-third from what it was in 1984 — less than 1 million people voted this time compared to the government's figure of 1.4 million in 1984.

It appears that a major offensive by the army before the elections resulted in voting taking place in several areas controlled by the FMLN, including in the northern department of Chalatenango. According to the *New York Times*, however, elections were not held in at least 10 percent of the towns in El Salvador. These are in areas controlled by the rebels.

Unionists condemn PDC

In the 1984 elections, the government was not able to organize elections in 91 of the 262 municipalities, 32 of which were in

the FMLN-controlled zones in Chalatenango, and the rest in the eastern provinces.

A statement on the situation facing Salvadoran workers, which also discussed the elections, was published as a paid advertisement in the Jan. 23, 1985, issue of the Salvadoran daily *El Mundo*. It was signed by four trade union federations, including the National Trade Union Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS); the United Workers' Federation of El Salvador (FUSS); Federation of Food Industry, Garment and Textile Workers Union (FESTIAVTSCES); Federation of Public and Municipal Employees Unions (FUSEPM); and three individual unions. (The entire text of the statement is reprinted in the current issue of *Intercontinental Press*. See ad on page 6.)

Referring back to the last time Duarte was in the government, the unions explained, "five years ago, human rights and curtailment of freedom reached a monstrous level. The situation has grown even worse in recent weeks, above and beyond an already permanent state of siege that has caused the suspension of all civil liberties, although it will never be possible to suspend our will to live in freedom. There is nothing new in the abuse that is being leveled by the government against the organized expression of the people."

Pointing to the influx of U.S. aid, the statement explained, "Dollars have never poured into the country the way they're pouring in today; and all the same, there are no medical supplies or services, no raw materials, no government expenditures for education, nor anything else of the sort."

The PDC "is not being kept in power by the people, but rather by the United States Embassy."

The elections, the ad said, are "a giant circus." They represent "no political or democratic advance.... We continue to reject any elections for as long as the present state of violence and danger continues."

To the phony elections, the union document counterposed a "dialogue" between the government and the rebel forces in order to find a "negotiated political solution."

stated, "among them the lives of ex-Vice-minister of Defense Col. Francisco Adolfo Castillo, and also well-known murderers such as Napoleón Medina Garay."

The FMLN statement called on the Catholic Church and human rights organizations to investigate the case and press the army for an explanation of its treatment of the two activists.

"We call upon the international solidarity movement to develop an extensive campaign to secure the release of Commander Yanet Samour Hasbun 'Filomena' and compañera Maximina Reyes Villatoro," the communiqué concluded. Amnesty International has also issued an urgent action call on this case.

Protest letters and telegrams should be sent to: President José Napoleón Duarte, Casa Presidencial, San Salvador, El Salvador; and Gen. Onecifero Blandon, Jefe de Estado Mayor, Estado Mayor de las Fuerzas Armadas, San Salvador, El Salvador.



Salvador Alert
Commander Yanet Samour Hasbun

"Peace," the union statement said, "should not be seen simply as an end to the conflict, but rather should be sought in the solution of the country's problems. Peace in this sense is what the people want. We seek a just peace, a peace that brings humiliation to no one. But the roots of the conflict lie in social injustice."

Washington steps up war

Many capitalist commentators have feigned surprise at the army brass' refusal to back their ultrarightist friends' demand to nullify the elections. But this is a case of self-interest. Duarte has headed the government for almost a year now. Not one soldier has been brought to trial for their crimes, despite Duarte's campaign promises to put an end to the army's wholesale violations of human rights.

But more importantly, the "peacemaker" Duarte has presided over a major escalation of the money and matériel going to the military from Washington. His "democratic" image has facilitated Washington's ability to pour in massive amounts of money and weapons, as well as stepping up the number of U.S. military personnel on the scene.

Washington now has more than double the congressional limit of 55 military "advisers" in El Salvador. A big part of their job is trying to force the thousands of worker and peasant conscripts — many of whom don't want to fight to defend the neocolonial landlord regime — into combating the rebel forces.

The escalation of the government's air war — that is, indiscriminate bombing of the population in areas controlled by the FMLN — is a key part of the army's attempt to try to reverse its sagging fortunes. Fragmentation bombs, white phosphorus bombs, and napalm-like substances have all been used.

Deadliest weapons in Central America

Even more deadly are the helicopter gunships that Washington has been providing. A delivery of U.S. weapons earlier this year included three A-37 "dragonfly" jets, six Huey helicopters, and four Hughes choppers outfitted with Gatling guns that can fire 5,000-6,000 rounds per minute.

Human rights organizations in El Salvador issued a statement denouncing the delivery and urging the government to begin negotiations with the FMLN-FDR, rather than escalate the war.

Despite their superior numbers and weapons, Salvadoran army casualties are running high. In July 1984 the army announced it had suffered a total of 6,680 casualties in the last year. At the end of 1984, Radio Venceremos reported 5,286 government soldiers were killed or wounded during 1984.

'Hide your sons'

In an attempt to dramatically increase the size of the government's 50,000-man army, a nationwide conscription program has been started. The campaign has involved raids of discotheques, athletic fields, churches, hospitals, and playgrounds.

The Committee of Mothers and Relatives of Prisoners, Disappeared and Politically Murdered published an ad in *El Mundo* which called on "the parents of draft-age youths to hide their sons, so that they will not be sent to battle zones where they will die or be maimed at the whim of those who abet war instead of human solidarity."

Washington's allies have also increased their aid to the regime. The British and Belgian governments have agreed to train Salvadoran military officers. Some are also headed for the West Bank to receive training from the Israeli government — an expert in brutal "counterinsurgency" methods. And the pro-imperialist regime in Taiwan is teaching psychological warfare techniques to several Salvadoran officers.

Honduras pitches in

An ominous new escalation of the war was described in an article in the March 24 *Granma Weekly Review*, published in Havana, Cuba.

"The Salvadoran regime has started a new offensive against the guerrillas that includes thousands of troops supported by artillery, fighter planes, and infantry units of the Honduran army. The joint operation is

Demand release of freedom fighters

The Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador, along with international solidarity organizations, have initiated an emergency campaign to free two members of the FMLN being held by the Salvadoran army.

Yanet Samour Hasbun, 34, (known as Commander Filomena) and Maximina Reyes Villatoro, 26, were captured on Dec. 30, 1984, by members of the National Guard in the city of San Miguel. After being interrogated and tortured for three days at National Guard headquarters in San Miguel, the two women were transferred on January 2 to the custody of the Intelligence Division of the army's Central High Command under Gen. Onecifero Blandon. There they have continued to be subjected to physical and psychological torture.

Neither of the prisoners has been granted any kind of hearing before a court of law, and the army officially denies their capture. This makes the threat to their lives even greater.

Commander Filomena, a former university student, is a member of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Army-Party of the Salvadoran Revolution (ERP-PRS), a component of the FMLN.

A communiqué concerning this case, broadcast on the FMLN's Radio Venceremos on January 21, pointed out that the High Command has been responsible for violations of prisoners' rights. The FMLN, on the other hand, respects those rights when it captures government soldiers.

"Our forces have respected the lives of thousands of captured soldiers, officers as well as enlisted men," the communiqué

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concentrated in the mountain areas of Chalatenango and Morazán departments, the FMLN's main strongholds, and was approved by the High Command of the U.S. troops stationed in Central America.

"The FMLN and different political organizations in Honduras have repeatedly denounced the participation of Honduran troops in actions against the Salvadoran guerrillas.

"Radio Venceremos, the official voice of the FMLN, warned that the Honduran army's participation in these actions is a dangerous step toward regionalization of the Salvadoran conflict."

Central America

Why is Washington committing such big resources to El Salvador?

Because its surrogate army and hand-picked government have not been able to politically or militarily defeat the popular opposition. The FMLN-FDR's program for national liberation, social justice, and an end to government repression is supported by a broad layer of the country's workers and peasants.

But this is no small question for the U.S. government, which represents the tiny handful of superrich families that have investments in El Salvador.

Exxon, Westinghouse, Texaco, Alcoa, U.S. Steel, and other big U.S. companies all rake in big profits off the sweat and blood of El Salvador's workers and peasants. Salvadoran government repression is designed to prevent any challenge to the imperialist status quo.

It's not just to ensure the flow of these profits that fuels Washington's intervention in El Salvador, however. It's also related to broader political developments in Central America.

The U.S. imperialists have traditionally considered Latin America and the Caribbean their backyards — to economically dominate and militarily bully.

The revolutionary victory in Cuba in 1959 and the revolutions in Grenada and Nicaragua in 1979 challenged U.S. domination of the region.

But Washington cannot tolerate the example set by this forward march of the oppressed and exploited. That's why Washington invaded Grenada in 1983, why it has organized an army to overthrow the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, and why it is intervening in El Salvador.

The fact that the Salvadoran Army can't do the job means that Washington has to more and more take over direct command of the military while it props up the government.

This U.S. intervention puts a formidable obstacle in the path of the workers and peasants of El Salvador. It makes the struggle to overthrow the landlord-capitalist regime and establish rule by the workers and peasants much more difficult and costly.

Washington's attempt to paint a democratic facade on El Salvador's bloody dictatorship, and the army's stepped-up military offensive, have dealt some blows to the FMLN. But the revolutionary forces have responded by increasing their political and military activity in the south and east of the country, especially in the area of the capital city of San Salvador.

This coincides with an upturn in public protest activity in San Salvador by the unions, organizations involved in defense of democratic rights, and peasants fighting for land.

FMLN activity in San Salvador

The FMLN briefly took over six radio stations in San Salvador on February 6, forcing them to broadcast a taped message criticizing the Salvadoran and U.S. governments.

As part of their campaign of economic sabotage against the ruling oligarchy, the FMLN dynamited electrical facilities three times in February alone. On February 12 they were able to black out 75 percent of San Salvador and cause blackouts in 10 of 14 provinces.

On February 20, in the first military confrontation in the capital in two years, the FMLN attacked a National Police truck in downtown San Salvador, touching off two hours of scattered fighting. The attack left



Salvador Alert

Demonstration by the Committee of Mothers of the Disappeared in El Salvador demanding release of political prisoners.

three policemen dead and dozens wounded.

An FMLN ban on highway travel announced that same day cut traffic 75 percent in the northern part of the country and 60 percent in the east.

The FMLN launched a midnight assault on March 16 on the major telecommunications station which is atop a volcano that overlooks San Salvador. Heavy damage was inflicted on the station.

This volcano was not previously known for FMLN activity, yet the rebels were able to have a guerrilla force of 400 move artillery up the slopes without being detected.

Leading up to the elections, the FMLN also carried out armed actions against 20 mayors' offices, which are the seats of the government's civil defense forces. According to the government, the army suffered 220 casualties in the pre-election period.

Unions demand higher wages, 'dialogue'

"The popular movement is continuing its renewed activity in spite of the desperate repressive actions of the regime. To the firings, assassinations, seizures and militarization of workplaces, the people are responding with higher levels of participation in the fight for their historic demands," explained an article in the March 18-24 issue of *Guazapa*, an FMLN paper published in Nicaragua.

These demands include: higher wages, better hospital service, demilitarization of the workplaces, jobs, an end to the cancellation of salaries and bonuses, respect for human rights, freedom for political prisoners, and continuation of the talks with the FMLN-FDR.

So far this year, there have been strikes by bank workers, teachers, garment workers, farm workers, transport workers, fishermen, agricultural workers, and doctors, *Guazapa* reported.

The actions are fueled by the skyrocketing inflation — which for food reaches into the triple-digit figures — and the 38 percent rate of unemployment and equal rate of underemployment.

On March 5 nearly 30,000 teachers went on strike demanding payment of their February salaries. Sixteen hundred members of the National Association of Salvadoran Teachers (ANDES) rallied in San Salvador to fight for their demands which also include the construction of more hospitals and an increase in wages.

On March 13 more than 4,000 employees of the waterworks struck, demanding a wage increase and continuation of the dialogue with the FMLN-FDR. The next day the National Police forced their way into the waterworks. The union then ended its strike.

More than 2,000 bank employees also

struck demanding the return of two union leaders kidnapped by the police. They have received solidarity from many other unions.

The government's response to the wave of strikes has been to accuse the unions of trying to sabotage the economy. These thinly veiled threats have been used to justify intensified repression against union leaders and members.

Other public protests have also taken place recently in San Salvador.

More than 12,000 members of agricultural cooperatives marched in the capital to demand credits and fair prices for their products, as well as a government dialogue with the rebel forces.

On March 24 there was a march of several thousand through San Salvador to commemorate the 1980 slaying of Archbishop Oscar Romero at the hands of death squads while he was saying mass. No one was ever brought to justice for the murder. The crowd demanded the reopening of the investigation into the killing.

The latest round of elections in El Salvador settled nothing. The U.S. war against the Salvadoran people is going to continue to escalate. It's only through the mass struggles of the workers and peasants, being waged in the urban and rural areas, that peace and justice will eventually be won.

Jailed sanctuary activist supports Marroquín

The letter reprinted below was received by Héctor Marroquín from Jack Elder, the sanctuary worker who was recently sentenced to a year in prison for aiding refugees from the U.S.-backed terror in El Salvador and Guatemala.

Marroquín, a Mexican-born socialist, is fighting deportation by the U.S. government because of his opposition to the U.S. war in Central America, his defense of the rights of immigrants and refugees, and because of his socialist ideas.

On March 3, Marroquín wrote to Elder, expressing his "solidarity in your fight against the government's attempts to railroad you, and many other sanctuary activists, to prison.

"The victimization of sanctuary activists by the government is aimed at setting dangerous precedents, which could be used against any organization and individual which takes a stand in support of Central American refugees in the United States," Marroquín wrote. "It could include labor unions, Black, Latino, and women's organizations, as well as solidarity groups.

"It is no surprise to me that the same [U.S.] government which was behind the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero, the killings of a number of North American nuns, and the death, torture, mutilation, imprisonment, and disappearance of more than 50,000 Salvadorans... is today deporting these Salvadoran refugees, and attempting to jail those like you who stand up in defense of their rights," Marroquín wrote to Elder.

"Anyone concerned for the defense of basic democratic rights, opposed to the racist victimization of immigrants... and to the U.S. war in Central America, should solidarize in your struggle."

* * *

Dear Hector,

Thank you very much for your articulate and gracious letter of March 3. I appreciate your support and understanding of what the real issues are in this case. I also wish to express my support for your own struggle

to remain in this country in spite of pressure from the INS [Immigration and Naturalization Service] to get you to leave.

Back in San Antonio, Texas, several years ago, I served as an interpreter for Ana Estela Guevara, a Salvadoran refugee who was on a panel with you at the West Side Multi-Service Center.

It's good to know there are many of us committed to the struggle for justice and that we plan to persevere in that struggle.

Best,
Jack Elder

Indictment dropped against killer-cop

On April 12, a New York State Supreme Court judge dismissed the indictment of a cop who killed an elderly Black woman while evicting her from a Bronx apartment.

The indictment of the cop, Stephen Sullivan, who fired two shotgun blasts into Eleanor Bumpurs — blowing off her hand with the first shot, killing her with the second — by a Bronx grand jury led to a right-wing demonstration by cops in February.

Judge Vincent A. Vitale made his decision solely on the information provided by the cops. They said the 66-year-old Bumpurs, who was in poor health, made "repeated threats" after they burst into her apartment. Sullivan said Bumpurs waved a large knife and he shot her to protect his fellow cops.

The judge ruled that Sullivan's action

was "in conformity with the guidelines and procedures outlined" in the police department, and therefore Sullivan could not be prosecuted.

Mary Bumpurs, one of Eleanor Bumpurs' seven children, told the press, "The judge and the police department are saying, 'If you're poor, if you're Black, then there's no justice.'"

Andrea González, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City, told the *Militant* that "Mary Bumpurs is right. The courts, backed by Mayor Edward Koch, have given the cops a green light to shoot and kill Blacks and Puerto Ricans in the city.

"We must demand justice. Sullivan should be tried and jailed for his brutal killing."

Nicaragua rejects Reagan's phony peace plan

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Nicaragua's defense minister Humberto Ortega has rejected Pres. Ronald Reagan's phony "peace" plan, which demands that the Nicaraguan government lay down its arms and negotiate with CIA-sponsored counterrevolutionaries (*contras*).

"We will never negotiate with the genocidal mercenaries who yesterday murdered our people and today continue massacring our children, our youth, our workers," he said.

A member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), Ortega declared that the U.S. government had no right to dictate to the people of Nicaragua what kind of government or revolution they should have.

"We are making a revolution, and if we want to make any kind of revolution, with whatever name, that is our right as Nicaraguans," Ortega said. "Nobody from abroad has a right to meddle in what we want to do."

"We are willing, Mr. Reagan, to run the gravest risks, but Nicaragua will continue to be Sandinista, independent, revolutionary, anti-imperialist: of the poor, by the poor, for the poor."

The Nicaraguan leader made his remarks at an April 11 ceremony marking the formation of three new army combat units. The ceremony took place in the city of Ocotal, near the border with Honduras.

Ortega said that Reagan's so-called peace plan "seeks to stop the relentless advance of the Sandinista People's Army against the mercenary Somozaist forces throughout the country." Sandinista leaders often refer to the CIA's mercenary army as Somozaist because it is led by former members of the National Guard of overthrown dictator Anastasio Somoza.

"What does Reagan really want with this maneuver?" Ortega asked. "He wants to give a breather to the hard-pressed mercenary forces."

"We won't fall into Reagan's trap. We won't negotiate with those committing genocide against the people," Ortega said. "And much less are we going to negotiate with these mercenaries precisely when they are in the process of being defeated."

Ortega revealed that since the beginning of the year the *contras* have suffered 1,200 casualties, dead and wounded. In addition, more than 1,000 members of the CIA-led forces have returned to Nicaragua since the beginning of the year under the terms of an

Ruling limits right of gov't to investigate federal employees

The right of the government to harass, intimidate, and victimize federal employees with "security" checks was narrowed by a federal judge.

In a decision announced April 3, Judge Louis Oberdorfer ruled the government acted illegally in ordering full security investigations for two federal civil rights lawyers whose jobs did not relate in any way to "national security."

The judge held that under a 1950 law, and a 1953 executive order by President Eisenhower, the government had the asserted legal right to designate certain positions "critical-sensitive" and order full FBI field investigations only of employees in such jobs.

Two Department of Education civil rights lawyers, Kathleen Flake and William Delaney, had filed suit challenging the government's right to investigate them.

The government responded that it had the right to investigate the two because their jobs were "important."

Judge Oberdorfer rejected this and ordered that Flake and Delaney be given promotions to which they were entitled.

In full investigations, FBI snoopers harass neighbors, landlords, friends, relatives, and otherwise stick their noses into private affairs that are none of the government's business.

The Justice Department has not indicated if it will appeal the decision.

amnesty offer. The *contra* forces are believed to number about 10,000.

While Nicaragua won't talk to the Somozaists, Ortega said that, "We are willing to talk this very day with those who cause this mercenary policy, with the U.S. administration, in the framework of Manzanillo." Negotiations between Nicaragua and the United States in Manzanillo, Mexico, were unilaterally broken off by the U.S. government at the beginning of the year.

"We are going to speak with those who are responsible for this situation, not with the puppets, not with the lackeys," he explained.

Last December, in a year-end message summing up the course of the war during 1984, Ortega said that in 1985 the revolution could make substantial progress toward totally wiping out the CIA's terrorists.

Since then Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce announced that the government would put up to 100,000 troops in the field to accomplish that goal.

In an article published in the FSLN daily *Barricada* on April 13, Ortega gave current figures for the overall size of the forces of

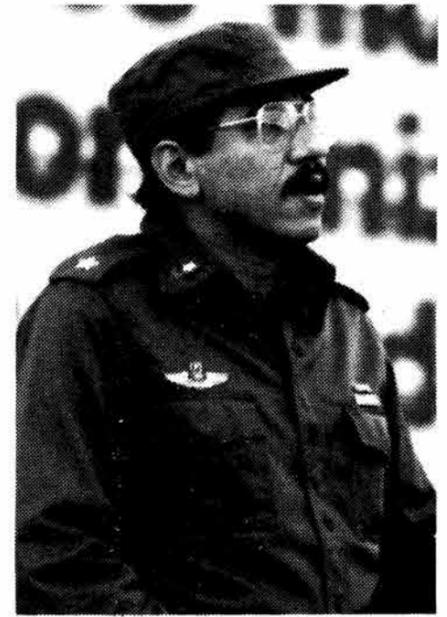
the Sandinista People's Army: nearly 50,000 regular troops, not counting the militia and reserves.

Of these, half or more are young men drafted during 1984. And the draft call-ups during the first few months of 1985 have been much larger and more frequent than during the previous year, although no overall figures have been released yet.

The growth of the army has been reflected in the creation of more and more BLIs, as the elite battalions of irregulars are called. Whereas a year and a half ago, there were only a couple of BLIs, today there are about a dozen, and they are carrying out much of the fighting against the mercenary forces.

At the April 11 Ocotal ceremony, Ortega presented combat banners to the new Ramón Raudales BLI, as well as to a new battalion and a new company of border patrol troops.

Calling the Sandinista forces "this army of workers, peasants, students," Ortega concluded his remarks by saying that "these weapons, sooner rather than later, will totally crush imperialism's mercenaries."



Militant/Michael Baumann
Nicaraguan Defense Minister Humberto Ortega rejected Reagan's demands. He said, "Nicaragua will continue to be Sandinista, independent, revolutionary, anti-imperialist."

Borge announces arrest of smugglers

BY ELLEN KRATKA

LEÓN, Nicaragua — Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge announced here March 30 that Nicaraguan State Security had just arrested a group of people involved in smuggling draft dodgers across the border to Honduras.

The Nicaraguan government established the military draft, the Patriotic Military Service (SMP), in September 1983. The draft was made necessary by the U.S. war against Nicaragua. While some youth have sought to evade the draft, the majority of young workers and farmers, like the population as a whole, support the draft as necessary to defend the country from U.S.-backed terrorist attacks. The Sandinista-led government has launched an educational campaign to explain the draft to young people and their families to curtail evasion.

Borge was speaking at the founding rally of the Patriotic Front of Mothers and Rela-

tives of Soldiers. The front serves as a means of support to the mothers as well as a statement to imperialism that these families stand with their children in defense of their country and revolution.

The rally was also a commemoration of the anniversary of the death of two young people in combat against the Somoza dictatorship, Luisa Amanda Espinosa and Enrique Lorente.

Borge openly confronted the fear and sadness of the mothers. "Let us not be demagogues," he said. Of course, the mothers are not happy to see their sons go off to war, he acknowledged. Instead of trying to convince the mothers to rejoice at their loss, "we have to convince the young people" to go and defend the country "even in the midst of their mothers' sadness," Borge urged to loud applause.

He then condemned the unscrupulous merchants and others who reap a huge profit by ferrying youths avoiding military duty across the border. He noted that 350 young men had fled the country from the León-Chinandega region evading Nicaragua's draft.

However, once in Honduras, the youths are nevertheless caught up in the very war they sought to escape. "Many of them are forced to go to the camps of the [counter-revolutionary] FDN [Nicaraguan Democratic Force]... Many have died in combat against their homeland."

Borge cited the example of José Ramón

Castillo, a young man from Chinandega province who died while fighting with the Five Pine Task Force of the FDN.

"And if it is painful to die for the homeland, it is shameful to die fighting against the homeland. It is shameful to die defending the interests of the enemies of the homeland," Borge said.

At an April 1 news conference in Managua, Capt. Oscar Loza of State Security presented three of the smugglers to the press. He announced that a total of 18 people had been arrested nationwide, mostly merchants and lawyers. Although there was no organized ring, he said, some of these, like Amparo Cajina, did have ties to the *contras* (the U.S.-backed terrorists) based in Honduras, as well as to the Honduran army. All were motivated by the hope of earning thousands if not millions of córdobas in this illegal business.

Juan Antonio Pastrán, a lawyer, said he had made 5,000 córdobas for the first trip he had arranged and had obtained a total of 85,000 córdobas for eight youths. (The official exchange rate is 28 córdobas to the dollar.) He, in turn, put families in contact with a merchant, Enrique Bravo (who was also present), who had sent 32 youths to Honduras in nine trips and had received 1.5 million córdobas for his efforts.

Also at this news conference was a young man, Giovanni Díaz, who had gone to Honduras to evade the draft. There, he

Continued on Page 12



Militant/Michael Baumann
Tomás Borge

Salvadoran unions' statement in 'IP'

Despite the fierce repression of the U.S.-backed Salvadoran dictatorship, the labor movement in that country is once again speaking out publicly.

On January 23, four union federations and several independent unions, with a combined membership of nearly 25,000, published a communiqué in a major Salvadoran newspaper on the overall political situation and the plight of working people. The April 29 *Intercontinental Press* carries the full text of that important document.

The unions — which include the National Trade Union Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS) — condemn the violations of human rights and ridicule the claims of the U.S. and Salvadoran governments that there has been an advance in the "democratic process." The elections, they say, are a "giant circus."

The key problems facing working people, according to the unions, are the high unemployment and inflation rates and the lack of decent

housing, education, health care, and social services — on top of the brutal repression.

They call for a continuation of the dialogue between the government and the guerrilla forces, but stress, "This war has its roots in profound social injustice; and only when the situation has been remedied will we be able to end the conflict."

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The Real Lessons of the Vietnam War

Nicaragua Takes Steps to Strengthen Military Defense **Salvadoran Unions Hit Human Rights Violations**

Why Vietnam defeated world's strongest imperialist power

BY WILL REISSNER

The approach of the tenth anniversary of the end of the Vietnam war has brought a flood of retrospectives in the big business media. But most ignore the key questions: Why did the Vietnamese working people win, not once but repeatedly, and always in the face of overwhelming numerical odds?

The Vietnamese established their first independent government in 1945, after the collapse of the Japanese occupation. That victory was snatched away by the return of French colonial troops.

But the Vietnamese liberation fighters fought back against the French. Under the leadership of the Communist Party-led Viet Minh Front, they had liberated most of Vietnam, north and south, by 1954, only to be robbed of the south at the bargaining table in Geneva.

In 1959, armed struggle resumed against the U.S.-financed regime in the south. By 1964, the National Liberation Front, led by the Communist Party, was on the verge of toppling the government. This time the Vietnamese revolutionaries were thwarted by the massive U.S. intervention.

But still they fought on. By 1973 they had forced the withdrawal of U.S. troops, and on April 30, 1975, they entered Saigon.

To this day, U.S. policy makers cannot explain the outcome of the war.

Back in 1964, Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap, Vietnam's military leader, explained the Vietnamese strategy. Armed struggle, Giap stressed, is simply an extension of political struggle. "The military line of our [Communist] Party derives from and always follows its political line."

The political goals of the revolution were national independence and land for the peasants, Giap stated.

These goals — which expressed the interests of the overwhelmingly peasant population — gave the revolution its incredible staying power. And organizational methods were adopted to insure that everyone had a place in the struggle for those goals.

In 1969, when there were 542,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam and U.S. warplanes were bombing the north and south, Giap calmly told an interviewer, "We won a military victory over the French, and we'll win it over the Americans, too."

Giap, the high school teacher turned strategist, explained that the U.S. forces "have plenty of arms, but arms don't do them any good, because the Vietnam war isn't just a military matter. . . . They don't reckon on the spirit of a people fighting for what they know is right, to save their country from invaders."

By the time Washington became a player on the Vietnamese stage, the Vietnamese Communist Party had already shown in action that it was committed to winning national liberation and carrying out a sweeping land reform.

Dating back to the 1930s, CP members

and leaders had stood up to ferocious repression to oppose the French.

CP leader Ho Chi Minh presented figures on the repression in a 1960 report: "speaking merely of the comrades in the Party Central Committee, 14 have been shot, guillotined or beaten to death in prison" since 1930. Of those who escaped death, Ho added, 31 Central Committee members had spent a total of 222 years in jail under the French.

By contrast, from start to finish, the leaders of the U.S.-backed regime in Saigon had played no role in the struggle against the French. The first ruler installed by Washington in 1954, Ngo Dinh Diem, spent the years of the war against the French in New Jersey and Belgium.

The last head of the Saigon government, Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu, had been a paratrooper in the French army, fighting his own people.

The differences were just as striking on the question of land reform.

CP: 'land to the tiller'

From the very beginning of the armed struggle against the French colonialists, in each area liberated by the CP-led forces, landholding patterns were revolutionized.

After the August 1945 revolution brought the CP to power for the first time, maximum rents were lowered to 25 percent of the crop, and peasant debts were abolished. Nearly one-fifth of all peasant households got plots of land.

During the guerrilla war against the French, the CP deepened the land reform in December 1953, further cutting the maximum rent and distributing more land.

By the time the French gave up in 1954, landlordism had been eliminated in the vast liberated areas, which included more than half the south. The population had been organized into peasant committees, youth organizations, women's groups, and other mass organizations.

After the French defeat in the 55-day battle of Dien Bien Phu, a peace treaty was signed in Geneva in 1954. Under the Geneva Agreement, Viet Minh soldiers regrouped north of the 17th parallel, while French troops regrouped south, prior to leaving the country. Elections were scheduled for 1956 to select a government for the whole country.

But the Eisenhower administration, which had been paying 78 percent of the French war budget in Indochina, moved to set up a separate state south of the 17th parallel. U.S. government documents reveal that even before the Geneva Agreement was signed, Washington had decided to install Diem as ruler of the south, and to pour in military aid to build a 234,000-man army there.

The 1956 elections were never held. Eisenhower himself admitted that if they had taken place as scheduled, "possibly 80 percent of the population would have voted

for the Communist Ho Chi Minh as their leader."

Diem: 'land to the landlord'

Diem instituted his own "land reform" in 1955, fixing maximum rents at 25 percent of the peasant's crop. But the real impact was to force peasants, who had been given their land by the Viet Minh, to resume payments to the landlords.

Protected by Diem's troops, the landlords returned to the countryside to collect the rents they had been unable to pocket while the Viet Minh were in control.

And even the maximum rent clauses were soon thrown by the wayside as landlords frequently demanded 40 to 50 percent of the crop.

Once Diem was firmly in control, one-quarter of 1 percent of the rural population owned 40 percent of the rice land, and 80 percent of the peasants were again paying rent in the south.

Diem's counterrevolution in the countryside required fierce repression to wipe out the mass organizations that had been built during the struggle against the French, and particular repression against the Communist Party, which was the backbone of the struggle.

It is estimated that in the years after 1955, about 90,000 CP supporters were executed and up to 100,000 were jailed.

In 1959 Diem's legislature passed Law 10-59, setting up special military tribunals to carry out immediate death sentences against anyone found "to hide a Communist or . . . become involved with a Communist."

CP fights back

In January 1959, the CP decided to organize armed struggle in the south. The first major armed action took place on Jan. 17, 1960, in Ben Tre.

With the renewal of armed struggle, the resistance to Diem's rule grew by leaps and bounds. In 1959 Diem began herding peasants into "agrovilles" — concentration camps in the countryside surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by government troops.

This program was later supplanted by the U.S.-designed "strategic hamlet" program. By 1962, the Saigon government had built 4,000 "strategic hamlets," containing 39 percent of South Vietnam's people.

The Pentagon also began spraying Agent Orange and other defoliants on the South Vietnamese countryside in 1961 to destroy the crops and woodlands used by pro-CP peasants and guerrillas.

In 1960, the Communist Party joined with other anti-Diem forces to form the National Liberation Front, which provided political leadership to the struggle and administered liberated areas.

Once the armed struggle resumed, Diem's regime was shaken to the core. By 1961, U.S. officials were admitting that Diem was close to collapse. As the regime continued to lose control of the countryside, the number of U.S. troops in Vietnam grew, from 685 at the end of 1960 to 16,000 at the time of Kennedy's death in 1963.

In 1963 the Kennedy administration organized a coup to topple Diem, who had become a totally isolated figure. But the change did not stabilize things for Washington. With pro-U.S. forces having no social base in Vietnam, power became a prize fought over by ambitious generals anxious to line their pockets.

In the first 20 months after Diem was murdered, there were 13 coups and 9 cabinets in Saigon.

All the while, the National Liberation Front grew in strength. By 1965, the Saigon regime admitted it controlled only 25 percent of the 16 million people in South Vietnam.

In trying to salvage the situation, Washington faced an insurmountable obstacle: the Vietnamese masses would not fight to defend a neocolonial landlord regime. In 1966 only one in seven youths ordered to report for military service actually showed up. Throughout the 1960s, of those in-



Victorious North Vietnamese troops in 1975.

ducted, one in three deserted!

With Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara reporting in March 1964 that the South Vietnamese regime was again on the "verge of total collapse," the Johnson administration decided that U.S. troops would have to play a direct role in combat. By the end of 1965, 184,000 U.S. soldiers were in South Vietnam, and U.S. warplanes were bombing the north and south on a daily basis.

For the next eight years, Washington wreaked untold havoc on Vietnam in an attempt to destroy the revolutionary forces. In addition to the gigantic military effort, Washington organized a far-reaching program of rural terrorism in hopes of destroying the NLF's political presence. From 1968 to 1972, the CIA-organized Phoenix Program, supervised by 650 Americans, took credit for 20,987 Communist cadres killed, 28,778 jailed, and 17,717 "reeducated."

Washington also had great success in driving the NLF's supporters out of the countryside. In 1964, just before the big U.S. escalation, 80 percent of South Vietnam's people lived in rural areas. By 1972, only 35 percent of the population was still in the countryside. Millions were driven from the land by the U.S. defoliation, the creation of "free fire zones," the bombing, and the military sweeps, and were forced into the cities or refugee camps, where they were dependent on U.S. hand-outs.

U.S. had to win, NLF had to survive

Yet the National Liberation Front was able to adapt and survive; and therefore it was able to prevail.

As a foreign occupation force, the U.S. military had to destroy the NLF's military forces and political infrastructure in order to win the war.

But the NLF as a local revolutionary movement with deep roots, needed only to outlast the U.S. intervention.

In 1946 Ho Chi Minh had warned the French: "You will kill ten of our men and we will kill one of yours. In the end it will be you who will tire of it."

That turned out to be true for the French, and for Washington too.

The tenacious resistance of the Vietnamese people, coupled with the mass antiwar movement that developed in the United States as U.S. casualties mounted, forced Washington to withdraw its troops in 1973.

Once Washington's troops were gone, the Vietnamese revolutionaries were able to finish off the neocolonial regime in less than two years, despite the continued flood of U.S. military aid to the Saigon army to the very end.

Even after U.S. troops left, the Saigon army used 18 times more shells than the NLF's forces, and had an absolute monopoly on air power with its nearly 2,000-plane air force.

One week before the total collapse of the Saigon army, Gen. Thieu resigned as president, abandoning his troops to go into exile with what the *Wall Street Journal* described as "a considerable fortune" in gold and antiques.

As he was leaving, Thieu lashed out at U.S. critics of his performance. "I would challenge the United States army," he said, "to do better than the South Vietnamese army without B-52s."

Thieu knew he could not put the same challenge to the NLF forces.

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Dominican revolution and U.S. invasion: what happened in '65

Lessons workers, farmers draw today

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

"April, April, April, we are going to repeat it."

This chant, heard these days at demonstrations and strikes against repression, unemployment, and hunger in the Dominican Republic, refers to the Dominican revolution that began April 24, 1965.

Although 20 years have passed since the revolution, for Dominican workers and farmers today being squeezed dry by the imperialists through the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the April revolution is a living part of their consciousness.

The April revolution was crushed by a gigantic U.S. invasion, involving at its height over 30,000 troops, along with the accompanying battleships, helicopters, tanks, jets, and other sophisticated armaments.

Except for seven months of Juan Bosch's bourgeois democratic government in 1963, the Dominican people had lived for 38 years under a brutal dictatorship. The Rafael Trujillo dictatorship — known as the *Trujillato* — was installed some years after the first U.S. invasion and occupation of the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924.

Even after Trujillo was assassinated in 1961, the Dominican people lived under the *Trujillato*, or the brutality of the dictatorship without the dictator for whom it was named. The Bosch government's short life ended with a coup by the *Trujillato* forces in September 1963, which set up the Donald Reid Cabral regime.

April revolution

The popular uprising in April 1965 was in response to widespread unemployment, poverty, and illiteracy caused by years of imperialist domination. One young rebel declared, "My God, all we want is the right to a democratic government and a chance to work."

The revolution began April 24, 1965, as a coup by a group of young officers to overthrow the Reid Cabral regime and restore Juan Bosch as the elected president.

Bosch, a leading liberal capitalist politician, was elected during a brief democratic interlude because he supported certain limited social reforms. With the 1963 coup, he went into exile in Puerto Rico. When the April revolution began, Bosch immediately hailed it. He prepared to return to his homeland and reestablish his government, but was barred by the U.S. government.

The Dominican working class and peasantry were without an independent revolutionary leadership when the revolution opened. The June 14 Movement (named after the date of the failed 1959 uprising against Trujillo), after years of functioning in clandestinity, its leaders only recently returning from exile, and its guerrilla force reduced through military setbacks, was too weak and politically divided to play this role. It was unable to put forward a program that could mobilize the oppressed classes on a national scale. This was especially a blow to the revolution in the countryside. The small farmers and farm workers, seeing no program addressed to their pressing needs, by and large sat out the revolution.

No preparations

Rafael "Fafa" Taveras, a leader of the June 14 Movement at that time, explained later in his book, *Testimonio de abril* (Testimony of April), that at the April 19 Central Committee meeting, just five days before the beginning of the revolution, the leadership of the June 14 Movement did not even put the question of the rumored coup on its agenda.

When the coup began, demonstrations were organized in the streets of the Dominican capital — Santo Domingo — demanding Bosch's return.

By Sunday, April 25, the dictatorship's

forces began attacking the stronghold of the revolution — the working class barrios of the capital. These forces bombarded those sections of the city by land, air, and sea.

The rebel officers, facing this onslaught, armed the people. By Sunday, it is estimated that some 20,000 people, including women and youths of 12 and 13, were armed. Gas stations in the capital gave away gasoline so that rebels could make Molotov cocktails.

Throughout Monday and Tuesday, April 26–27, a battle raged in Santo Domingo, the people armed with guns and homemade bombs facing jets and tanks. While suffering heavy losses, the people heroically fought the junta's army to a standstill.

Rebel officers divide

On April 27, after the people had suffered an unknown number of casualties, the rebel officers leading the revolution at that point split. One wing approached the U.S. embassy for a deal. Another wing refused to accept surrender.

With the split among the officers, the leadership fell to Col. Francisco Caamaño. Immediately after the split, Caamaño met with the leadership of the June 14 Movement. The remaining officers and the popular leaders began then to reorganize the rebel forces.

In the fighting on Wednesday, April 28, the rebels beat back the junta's forces. By 8:00 p.m., the U.S. ambassador to the Dominican Republic reported to Washington a "breakdown" of the junta's forces, which were "incapable of resisting." The ambassador wrote, "I recommend . . . armed intervention to restore order."

By Friday, April 30, after six days of fighting, the rebel forces had defeated the dictatorship's army.

Arrival of marines

That day, over 5,000 U.S. marines landed in Santo Domingo. They proceeded to rescue the Dominican army, which was without food or water, and set up an international zone to divide the rebels into two parts.

The U.S. government had originally said that it was intervening "to protect American lives." Since not a single U.S. citizen was harmed, this justification was later shifted to "fighting communism."

By the time the U.S. forces reached 14,000 on May 2, President Johnson told the U.S. people, "Meanwhile, the revolutionary movement took a tragic turn. Communist leaders, many of them trained in Cuba . . . joined the revolution. They took increasing control."

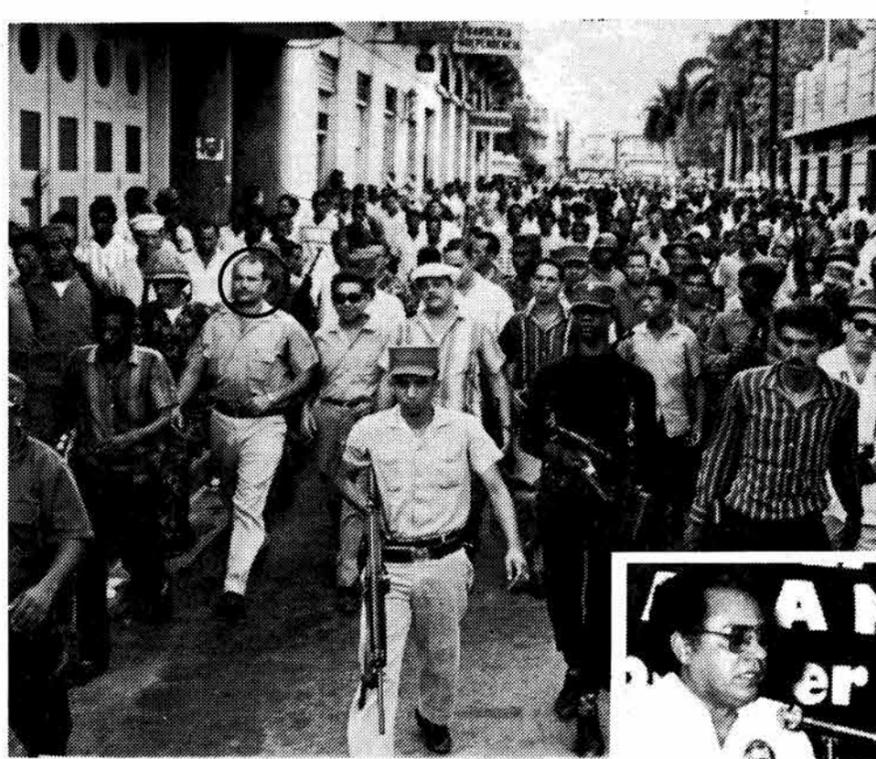
"And what began as a popular democratic revolution committed to democracy and social justice very shortly moved and was taken over and really seized and placed into the hands of a band of Communist conspirators. . . ."

"The American nationals cannot, must not and will not permit the establishment of another Communist government in the Western Hemisphere," Johnson said.

Popular revolution

The Dominican uprising was a popular revolution. Caamaño was a soldier who was fighting against a brutal dictatorship. He did not consider himself a socialist or Marxist at the time. It was Caamaño's valor before the powerful imperialist enemy, not his program during the 1965 revolution, that makes him today a symbol of the Dominican people's struggle. (Caamaño was killed in 1973 while attempting to establish a guerrilla movement to fight the proimperialist regime.)

The April uprising, a popular revolution, demanded only the restoration of the constitutional government. The people were asking only for their democratic rights. But this was too much for imperialism. Washington feared the possibility of the revolution succeeding and estab-



Caamaño (circled) with armed people in Santo Domingo in 1965. Rafael "Fafa" Taveras (insert), participant in 1965 revolution and today a Socialist Bloc leader, explains lessons of April revolution in his book, *Testimony of April*.

lishing a revolutionary government — a government like the one in Nicaragua today.

Caamaño becomes president

Meanwhile, on May 3, the members of the congress elected in 1963, the only elected congress, voted Caamaño president. This was agreed to by Juan Bosch, who was still in Puerto Rico.

Thousands of people gathered for his inauguration the following day. Caamaño told the crowd, "We want the United States troops to withdraw" so that "the nationalism of the Dominican people may not be converted into anti-North Americanism."

Within the next 48 hours, the number of U.S. troops grew to over 30,000. This overwhelming force was concentrated in the city of Santo Domingo. Later on a small number of troops from the proimperialist regimes of Brazil, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Costa Rica arrived to add an "inter-American" cover to the invasion.

During May and June, the U.S. government, under the guise of negotiating a "political settlement," formed a new junta and coordinated with its troops preparations for what it called "Operation Tiger," a plan to destroy the rebel stronghold.

Throughout this period, the city was divided — U.S. and junta troops holding one part and the armed people holding the other.

New York Times reporter Tad Szulc, in his book *Dominican Diary*, described life in the U.S.-held part of the city (which was also the richest part of the city) as one of chaos — with constant electrical blackouts, water shortages, and C-rations and Red Cross packages for food. But in the rebel-held section, despite the attacks life was orderly. Food was distributed, garbage collected and burned, and the wounded cared for.

"These types of activities," Rafael Taveras wrote, "trained a vast number of citizens to handle arms and taught them about the administrative functions of the state . . . how to organize the administration of the state, . . . and how to organize and plan production, that is to say, it gave the people a vision and a consciousness that they could not have obtained any other way."

"There was also fraternity, relations of general friendship and communication among the people. . . . During that time the constitutionalist [rebel] zone was a type of nursery for transforming human relations. . . ."

"All of this despite the limited political orientation under which this experience was being obtained. Remember that we were fighting to restore a democratic representative government within the framework of the Alliance for Progress. . . . Despite this limitation, the masses had been able to obtain an incalculable experience," Taveras wrote.

U.S. opens offensive

On June 15, the U.S. troops opened an offensive — bombarding the rebel section

of the city with mortar fire. Rebel casualties ran high. The U.S. troops kept up the attack for two days. Although unable to crush the rebels, the U.S. troops did take 50 blocks of rebel territory.

On August 29, U.S. troops again launched a surprise offensive against the rebels, bombarding their territory to force them to accept a new so-called civilian junta. The August 29 attack was so devastating that the hospitals and medical centers could not keep up with the wounded, and medical supplies ran out. On September 3, the rebels were forced to agree to the U.S. solution.

Some lessons

The Dominicans have paid a high price for the defeat of the April 1965 revolution. The U.S. political solution was the installation of the pro-U.S. Joaquín Balaguer regime (Balaguer had been part of the *Trujillato*). Those who participated in the revolution were hounded and forced into exile. For fourteen more years the Dominican working people suffered under another repressive regime.

Today, the Dominican government, while retreating from some of the worst repression of Balaguer, has, under the pressure of the International Monetary Fund, drastically cut wages and raised prices 100 percent or more. In human terms, this means many are without food and few receive medical care or education. When the people fight back, they are met with increasing violence. There are government crackdowns on the unions and other popular organizations almost daily.

Explaining the lessons of April 1965, Taveras said, "We saw then how the dominant classes are people without a country, without a nationality, people who will unite with the devil on behalf of their interests. . . ."

"But we also came to understand the immense capacity and heroism of the popular masses."

He continued that most of the fighters in the April war did not have a clear vision or program of what they were fighting for. They were not conscious fighters, with a conscious and steered unified leadership. The participants paid a tremendously high price for this lack of perspective — the price of a crushing defeat and continuing repression, Taveras explained.

The defeat of April, he continued, has shown Dominican revolutionaries the need to build forces capable to win the next revolutionary situation.

The U.S. government's intervention in the Dominican Republic met with mass opposition throughout Latin America. Demonstrations were reported in Peru, Argentina, Colombia, Venezuela, Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, and elsewhere.

Today, workers and farmers have political power in two countries in the Americas — Cuba and Nicaragua. Latin American workers and farmers are politically stronger because of this advance. That is one main reason why a U.S. invasion today, as Fidel Castro recently explained, "is to play with fire beside a powder keg."

Somoza's guard leads 'contras' in Nicaragua

Beating the drums for an escalation of the war against Nicaragua, Reagan made his now famous assertion that the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries — the *contras* — were the moral equivalent of the founding fathers. It would not have been too inconsistent if he had added, "And so was Adolf Hitler."

There is little dispute that the *contras* are led by former members of the Nicaraguan National Guard. Washington's principal underling among the *contras* is Enrique Bermúdez. Prior to the revolution, Bermúdez was the military attaché in the United States for the dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle, who was overthrown by the Nicaraguan people in 1979.

For many decades, the National Guard was an instrument for fastening a totalitarian dictatorship on the Nicaraguan people, maintaining the Somozas in power, and keeping Nicaragua subservient to U.S. economic and political interests.

Organized by U.S. Marine occupation forces in 1927, the Guard was feared and hated for its bloody repression.

A very informative Pathfinder Press pamphlet, *Nicaragua: An Introduction to the Sandinista Revolution*, offers a brief, useful account of the Somoza dictatorship. It was written by Arnold Weissberg, then a correspondent for the *Militant* in Nicaragua. The following are excerpts from the pamphlet.

* * *

This special armed force, called the National Guard, was set up in 1927, and at the beginning it was officered, equipped, trained and financed by the United States occupiers.

Its first Nicaraguan chief, who took the post in 1933, was Anastasio Somoza García. Somoza used the guard to make himself dictator.

For 45 years, the Somoza family and the National Guard wrote a history of blood and corruption. The guard was used to terrorize the rural population, break strikes and assassinate political enemies. Peasants were cruelly tortured, thousands of women raped, and oppositionists murdered in cold blood.

Anastasio Somoza García came to power as a man of modest means, but by the time of the overthrow of the Somoza dynasty in 1979, the family's wealth was estimated at \$400-500 million.

The Somozas controlled the only two meatpacking plants with export licenses, half the sugar mills, two-thirds of the commercial fishing, 40 percent of rice production, and the largest milk processing plant.

Five years of social progress

The truth is Somoza was bad, but . . . the Sandinistas are infinitely worse. — Ronald Reagan, April 15.

The venomous lie that the Sandinistas are "worse" than the blood-soaked dictator Somoza simply expresses the U.S. rulers' class hatred for a popularly based, democratic government that puts people before profits.

Despite the terrible legacy of the past, and despite the dirty war against it, the Sandinista-led Nicaraguan revolution is making significant social progress.

One of the most significant gains of the revolution has been the distribution of farm land to the peasants.

Prior to the revolution, big landowners held 50 percent of the arable land. That share has been reduced to 13 percent.

After the revolution, 5.7 million acres of arable land, 20 percent of the nation's total, was confiscated from the Somoza family and close associates. Most of that was turned into agricultural enterprises and state farms.

During the past two years, 10.6 million additional acres of land were distributed to 45,000 families.

With a government that supports the unions, not one that tries to break them, union membership has multiplied nearly nine times since 1979.

There are now almost 228,000 union members. More than a thousand union contracts are in force. For the first time in Nicaraguan history, agricultural workers, fishermen, miners, and domestic workers are organized.

The national steamship company and the national airline were both privately owned by the Somozas. They also owned a newspaper, two TV stations, and a radio station.

Under the Somozas, Nicaragua was a willing tool of Washington's foreign policy. The 1954 CIA-led invasion of Guatemala that overthrew that country's popularly elected government was organized in Nicaragua. And the 1961 invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs left from Nicaragua's east coast.

While the Somozas piled up wealth, the people of Nicaragua suffered. Schools, hospitals, even electricity and running water were things that most people could only dream about.

At the time the revolution triumphed in 1979, half the urban population was illiterate. The figure was much higher in rural areas.

The infant mortality rate was 130 per 1,000 live births (about nine times higher than in the U.S.) and a heartbreaking 330 per 1,000 in poorer neighborhoods. In other words, one of every three infants born to poor Nicaraguans died before the age of one.

A 1976 United Nations survey found that 57 percent of children under five were malnourished, and half the registered deaths were of children under five. Life expectancy was around 50 years.

Eighty-seven percent of the population

of Managua — the most developed city in the country — lacked one or more basic municipal services, such as running water, electricity, paved roads, or adequate sewers. Eighty percent had no running water. Only one house in ten had a decent roof.

Diseases went largely untreated. Half the sick received no medical care at all. More than 20,000 Nicaraguans suffered from advanced tuberculosis. In the first four months of 1974 alone, some 4,000 cases of malaria were reported among the urban population.

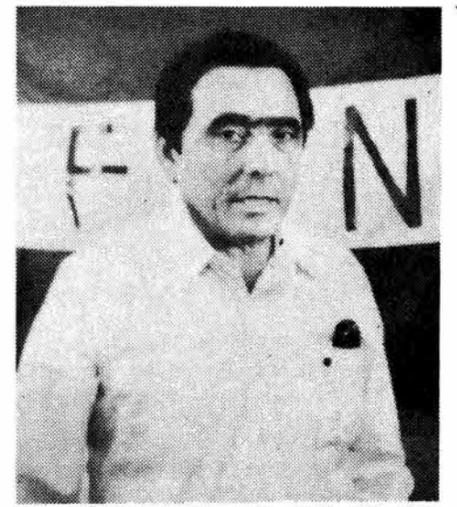
Education was a privilege reserved for the wealthy. In the mid-1970s, only 5 percent of the population had completed elementary school.

Conditions in the countryside were especially brutal. Many peasants had no access at all to health or education. The lopsided distribution of land ensured that the poor would get poorer and the rich richer.

Fewer than 2,000 families — 1.8 percent of those who owned land — owned almost half of all farmland, while the poorest 50 percent of the farmers had only 3.4 percent of the land.

In 1972, the average annual income of the poorer half of the rural population was *thirty-five dollars*.

Workers had few means at their disposal to fight for a better life. Only 6 percent of the workforce belonged to trade unions,



Bermúdez, leader of CIA-backed *contras*, was military attaché in United States for Nicaraguan dictator Somoza.

and these were scattered among six federations, one of which was controlled by the Somozas. Unemployment was over 30 percent nationally and reached 50 percent at times.

* * *
The moral equivalent of the founding fathers?

The facts on Sandinista arms buildup

BY HARRY RING

The Nicaraguans have the "largest and best equipped military force in Central America." They have built "a war machine" that "dwarfs the forces of all their neighbors combined."

That's according to President Reagan. It suggests the technique recommended by Hitler: If you make the lie big enough, people may believe it.

Certainly, Nicaragua has every right to build its armed forces. Some 10,000 *contras* (counterrevolutionaries) stand at their borders, armed and financed by Washington. Their regular, numerous forays into Nicaragua have claimed 4,000 lives so far.

Men, women, and children have died. Kidnap, torture, and rape are the mark of the *contras*.

But the available facts and figures about the scope and nature of the Nicaraguan

buildup confirm what a shameless fraud the president is.

A secret U.S. intelligence report, recently leaked, says the Nicaraguan buildup is "primarily defense-oriented."

It adds that the Nicaraguan air force is "one of the smallest and least capable in the region."

The Nicaraguan military "dwarfs" all its neighbors combined?

Here are some facts and figures presented in the March 26 *New York Times* by Miguel Acoca, a writer on Latin American affairs for the London *Observer*. He bases himself on figures compiled by the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London.

Acoca reports Nicaragua has a total of 61,800 fighters on active duty. El Salvador has a total force of 54,650 troops.

Guatemala has 54,000. Honduras has 23,000.

And Costa Rica has a well-trained, well-armed security force of 7,000.

That's a total of 138,650, as against Nicaragua's 61,800.

Nicaragua had a 1984 military budget of \$250 million.

El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala had a combined total of \$410 million.

That's exclusive of what they get from the United States.

Nicaragua has no modern craft in its air force except 24 planes and helicopters recently sent by the Soviet Union, for which as yet it has no pilots.

El Salvador has 59 combat planes and 65 combat helicopters.

Honduras has 16 fighter bombers — 12 of them supersonic — 20 helicopters, and at least 50 other warplanes.

Guatemala has 19 combat planes and two combat helicopters.

And all of this doesn't count the thousands of combat-ready U.S. GIs on virtual year-round maneuvers in Honduras.

The Nicaraguan military "dwarfs" its neighbors, Mr. Reagan?

Texas UFW hears Nicaraguan farmers

BY PAT FERNÁNDEZ AND STEVE WARSHALL

EDINBURG, Tx. — Nicaraguan ranchers Juan and Piedad Tijerino spoke to an audience of more than 80 people at Pan American University in this Rio Grande Valley community on March 21 on the last leg of their U.S. tour.

The campus meeting and press conference following it were sponsored by the United Farm Workers union (UFW), Border Association for Refugees from Central America (BARCA), and Valley Interreligious Task Force on Central America (VITCA).

The Tijerinos raise cattle and coffee and operate a dairy in northern Nicaragua. Juan Tijerino was a candidate on the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) slate in the 1984 elections. He was elected to the National Assembly and currently serves as third secretary of the assembly. Piedad Tijerino is a founding member of the national women's organization AMNLAE.

"We are here bringing a message of peace and solidarity to the American people," Juan Tijerino said. "We are sure that the American people love peace. On our tour we have met farmers and ranchers and we are very impressed with their efficiency. Like us they are very hard working and dedicated, but it saddens us to see the problems they are facing."

The Tijerinos told of the *contra*, (counterrevolutionary) terror and the U.S. backed war against Nicaragua, especially

its effects on Nicaraguan farmers and farm workers.

Tijerino continued, "The Reagan administration has already given the *contras* \$100 million and is asking for \$14 million more. Many North Americans through misinformation do not know what their tax money is used for."

The *contras* are responsible for the deaths of more than 8,000 Nicaraguans, Juan Tijerino explained. "The *contras* have outright murdered more than 1,500 non-combatants, including 48 women, 115 children, 150 technicians, and 800 campesinos [peasants]."

The Tijerinos were able to see the effects of the farm crisis here and they spoke about it at the meeting.

Piedad Tijerino told of a family in Wisconsin that had invited them to dinner. During the meal, the county sheriff delivered a notice of foreclosure to the family.

"I was very shaken by this experience," Piedad explained, "as it brought back memories of the terrible conditions we farmers faced under the tyranny of [former dictator Anastasio] Somoza. It hurts us to think of all the money that is being spent by the U.S. government to wage war against Nicaragua when it could be used to solve the problems of farmers here."

In concluding, Juan Tijerino expressed his belief that working people in the United States will resist the efforts of the U.S. government to intervene in Nicaragua. "The North American people will fight with us, because this is an unjust war."

Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution

Speeches by FSLN leaders: 1982-84

Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution. Edited by Bruce Marcus. Pathfinder Press, New York, 1985. 412 pages, \$7.95.

BY CINDY JAQUITH

In a March 1982 speech, Sergio Ramírez, now vice-president of Nicaragua, explained to his audience why the anthem of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) calls Yankees "the enemy of humanity."

"The 'Yankee' to whom the Sandinista anthem refers is that Yankee who has intervened in our country twice this century; he is the Yankee who drove our country into poverty, plundering our forests and

more than 40 other selections by Nicaraguan leaders, has just been published in a new and unique collection, *Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution*. The 412-page book is an invaluable weapon in the struggle to stop the U.S. war against Nicaragua. It brings to U.S. working people the truth about the revolution in Nicaragua, in the words of its most prominent leaders.

Pathfinder Press has launched a campaign to publicize the new book broadly in the United States and throughout the English-speaking world.

One quarter of the selections in the book have never appeared in either the *Militant* or *Intercontinental Press*, and some have been translated into English here for the first time.

The new volume is the sequel to Pathfinder's *Sandinistas Speak*, which carried the FSLN's original program from 1969 and speeches of FSLN leaders up through 1981.

Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution picks up where the earlier volume left off. Its selections begin in early 1982 and end in late 1984. They describe the escalating U.S.-backed *contra* war; the role of the Sandinista unions in defense and production; advances in agrarian reform, under which tens of thousands of peasants have received land; the progress of the FSLN in meeting the aspirations of Miskito Indians and winning them to the revolution; and the sharpening class struggle between the workers and peasants on one side, led by the FSLN, and the capitalists and big landowners on the other.

The book has selections from seven members of the FSLN National Directorate — Bayardo Arce, Tomás Borge, Luis Carrión, Daniel Ortega, Humberto Ortega, Víctor Tirado, and Jaime Wheelock.

Also included are pieces by Sergio Ramírez; Lucio Jiménez, general secretary of the FSLN-led Sandinista Workers Federation (CST); Daniel Núñez, president of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers; William Ramírez, minister of transportation; Ray Hooker, a leader of the regional government on the Atlantic Coast;

Magda Enríquez, a leader of the Nicaraguan women's association; and Carlos Fernando Chamorro, editor of the FSLN daily, *Barricada*.

The FSLN's 1984 "Plan of Struggle" is reprinted in full, as is a manifesto by Augusto César Sandino, the Nicaraguan general who drove out the U.S. Marines in 1933.

U.S. lies answered

You don't need to be a convinced supporter of the Nicaraguan revolution to be interested in this book. In fact, it should be required reading for working people trying to grapple with the maze of lies they hear about Nicaragua from Democratic and Republican politicians and the capitalist media.

In their speeches, the Nicaraguan leaders answer the U.S. lies about their revolution with the simple facts.

Is Nicaragua a threat to the "national security" of the United States? Read the December 1983 speech by Tomás Borge, Nicaraguan minister of the interior:

"Nicaragua is eighty-times smaller than the United States, and it has almost ninety times fewer inhabitants. The total cost of manufacturing the U.S. B-1 strategic bomber alone is sixty-two times greater than the annual budget of the Republic of Nicaragua. How can we be a threat to the national security of the United States?"

Have the Sandinistas stamped out democracy? Women's leader Magda Enríquez answers the question from the standpoint of the revolution's gains for working women: "When we as women decide where the child-care centers are going to be built, we are participating. When we the women decide we need a hospital to deal with specific gynecological problems, and we get that hospital, we are practicing democracy. When we are able to vaccinate 200,000 children over a weekend . . . we are building democracy. When the people teach the people how to read and write, we are building democracy."

What about the Miskito Indians and Blacks of the Atlantic Coast? Haven't the Sandinistas taken away their land and denied them their cultural and national rights? Read the discussion with Ray Hooker, a Black regional government leader on the coast, who details the history of imperialist exploitation there and the blows being dealt to racist oppression by the Nicaraguan revolution. Study the articles by Borge and William Ramírez on the advances the FSLN has made in its thinking about the national question on the Atlantic Coast.

Study how revolution is made

This book is not only chock full of facts that the U.S. media refuses to report. It is also a comprehensive record of three years of the Nicaraguan revolution, allowing the reader to study how such a revolutionary process unfolds.

As editor Bruce Marcus explains in his introduction, a profound people's revolution triumphed in Nicaragua in 1979. Led by the FSLN, the Nicaraguan masses rose up to end decades of oligarchical rule and police tyranny, to win national liberation, democratic rights, land, equality, and social justice for working people.

The dictatorship of the Somoza family, which had been imposed on Nicaragua by the U.S. government in the 1930s, was overthrown. A revolutionary government came to power, a government of the workers and peasants. It set about the task of restoring Nicaragua's national dignity and sovereignty, rebuilding a nation devastated by war, corruption, and imperialist exploitation.

The new government replaced Somoza's National Guard, which had been smashed by the revolution, with an army of workers and peasants and a popular militia.



Left, Sandinista unionists at 1984 May Day quest of political power has enabled Nicar

Somoza's factories and land holdings, and those of his closest cronies, were confiscated.

Landless peasants and agricultural workers won titles to land, strengthening the alliance of workers and peasants that had brought the revolution to power. The government opened a literacy drive, successfully teaching 400,000 people to read and write.

The government encouraged the formation of unions, which had barely existed under Somoza; peasants organizations; and neighborhood defense committees. It spurred the organization of women and youth.

The government took control of the banking and insurance system, foreign trade, and key natural resources. It began developing a state sector and started building roads, schools, hospitals, and agroindustrial projects.

Using the instrument of the workers and peasants government, the masses began to take big strides forward in improving their living standards, health, education, and housing.

These advances have been accomplished because of a firm alliance of the workers and peasants. In an interview with foreign correspondents in October 1984, Daniel Núñez of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers explained why peasants actively support the revolution.

He outlined what the peasants have won through the revolution: "For example, there was previously no electricity in Waslala, which was a concentration camp under Somoza. . . . Today there is electricity, there is a school, there is a hospital where peasants come to cure their illnesses, there are stores, there is even drinking water in that town. . . ."

"Why? Because revolutions are for transforming the peasantry, which generates the social wealth of the homeland. . . ."

"Thus, in five years of revolution, the peasantry has received schools, roads, health care, and financing. Moreover, the government has forgiven the peasants' 500 million córdobas worth of debts they had been holding."

Sandinistas refuse to back down

Spurning the threats of Washington and of Nicaraguan capitalists, the FSLN leadership has refused to back off from its course of advancing the interests of the workers and peasants. That's why, in 1981, the U.S. government began arming and training ex-National Guard members in an attempt to overthrow the new government. The U.S.-organized war against Nicaragua through this *contra* army has escalated ever since.

The period covered in this book is rich in lessons on the transition from the revolutionary conquest the seizure of political power by the exploited masses toward the achievement of a society where capitalist exploitation is abolished. The task posed to the Nicaraguan masses is not simple. As FSLN leader Víctor Tirado explained to CST unionists in a February 1983 speech, "it is a venture more difficult and intricate than the struggle to overthrow *somocismo*, or the fight against the bands that are at-

BOOK REVIEW

mines. . . . He is the Yankee who wanted to prevent Somoza's dictatorship from being overthrown. . . . He is the Yankee who today cannot accept the reality of our victorious revolution and is arming, training, and funding the *somocista* ex-guardsmen, the counterrevolutionary bands; who is supplying explosives to blow up our factories, to kill our simple working people."

"When we speak of that Yankee we do not mean the working people of the United States," Ramírez emphasized. "We do not mean the humiliated and discriminated-against Black people, the thousands of Spanish-speaking immigrants; we do not mean the ordinary U.S. citizens, their academic communities, their students, their honest intellectuals, their trade union organizations which understand Latin America. Neither do we mean the members of religious orders, the priests and nuns who have shed their blood in Guatemala, in El Salvador, in the factories, in the countryside, in the universities."

"These are the people who can stop a Yankee intervention in Central America. It was that people who, together with the Vietnamese people, defeated the Yankee aggression in Vietnam."

This speech by Ramírez, along with

Special Pre-publication Offer Get 'Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution' for \$3 off!

This new collection contains more than 40 speeches by leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution. It will be available for the first time at the April 20 antiwar demonstrations in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, and other cities — where you can buy it for the special pre-publication price of \$5. (Regular price: \$7.95) Between now and April 20, Pathfinder Press is making that same offer available to *Militant* readers.

To take advantage of this special sale, clip out the coupon below and mail it, along with \$5 for each book ordered, to Pathfinder Press. (Please include \$.75 for shipping; book will be mailed in May.)

Pathfinder prints a number of books and pamphlets by Fidel Castro; *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, a collection of speeches by the slain prime minister of Grenada; and further writings by leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution. Writings on the Black struggle, books by Malcolm X, women's liberation titles, and books on the labor movement are also available, along with writings by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky. A free catalog of Pathfinder titles will be sent to you on request.

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Militant/Michael Baumann



Jamey Stillings

celebration. Their banners read: "Only the workers and peasants will go all the way." Right, Miskito peasants build school. Conuan toilers to achieve national independence and begin rebuilding their country in their own interests.

tacking us on the northern border, or than any other of the efforts or tasks we have embarked on up to this point."

"The Nicaraguan working class — we believe in its big majority — sees socialism as the radical long-term solution," Tirado said.

"At the right moment we will embark on the road to socialism," he explained, "but before traveling this path it is essential, necessary, indispensable to have a very clear idea of the steps we are going to take."

Tirado pointed out that unlike Mexico, Argentina, or Brazil, Nicaragua is a country with little industry, whose economy revolves around agriculture and agricultural processing. Because of the backwardness imposed by imperialism, it has few cadres to organize and administer its economic enterprises. Most workers, in fact, did not even have unions before the revolution. Thus creation of large-scale industry is "a distant perspective," he explained.

"These are the objective facts we should not lose sight of; otherwise we might think it is enough to proclaim socialism and then by magic the problems will be resolved."

Course of revolution

Given the objective realities, Nicaragua's road to development, Tirado stated, "requires from the working class and the peasants great sacrifices, labor discipline, an increase in their cultural and technical level, and above all a lot of work, as well as unselfish international aid."

Today, 60 percent of industry in Nicaragua is still privately owned, and 12 percent of cultivated land is in large capitalist farms. Another 30 percent of the land is in medium-sized private holdings.

In order to maintain and consolidate the power of the workers and peasants, the remaining bastions of the exploiters will be expropriated as the revolution deepens. Contrary to ultralefts — both outside and inside Nicaragua — who condemn the FSLN for not nationalizing all private industry and large landholdings today — there is no recipe for carrying out this transformation. The character and pace of the transition from capitalist to socialist property relations is based on the concrete situation facing Nicaragua today. The course of the U.S. war, the progress in organizing the workers and exploited peasants, and the country's needs in defense, development, and social welfare will determine the timing.

Contradictions

Thus, understanding the Nicaraguan revolution today requires understanding the contradictions within it — between state power, which is in the hands of the exploited producers, and the economy, where capitalist property relations still predominate.

In a 1982 May Day speech, Tomás Borge pointed to how this contradiction affects the contending social classes in Nicaragua. He explained that in the struggle to overthrow Somoza, the working people and their vanguard, the FSLN, united broad sectors of Nicaraguan society, in-

cluding a layer of capitalists and big landowners.

After July 1979 a new phase of the revolution began. "It is still necessary to unite the widest possible strata of Nicaraguan society to confront the common enemy of all Nicaraguans, which is U.S. imperialism," Borge said. The new government put "the main emphasis on the defense of the nation, on the struggle to have our national sovereignty respected.

"But in this new phase," Borge explained, "serious internal contradictions begin to come to the surface, when the revolution is forced — by its own dynamic and to remain in harmony with the political, economic, and social principles that were its reason for being — to determine which social sectors shall be given priority within the revolutionary process."

Borge explained that leading the revolution through this phase "is extraordinarily complex; because on the one side we have the interests of the workers and peasants, the backbone of the revolution. And on the other side are those capitalist sectors that the revolution wants to keep on its side, even giving them economic incentives. But at the same time these sectors are torn apart by the dashing of their political hopes, and because the umbilical cord that ties them to imperialism, due to their antipatriotic traditions, refuses to disappear."

Tactics and strategy

Returning to this question in an October 1984 speech, Borge described the challenge being shouldered by the Sandinistas as they lead the revolution forward in the context of a massive war and severe economic problems.

"We still have before us the objective of building a new society that will embody the paradise of the imagination, the paradise of human solidarity, where the highest form of property will be the responsibility of all of mankind to all of mankind," he said.

"To lose sight of the final objective would be like constructing a building without plans or drawings. . . . We revolutionaries know that those who lose sight of the horizon lose sight of the revolution.

"Building this new society means traveling a lengthy road. This road is called strategy, and each step we take along it is called tactics. . . .

"The greatest of errors would be to transform a tactic into a strategy, just as it would be wrong to deny coming and going, flexibility at any given moment, and intransigence when that is appropriate.

"Tactics and strategy are united dialectically. But — and this we must stress — tactics are the servant of strategy. Tactics must be understood and watched over so that they contribute to, and not undermine, the revolution we are defending:

"A revolution that has the stamp of approval of the majority, of the workers and peasants, of the poor. A revolution that organizes production and distribution with an unequivocal policy of justice and democracy. A revolution that defends the homeland we have won. A revolution that without reservation gives land to the peasants.

A revolution that attacks inequality at its roots. . . ."

The central task confronting the Sandinistas today is defeating the U.S. war.

There is a series of speeches in the book by Daniel Ortega, the president of Nicaragua, detailing each step in the war's escalation. Ortega points out that by 1984 Nicaragua had already suffered three times as many casualties proportionately as the total U.S. casualties in the Vietnam War. To date, more than 4,000 Nicaraguans have been killed by the contras — the equivalent number for the U.S. population would be 320,000.

The financial cost of defending the country, Ortega explained in a 1984 speech, "has made it necessary to raise taxes, hold back the expansion of health care and education, and has created an inflationary pressure that hits working people above all."

The 1985 defense budget has risen to 40 percent of the total government expenditures.

The costs and sacrifices are only one side of Nicaragua's story, however. Due to the popular mobilization for defense — including massive participation in militias — the mercenaries have been unable to take and hold a single town in Nicaragua despite four years of trying.

Can the Nicaraguans maintain the defense of their country, including if the U.S. government invades? This is the question answered in a November 1984 speech by Luis Carrión, vice-minister of the interior.

What has held off direct use of U.S. troops, he says, is the ability of the Nicaraguans to make the political price of such a move so high. "If the Yankees have not intervened here, it is not for lack of material resources, but rather because of a political problem, because they have not been able to create conditions within the United States and internationally to justify an aggression. When they look here and see this people ready to fight, that greatly increases the political costs for them and makes them think twice before launching the aggression against us."

Defense a permanent task

This doesn't mean Nicaraguans can relax, he warns. The defense capacities of the country must be expanded and improved. These are not "conjunctural tasks," he says, but "permanent tasks."

Carrión poses the question: "Is it possible for Nicaragua — small, with few people, economically underdeveloped, with many material and cultural difficulties — to defeat the attack, the war of Yankee imperialism?"

"We have not the slightest doubt," he declares. "What is involved here is not a war between any two ordinary armies. What is involved is a war between an imperial army, fighting for a completely unjust cause, far from its country, confronting an entire people.

"And on the other side, on our side, it will not be just an army, but rather an entire people struggling for the most just cause of all, the cause of its independence, the cause of its sovereignty, and freedom. . . ."

Carrión adds that Nicaragua will not be

alone. "The peoples of Latin America, of Europe, Africa, Asia, and North America will go into action with us against the imperialist aggression." U.S. opposition to the war in particular will increase as the coffins of dead GIs start coming back.

Overcoming economic problems

The context of the war is the best way to approach Nicaragua's economic situation today. Perhaps the single most useful piece in the book from this standpoint is a CST document from September 1984 titled "Base Document of the National Assembly of Unions."

Drafted at a time when inflation and shortages were reaching a severe point, the document begins by pointing out the principal achievements of the revolution, first and foremost "the maintenance and defense of revolutionary power."

Second, it reaffirms the correctness of the course of the revolution in prioritizing land reform and agricultural development as the key to developing the country.

The document focuses in on the effect of the U.S. war on the economic and social progress the revolution has made. It notes that from 1981 to 1983 the standard of living, working conditions, and social services improved for working people. Then — "due to the aggression" — workers' standard of living began to decline.

"Today more than ever," the CST explains, "above and beyond the problems of the economy is the problem of imperialist war. The main problem facing the revolution is not the economy."

Thus, the tasks outlined for the working class focus on winning the war — through the CST taking the lead in mobilizing for the military, by increasing production in the factories to aid the war effort, and by the example of the workers in making greater sacrifices to strengthen the country's defense against aggression.

What makes Nicaragua different?

Nicaragua remains one of the poorer countries in Latin America. What gives the Sandinistas confidence they can survive the assault of imperialism and move forward?

Daniel Ortega took up this question in a July 1983 interview reprinted in the book. "The problems of high prices and scarcity of foods are problems that other countries are feeling acutely," he said. "But there is a substantial difference in the case of Nicaragua: here, there is a revolution, and this has allowed the population to become aware of the problems and familiar with them, to discuss them, and make demands and criticisms.

"The situation is totally different in other countries where the people are not aware of those problems and government policy is not aimed at resolving them. Rather, the people are sacrificed to safeguard the interests of those who enjoy better economic conditions."

The fact that the Nicaraguan toilers today can do something about the problems they face is also a theme of the 1983 speech by Víctor Tirado. He explained to CST unionists that they themselves have to bring about the economic and social change they are fighting for. "We are convinced that improvement in the situation of workers must be the task of the workers themselves in the new Nicaragua, where a government at the service of the workers and farmers has been formed."

That is the fundamental difference that places the Nicaraguan workers and peasants in a qualitatively stronger position than those anywhere else in Central or South America. They have ousted their exploiters from political power, and today, armed with the power of their own government, they are marching forward.

Nicaraguan revolution continues to advance

As class struggle deepens, some former supporters turn away

BY DOUG JENNESS

There is a well-known adage that says, "When the going gets tough, the tough get going." Implicitly then, those who aren't so tough don't get going, unless it's to turn tail and run. This appropriately applies to many U.S. liberals and radicals who are in despair over the many difficult challenges facing the Nicaraguan revolution.

In the past few months a number of articles from these circles have appeared, expressing disenchantment with the course of the Sandinista-led Nicaraguan government. One article that particularly conveys this mood of gloom and doom appeared in the March 30 *Nation*, a weekly liberal magazine published in New York. The author, Nancy Nusser, is described as a freelance journalist living in Nicaragua.

The revolution, Nusser admits, made "some important successes" between 1979 and 1982, particularly in combatting illiteracy, establishing medical centers, and beginning several key development projects. "But in the last two years," she moans, "rather than making progress, the Sandinista revolution has been rolled back."

Nusser swamps the reader with a long list of problems. "Buildings deteriorate, streets and bridges go unrepaired. Shortages of staple goods are chronic. Long lines at the gasoline pumps are a frequent occurrence." Moreover, she claims, the literacy rate is decreasing, the campaign against malaria is slowing down, and the foreign exchange crisis has worsened. Scores of teachers and health workers are being killed by *contras* (counterrevolutionaries).

On top of all this, "Nicaragua has not had time to catch its breath between catastrophes." She lumps together the 1972 earthquake, the death of 50,000 people in the struggle to overturn the Somoza government, and the 1981 floods, which destroyed much of the agricultural crop.

"The shortages and the decline in the quality of life have lowered morale in the capital," Nusser claims. "I get a sense that everyone is depressed," a doctor told me.

"Despite widespread protests," she contends, "the government plans to draft 20,000" into the military this year. Nicaragua is "limping through the sixth year of its revolution," she complains, and "the Nicaraguan people have lost their enthusiasm for the 'revolutionary process.'"

While attributing many of the difficulties to the war being waged against the government by U.S.-financed *contras* and to U.S. trade sanctions, she asserts that, "some of the nation's problems can be blamed on the policies of the Sandinistas' nine-man directorate." Their "dogmatic policies" have led to "disastrous results," she argues. She cites what she calls their "hardline" toward opponents, "heavy-handed policies" toward the Miskito Indians, and the confiscation of private property, which, she says, has caused "capital flight."

If the situation in Nicaragua were as bleak as Nusser paints it, it would be enough to dishearten even the most resolute revolutionary fighters. But fortunately the despondent mood in the journalistic circles whose company she keeps does not accurately reflect the sentiment of Nicaragua's working people or the real direction

of the revolution. Rather than being rolled back, the workers and peasants revolution is advancing and growing stronger.

To see this, it is necessary to be clear on what Nicaragua's workers and peasants did in July 1979 and what they have achieved as a result.

Through a massive revolutionary insurrection, they overthrew the capitalist dictatorship headed by the hated Somoza family. This was no simple changing of the guard. The government of the big landowners, bankers, and businessmen, which pledged allegiance to U.S. imperialism, was smashed. Its military apparatus, police force, and judicial system were destroyed.

State power was transferred from the exploiting class to the exploited classes. In place of the capitalist government, a popular, revolutionary government was established in which working people play the decisive role. This workers and farmers government created its own military force and its own forms of governing. It immediately began to take measures to improve the social and economic conditions of the exploited and oppressed. In the past five and a half years there has been a massive expansion of health programs and education; the building of new roads, schools, and hospitals; and the wiping out of accumulated peasant debts and the granting of new credits.

These big strides were possible only because working people imposed their will through their government. Social and economic gains were achieved *in spite of* the legacy of the 1972 earthquake, *in spite of* the backward conditions created by years of imperialist oppression, *in spite of* the inequalities of the imperialist-dominated world market, and *in spite of* the 1981 floods.

Nicaragua's working people have made economic advances and improved social services while every other government in Latin America, with the exception of Cuba, has been driving down the living standards of its working people. Even with the 100 to 200 percent price increases announced earlier this year as part of the government's wartime austerity measures, the cost of the "basic food basket" in Nicaragua is lower than or comparable to basic consumer costs in other Central American countries.

The imperialist bankers who run the International Monetary Fund have prodded government after government in Latin America to squeeze more profits out of working people. The Nicaraguan government, however, has refused to be bossed or bought by the ruling families in the United States. In response Washington has launched a major effort to destabilize and overthrow the Sandinista government.

Key task is defense

This has made defense of their government the paramount task of workers and farmers in Nicaragua. Gigantic human and material resources are being allocated to put up an effective defense against the U.S.-financed mercenaries. This has meant substantially strengthening the military forces, including the use of a draft. And it has required putting the productive resources of the country behind the defense effort.

The government points out that at the present time 40 percent of the budget must be devoted to defense.

The FSLN leadership, in a statement issued in February explaining a series of new economic measures, stated that, "These tremendous expenditures to a large degree explain the problems of shortages, price rises, inflation, and speculation that we are confronting and that we are going to combat."

Defense needs have made it impossible to continue the economic and social programs at the same level as in the first years of the revolution and have led to difficulties for working people. Moreover, as in any war, there are casualties.

But unlike Nusser, who is overwhelmed by the situation imposed by Washington's intervention, the big majority of Nicaragua's workers and peasants are not depressed or disillusioned. With determination they are mobilizing to defend the revolutionary government and are making big sacrifices to ensure that they win. They



Militant/Michael Baumann

Militant/Jane Harris

As Nicaraguan revolutionary process deepens, response of U.S. imperialism becomes more fierce. At left is funeral in Managua for victim of U.S.-financed war. At right, Sandinista soldier in San Rafael del Norte stands in front of destruction caused by counterrevolutionaries.

recognize that if their government, which has made possible the gains they have achieved, is overturned, all hope of further economic and social advances will be snuffed out. Without this government, which President Reagan has publicly vowed to crush, working people in Nicaragua will no longer have the most powerful instrument they have ever had to fight for their interests.

The commitment of the working class to the defense effort was expressed at the last National Assembly of the country's major unions, held in January. The delegates adopted a motion affirming that, "Economic production becomes the rear guard of the war fronts, and that is why we must make all the nation's resources available for the war. This requires of the workers a greater discipline, a greater spirit of sacrifice, and a greater willingness to struggle than we needed in overturning the Somozaist dictatorship."

The unionists also pledged to wage an educational campaign to explain the draft to young people and their families as part of an effort to curtail draft evasion.

The mood in the countryside was captured well in a report from a participant in the Maurice Bishop International Brigade that recently helped harvest Nicaragua's coffee crop in San José, near Matagalpa. Zachary Sklar, writing in the February 9 *Nation*, explained that despite hardships "the *campesinos* I talked to were proud of what they had achieved since the revolution and were ready to defend it."

He quoted one farm worker on a state farm who pointed out that, "Under Somoza we were slaves. The bosses used hunger to force us to continue working. All we had to eat was beans, no rice. If you cut an orange off a tree, you were beaten and fined. We worked from dawn till dusk every day, no vacations. . . . Our children died of starvation and disease; we were all illiterate and we lived in terror of the National Guard."

The farm worker, according to Sklar, explained that today "everyone at San José eats three full meals a day and all the fruit they can pick. Malnutrition, once so prevalent, has been wiped out, as have polio and diphtheria. The government provides the farm with free medicine and a full-time nurse; all who wanted to have learned to

read and write; and the workers, organized in their own union, participate in decision-making about production."

Working people strengthen government

The determination of Nicaragua's working people to defend their revolution is paying off. They have prevented the *contras* from establishing a base inside Nicaragua, and they have dealt them some heavy blows. At the same time the Sandinistas have taken the initiative to use every available avenue to explain their views internationally and win broader support. They have ably exposed each of Washington's attacks.

In the course of defending their revolution, the workers and farmers have strengthened and further consolidated their government. They have deepened their experience and their political understanding. The alliance between the country's workers and peasants has been welded tighter, especially as a result of the extensive distribution of lands. Despite Nusser's lamentations, workers and peasants power is firmer today than at any time in the past five and a half years.

Nusser, and other liberals and radicals like her, who are not active in the workers movement, do not approach the situation inside Nicaragua from the standpoint of the working class. They mistake their own despair and fears for the actual course of the class struggle.

As this struggle has intensified, they have buckled and begun to find fault with the revolution and its leadership. And worst of all they have started echoing some of the slanderous charges being churned out by the imperialist propaganda mills.

Nusser makes no proposal for what the Nicaraguan government should do. The situation to her is hopeless. "There can be no stability until the war ends," she whimpers, "yet neither a quick victory over the *contras* nor an easy solution to the economic crisis is in the cards."

The only logical thing from her standpoint would be for the Sandinistas to make a deal with Washington. But the only deal Washington has stated it will accept is that the revolutionary government give up its sovereignty. And that, Nicaragua's working people have made clear, they will never do.

Borge announces arrest of smugglers

Continued from Page 6

said, he was captured by FDN mercenaries and Honduran military intelligence agents. They interrogated and tortured him for 10 days, figuring that as a Nicaraguan youth he just might be a member of the Sandinista Youth and therefore a spy. Eventually he was sent to a contra camp and forced to join them until he was able to escape.

Captain Loza said that any import-export merchants, called *bujoneros*, involved in smuggling activity will have their merchant licenses suspended and that the appropriate legal measures will be applied to those who try to evade the draft, as well as

to those who collaborate in transporting them out of the country — including lawyers who draw up fraudulent documents.

Eight of those arrested are from Managua. They have already been turned over for trial to the Anti-Somocista People's Tribunal.

At the León rally, Borge appealed to all patriotic Nicaraguans. "The homeland, mothers, is in danger," he said. "The big decision that all Nicaraguans must make is to act for the homeland or against the homeland. There are no other alternatives."

"We come back either with the shield or on the shield."

From Pathfinder

Nicaragua: An introduction to the Sandinista Revolution

By Arnold Weissberg

A clearly written description of pre-revolutionary Nicaragua, the insurrection, the far-reaching social measures taken by the Sandinista government and the U.S. government's response.

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Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Interview: anti-imperialism in West Africa

Ernest Harsch, managing editor of *Intercontinental Press*, visited four West African countries in March — Ghana, Burkina, the Ivory Coast, and Senegal. Harsch was able to meet with government officials and leaders of the mass organizations in both Ghana and Burkina.

On his visit to Senegal, Harsch met with leaders of the Socialist Workers Organization (OST), Senegalese section of the Fourth International and a sister organization of the Socialist Workers Party.

Future issues of the *Militant* will carry in-depth articles by Harsch on his trip. The following interview is by Tom Leonard. It gives an overview of the trip and some observations about the anti-imperialist struggle in Ghana and the unfolding revolution in Burkina.

* * *

Question. First tell us how you came to go to Africa and what countries you visited.

Answer. I went first to Ghana as part of a delegation of 18 North American political activists, most of whom are active in the Black movements in the United States and Canada. It included members of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the Solidarity Committee for the Sovereignty and Independence of Ghana, the Caribbean People's Alliance, and others. I went as a member of the Socialist Workers Party and managing editor of *Intercontinental Press*.

We went as official guests for the Ghanaian independence day ceremonies on March 6. After a week in Ghana, I also visited Burkina, Senegal, and the Ivory Coast.

Q. What were some of your impressions on arriving in Ghana?

A. Seeing Ghana, it is quite obvious what imperialism has done to that country, even though it is more economically advanced and industrialized than a lot of African countries. The physical decay that exists is really striking. The living conditions of the ordinary people are quite bad. And it's obvious that little was done to improve the country since the overthrow of the Kwame Nkrumah government by a CIA-instigated coup in 1966.

Q. What are some of your observations about the present government of Flight Lieut. Jerry Rawlings?

A. It is obviously a very popular government and has taken some important steps to draw ordinary Ghanaians, working people, into political life. There have been big mobilizations of the labor movement, and the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR) are quite massive and include many political activists.

The government is rather broad; it includes various political viewpoints. Some see themselves as revolutionaries and others think the situation can be improved through gradual reform. Right now, its focus is to hold back the economic decline, to make it possible to bring some improvements in people's lives, and to overcome imperialism's resistance to this perspective. Imperialism opposes any moves toward economic and political independence.

There's a wide-ranging discussion going on in Ghana on how to advance this process, including what kind of and how many concessions should be made to imperialism, given Ghana's current economic weakness.

Q. What role do women play in the revolutionary process?

A. Because of the repression of imperialism and the traditional second-class status of women in African society, it is often difficult to get women organized. But advances are being made.

There are now two national women's organizations. There are also important individual leaders like Joyce Aryee, who is minister of education, and Grace Smith, national secretary of the CDRs.

Q. What is the attitude of Ghanaian leaders to developments in Central America and the Caribbean?

A. Very positive. Rawlings, chair of the Provisional National Defense Council, visited Nicaragua and Cuba last year. The Ghanaian leaders see the Nicaraguan struggle against U.S. government intervention as extremely important, especially since they are under imperialist pressure themselves. Any victory by Nicaragua will help them. So there's quite a bit of solidarity.

The government also put out a poster on the first anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Grenada denouncing the invasion. Some Ghanaian leaders knew leaders of the Maurice Bishop-led New Jewel Movement and had looked to Grenada quite a bit.

Q. Tell us something about your visit to Burkina.

South African unions gain strength

The following two articles are reprinted from *FOSATU Worker News*, the newspaper of the Federation of South African Trade Unions.

FOSATU, along with the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), and the South African Allied Workers Union, organize the majority of the more than 500,000 members of independent Black unions.

The first article, entitled, "A Milestone!", reports on the stunning victory in forcing the government-owned Sasol oil-from-coal conversion corporation to rehire 70 percent of the 6,000 workers who were fired for participating in last November's general strike. The union also succeeded in wresting a settlement from Sasol that wins new rights for the workers.

On November 5 and 6, 1984, in the largest political strike in South Africa's history, some one million Black workers walked off their jobs to protest the apartheid regime's brutal repression and racist policies. Some two dozen Blacks were killed during that strike. Sasol fired 90 percent of its Black workers, and police detained strike and union leaders.

The article takes special note of the role of anti-apartheid protesters and some unions in the United States in demanding reinstatement of the Sasol workers and release of the union leaders.

The second article, "Bakers strike ends in Victory," is an indication of the growing strength of the Black union movement in South Africa, which operates under repressive conditions and legal restrictions on the unions and the right to strike.

Milestone for labor

The settlement signed between the Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU) and Sasol will surely go down as a milestone in South African labour history.

Not only has the union managed to get 70 percent of the 6,000 workers who were sacked [fired] for participating in the November stayaway taken back, it has also won new rights.

It is remarkable that CWIU even survived this attempt by a semi-state company to crush worker organisation, let alone come out of it with better worker rights.

Stewards recognized

The most important of these is the formal recognition of CWIU shop stewards who now have the right to represent workers and report back to them during working hours.

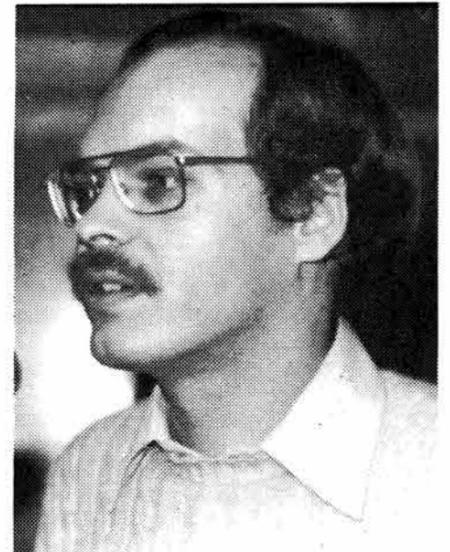
The shop stewards also have the right to hold a monthly caucus meeting during working hours and have access to telephones — an important right in plants the

A. I also went to Burkina as a member of the Socialist Workers Party and *IP* managing editor. I found people very receptive. I was able to have meetings with Pres. Thomas Sankara; Pierre Ouédraogo, national secretary general of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution; Foreign Minister Basile Guissou; and minister of planning and popular development, Yousouf Ouédraogo. I also met with local activists in the CDRs.

The important thing about Burkina is that a revolution is taking place, an anti-imperialist revolution that came out of a mass upsurge in 1983, which the French government tried to repress. This led to a mass popular reaction and renewed struggle against the French. It resulted in the coming to power of the National Council of the Revolution (CNR) headed by Sankara.

This new government is very radical and tremendously popular. It has taken a sharply anti-imperialist stance. It also struggles inside Burkina against what it calls the national bourgeoisie — wealthy sectors that used to be allied with imperialism.

The CNR sees the base of the revolution as being the peasantry, working class, petty bourgeoisie, and other exploited layers of the country. All these sectors are being organized into their own CDRs, which are in every city, village, work-



Ernest Harsch, *Intercontinental Press* managing editor.

place, and military unit.

The CDRs are used to organize important social measures, like the fight against famine, road building, providing assistance to farmers, and helping out with literacy and health problems. Health problems are a special concern since there is only one doctor for every 50,000 people in a country of some seven million.

size of Sasol.

"Previously there was a lot of conflict in the Sasol plants between the elected worker representatives who were attempting to act like shop stewards and line management who were trying to stop them," said CWIU general secretary, Rod Crompton.

The union has also been given 'unlimited' access to the Sasol hostels together with a full time office in the hostels. Before, the union only had an office for three days a week.

The settlement follows months of negotiations between CWIU and Sasol.

In order to get the company to the negotiating table to discuss the reinstatement of the 6,000 sacked workers, the union launched a national and international campaign.

All the unions involved in the present unity talks committed themselves to a national strike in solidarity with the Sasol workers.

And in the demonstrations against apartheid in the United States of America, one of the demands has been for the reinstatement of the Sasol workers. American unions have also taken up the issue individually.

On March 2 at a CWIU Congress attended by all the union's shop stewards, it was decided to move the campaign on to a different footing by accepting the company's settlement offer.

"The settlement does not mean we have given up on the rest of the Sasol workers who have not been taken back," said Rod Crompton.

"We have just decided to rather continue the campaign from within the plants," he added.

"Management has agreed in principle to hire a further five percent and have said that the door is not closed on the other 25 percent," he said.

Rebuilding organisation

At present, the union is concentrating on rebuilding worker organisation within the Sasol II and III plants.

A joint management/union negotiating committee has been established in order to negotiate other aspects of recognition which are not covered by the settlement agreement. And over the next week or two, union members will be put back on stop orders.

A taste of victory

One thousand workers in Bakers' Isando and Pinetown factories ended their two week legal strike with a taste of victory.

After four months of wage negotiations, the management finally budged from their final offer of 12.5 percent and on Friday

February 22, workers settled on a minimum wage of R96 [\$48] per week — a 16.5 percent increase.

The wage negotiations follow the collapse last year of the biscuit industrial council covering the Transvaal and Natal when two major employers, Bakers and Fedbisco, withdrew to negotiate with the Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union [SFAWU].

A new bargaining forum was set up and the minority unions, consisting of Norman Daniels' TUCSA union [Trade Union Council of South Africa, a white union federation with a history of collaboration with the government] and CUSA's food union, were invited to present a united front with SFAWU against the biscuit bosses.

After only two meetings the other unions were ready to settle on 12.5 percent.

But SFAWU members decided to continue pushing for a living wage. They argued that 12.5 percent was even lower than the current rate of inflation.

At the Cape industrial council, Daniels' union settled on a 10 and 12.5 percent increase for workers in the Bakers-owned Baumanns and Pyotts factories, making it even more difficult for SFAWU members to win something better.

Still, SFAWU members decided to push on and declare a dispute. And when more than 30 days passed without any settlement, they went out on a legal strike "to make the bosses listen."

Bakers shop steward chairperson, Tom Dlamini, explained how hard the strike was: "Bakers management was not moving, though they agreed that it was our right to strike."

"They wanted to see how long we could survive and keep united. But we were determined to win."

He said the union had tried to involve the workers' families in the struggle and had called them to a big meeting where food was distributed.

"But the day after our mass meeting in Durban the bosses reacted by locking us out and giving an ultimatum saying that the final offer of 12.5 percent would be withdrawn if we did not return to work," he added.

But the strike continued and after almost 24 hours of negotiations a settlement was reached.

Brother Dlamini said the struggle was important as South African employers should learn that workers would demand a living wage even during a recession.

"We will not carry the load of the bosses' and the government's bad planning."

"Also, more than 200 Indian workers supported the strike, showing that real worker unity is possible," he said.

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Why a young Minnesota farmer will attend the YSA convention

BY HARRY RING

One of the people who will be attending the Young Socialist convention next month will be Charlie Smith, a farmer in Stillwater, Minn.

In a telephone interview, Charlie discussed why he'd be there.

Now 24, Charlie farms 170 acres of rented land. His principal crops are corn, soybeans, and winter rye.

Charlie grew up on his parents' farm nearby and while still in high school owned some hogs and cattle. From the income earned from this he gradually bought equipment, and about five years ago set out on his own.

Like most farmers, Charlie doesn't get enough income from the farm. In the spring and fall he also works for a nearby farmer with a larger plot.

His situation, he explained, isn't quite the same as people who own their farms and, in a growing number of cases, face foreclosure. He doesn't have to worry about foreclosure, he said, but he does have to worry about his lease not being renewed.

Tour to Nicaragua

Charlie is active in the North American Farm Alliance. A big focus of the alliance's activity is the foreclosure problem, but it's not limited to that. Last January, Charlie went on a tour to Nicaragua with other alliance members.

The tour was organized by Oxfam America and the Federation of Southern Cooperatives.

And, more recently, Charlie worked on organizing a tour to this country by two Nicaraguan ranchers.

Why did the Alliance organize a trip to Nicaragua?

"Well," he explained, "the organization's motto is 'Peace, parity and justice,' and they want to build relations, and solidarity, with people in other countries.

The Alliance coordinator in Minnesota had visited Nicaragua the year before, he said, and their members were interested in learning about a country which "guarantees prices for farmers and where there's no foreclosures."

Farm debts in Nicaragua, he explained, have been written off by the new govern-

ment or restructured.

"And that's at a time when farmers here are facing very low commodity prices, high taxes, and foreclosures on their land."

Sixteen people went on the Nicaragua tour. They included six farmers, two farm workers, two others involved in agriculture, and a half dozen students.

"The farmers there were very happy to see us," Charlie said. "They make a great distinction between the government and the people of the United States.

"They were very interested in what we grew, and, of course, we were very interested in what they were growing.

Nicaragua helping farmers

"We were there 12 days," he added, "and I was very impressed by where the interests of the government are at. I think they really are helping the poor farmers — and the middle-class farmers too — to increase their production and their standard of living.

"And also they're making health care and education more available to the people. Of course, the U.S. war against Nicaragua is making it difficult for them to do those things, especially in such a poor country."

Discussing the visit of the two Nicaraguan ranchers here, Charlie said, "They were astounded and amazed that such efficient producers were being driven from the land when there's so much hunger in the world."

Response to the tour, he said, was very good. Many people have been confused by the lying propaganda about Nicaragua but he felt the visitors made progress in countering this.

"There were always good lively discussions at the meetings, with very specific questions about Nicaraguan agricultural policy. People wanted to know how the land is distributed, about the cancellation of debts, the question of pricing. And they wanted to know how farmers there are able to influence government policy."

Another farm tour to Nicaragua is projected for this summer, Charlie said, and he's sure more people will want to go.

Involvement with YSA

How did he get involved with the Young Socialist Alliance?

It began when a member of the Minneapolis-St. Paul YSA from Stillwater called him up to go to a farmer-labor solidarity day in northern Minnesota.

At the demonstration, Charlie bought a copy of the *Militant* and read it thoroughly.

"I liked what I saw, so I subscribed," he said. I found the articles were much more complete and in-depth than anything you get in the regular papers, the big-business papers.

"And part of it," he added, "is that I was experiencing first-hand what farmers are facing, so I knew there had to be another way. Something that could get the ball rolling in our direction rather than continually giving up our standard of living.

"I went to some YSA classes and the Militant Forum in the Twin Cities — I live about 45 miles out. Then, last fall, I went to a Farm Alliance meeting in Iowa and I had some long discussions there with people who are in the Socialist Workers Party and the YSA, and I decided to join."

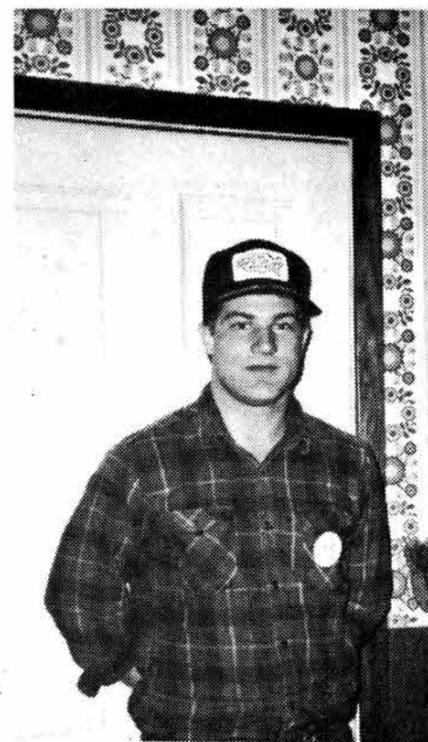
He added: "You know, you get your thirst up when you start learning how interconnected all these issues in our society are. You realize you can't just confine yourself to one thing. For example, I would just be involved in the farm protest movement. But there are many other questions that relate to this. That's why the YSA was attractive to me.

"Like the questions of Nicaragua, South Africa, Northern Ireland, the Middle East. Basically, U.S. imperialism, and how it pits farmers in this country against farmers in other countries, and workers in other countries. There has to be a different way. We have to have worldwide solidarity to overcome these problems."

In talking to other farmers about socialism, Charlie finds they're becoming increasingly receptive. "People are realizing that the liberal Democrats are selling them out as quickly as the conservative Republicans.

"And it's not the communists or socialists who are foreclosing on their land.

"Like, they're told prices are so bad because there's too much grain produced in the United States. Then you turn around and all over the TV there's famine in Af-



Militant/John Gaige

Charlie Smith explained his decision to join the Young Socialist Alliance: "You get your thirst up when you start learning how interconnected all the issues in our society are. You realize you can't just confine yourself to one thing."

rica — and people hungry in this country too. So, obviously, growing less grain isn't the answer.

"People are questioning a lot of things. Many of them aren't buying this thing that we need a bigger military budget to deter Soviet expansionism at the same time they're driving people off their farms. It just doesn't make sense."

Charlie added: "And I think farmers are starting to realize there's a dual fight going on by this government — against the workers and farmers in other countries, and against the workers and farmers in this country. That's starting to become very real. The talks being given at protest rallies show this idea is becoming more prevalent."

Charlie is looking forward to his first YSA convention.

"I'll be meeting a lot of new people there," he said, "and I'll be learning a lot. "And I know I'll meet a lot of young fighters there."

Nicaraguans push back 'contras'

Continued from front page

road from Ocotal to Jalapa was open. Local residents and army officers told us that there had been no trouble along it for several weeks. Country trails connecting that road with various settlements were also open. The only difficulty was fording creeks and small rivers in places where bridges had been destroyed by the contras.

Given that this is a sparsely populated, mountainous zone, only a few kilometers from the main contra base camps in Honduras, keeping the roads clear of ambushes is quite an achievement. In various spots, this reporter saw the rusty, burnt-out hulks of trucks and jeeps that had fallen victim to earlier attacks.

There were numerous army and militia patrols on the main road, and guards by many bridges. Throughout the zone we got the same response to our queries: "Go ahead — no problem."

The only people who reported any contra activity were the armed peasants of the Santa Rosa self-defense cooperative 12 kilometers from Ocotal. They had seen a band of several dozen contras fleeing toward Honduras a few days after the seizure of La Explosión.

Barreda said the offensive was successful in stopping the contras from totally disrupting the vital coffee harvest, which accounts for nearly a third of Nicaragua's yearly \$400 million foreign exchange earnings.

"Practically all we had projected to harvest has been gathered; we got out more than 80 percent of the crop," he said.

For Barreda, this was an especially poignant victory. CIA terrorists kidnapped his parents who were volunteer coffee pickers during the harvest two years ago. Because the Barredas were well known as active members of the Catholic church and sup-

porters of the revolution, the contras tried to torture them into making statements against the revolution that could be played on their radio station. When this failed, the self-styled "Christian commandos" of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force savagely murdered the elderly couple.

Pointing on a map to the border with Honduras, Felipe Barreda said, "These are the ridges that we had been unable to take for all this time. Now we dominate all those heights."



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Attacks against Grenadian unions continue

Continued from back page

plant (the new regime has scrapped the PRG's plans to expand decent housing for working people); and the asphalt plant, which has just recently been reopened on a nonunion basis.

Although the capitalist government completed the construction of the international airport, which was close to completion by the PRG with Cuban government assistance in October 1983, the work was turned over to private companies. The work force became nonunion.

The only major construction project witnessed by this reporter, or mentioned by anyone in Grenada, is a showcase four-lane highway running a mile or so between the newly opened airport and the beginning of the Grand Anse Beach tourist area. Roads elsewhere around the island are receiving less attention than under the PRG. (De Bourg reported that stone for road construction is either being imported or broken up by manual labor, since the government refuses to reopen the stone-crushing plant donated by Cuba during the revolution.)

The sole foreign investment project in industry during the year and a half since the invasion was a toy factory that operated for several months during 1984. It was housed in the factory that had previously been the agroindustrial plant.

During its short lifespan, this toy factory, which was touted in the U.S. press at the time of its opening, showed what U.S. capitalists have in mind for Grenadian workers. It operated on a nonunion basis paying very low wages. Workers did not have access to indoor toilet facilities, being forced to use an outdoor latrine. When the owner shut down the plant and fled the island, some 100 workers were thrown back into the ranks of the unemployed.

De Bourg said that unemployment, which had fallen to a historic low for the island of 14 percent in 1983, has shot back up to 40-45 percent today.

The government's Ministry of Labor works hand-in-glove with the employers. The bosses now go straight to the government with labor disputes in most cases rather than sitting down with the unions. There, grievances get bogged down, with employers often refusing even to attend scheduled meetings to discuss problems that come up. Even the clearest contractual violations by the bosses are usually not acted on.

Since the new regime aims to appear a champion of "trade union freedom" in contrast to the PRG's alleged domination of the unions, however, Blaize and his cronies have not launched an open union-

Chester Humphrey, Grenadian union leader, fighting U.S. frame-up

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — On March 21 the chief justice of Grenada ordered the extradition to the United States of jailed trade union leader Chester Humphrey.

Humphrey was vice-president of the Technical and Allied Workers Union and an executive board member of the Trade Union Council. Following the October 25, 1983, invasion, he was imprisoned without charges by U.S. authorities and held until May 1984. Shortly after his release he was rearrested, this time to face extradition hearings on trumped-up gun-running charges in the United States that date back to early 1979, prior to the revolutionary victory in March of that year.

If the recent decision is not reversed by the Caribbean court of appeals, Humphrey will be turned over to U.S. authorities later this year and put on trial in the United States. The frame-up of Humphrey is widely recognized by progressive unionists and other opponents of the U.S. occupation in Grenada as an effort to prevent Humphrey from organizing resistance in the TAWU to the takeover of the union by right-wing officials working with the new U.S.-installed government and the occupation forces. The Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement is organizing support for Humphrey's defense in Grenada.

Protests against the extradition of Humphrey should be sent to Prime Minister Herbert Blaize and to the U.S. embassy in St. George's, Grenada. — S.C.

busting crusade. Instead, the capitalists are working through their political agents within the unions.

AIFLD and friends

The main instrument of the imperialists and local capitalists inside the Grenada labor movement is the so-called American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), a CIA-initiated outfit actively backed by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy in the United States.

In Grenada the AIFLD collaborates closely with the capitalist government and right-wing labor bureaucrats, especially with the officialdom of the Seamen and Waterfront Workers Union (SWWU), whose longstanding president is Eric Pierre. In 1974 Pierre sold out a general strike against the dictatorship of Eric Gairy; and throughout the revolution he was a staunch opponent of the government's proworker policies.

The AIFLD has been lavishing substantial sums on hiring "organizers" to help class-collaborationist-misleaders carry out raiding operations ("Poaching," as it is called in Grenada) against unions most closely associated with the revolution, especially the BGWU. (The CIWU has by and large retained the 600-700 members it had prior to October 1983, although it has had to fight union-busting and antilabor attacks by employers at workplaces it organizes.)

Derrick Allard, president of the BGWU since the murder of Vincent Noel, told the *Militant* that the union has lost some 1,200 members — roughly half its total enrollment — since the end of 1983. This decline is due in part to the shutdown of the agroindustries plant and successful union busting at the airport site, but most of it is attributable to SWWU poaching.

The most recent poaching operation occurred at the Grenada Breweries in November 1984. The SWWU carried out secret meetings with a handful of workers and then, with collaboration from the Ministry of Labor, sprang a quick poll at the factory that resulted in derecognition of the BGWU and its replacement by the SWWU. The operation was such a flagrant violation of the Trade Union Recognition Act adopted by the PRG, which is still on the books, that the Trade Union Council (TUC) publicly protested this attack by the SWWU on another member union of the TUC.

Despite the TUC protest and a formal complaint by the BGWU, however, the Ministry of Labor is simply sitting on the case and refusing to act.

Prior to October 1983, the SWWU had never before sought to organize any workers beyond the docks. The crude character of Eric Pierre's poaching on behalf of the bosses is shown by the officialdom's refusal to organize nonunion day laborers working on the docks. Prior to October 1983 these workers had been organized by the BGWU, since the SWWU would not organize dockers who unloaded ships below a certain tonnage. (During the revolution, the SWWU also refused to unload Cuban ships.) While the SWWU moved quickly following the U.S. invasion to break the BGWU on the docks, and while it has stepped up its poaching off the docks, the Pierre officialdom has refused to take the former BGWU dockers into the union.

Despite these attacks, Allard said, the BGWU remains one of the island's largest unions. With growing numbers of workers seeing through the lies of the new regime and its backers in the union bureaucracy, the BGWU is now consolidating its membership to prevent further major losses, according to Allard.

Other AIFLD activities

The AIFLD was also instrumental in the takeover by right-wing union bureaucrats of the Technical and Allied Workers Union (TAWU). With some 2,000 members, TAWU is one of the island's largest unions, organizing electrical workers, telephone workers, water workers, bus drivers, and many construction workers.

At the time of the October 1983 coup and U.S. invasion, TAWU president James Wardally was not on the island, and he is now living in exile. Wardally is a supporter of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement. TAWU's former vice-presi-



Slain Grenadian prime minister Maurice Bishop

dent, Chester Humphrey, has been jailed by the occupation forces. (See accompanying article.)

Given this situation, proimperialist officials took effective control of the union in 1984, and this was formalized in March of this year with the election of Wilfred Hayes as the new TAWU president. Hayes had previously been expelled from the union for taking a job in the management of the electrical company, a position he still holds.

The AIFLD is also attempting to organize a new union, the Agricultural and Allied Workers Union. This is in reaction to efforts that began last year to revive the Agricultural and General Workers Union. The AGWU's former president, Fitzroy Bain, was murdered by the Coard gang on October 19, and the association of other of its officers with that counterrevolutionary group led to the union's virtual collapse in the first period following the U.S. invasion. AIFLD is determined to prevent this situation from being reversed, but, according to both De Bourg and Allard, the AAUW has so far not registered many successes. The work of rebuilding the AGWU is still in its beginning stages, De Bourg told the *Militant*.

Another bastion of class collaborationism in the Grenada labor movement is the officialdom of the Taxi Owners and Drivers Association.

In addition to the AIFLD's aid to these proimperialist labor officials, it has also provided EC\$40,000 (U.S.\$14,800) seed money to set up a Civic Awareness Committee. This organization seeks to bring together the Chamber of Commerce, Jaycees, the church hierarchy, and union officials to develop common "political education" programs. The TUC rejected

participation in this committee, pointing out that its activities could cut across its own political goals as a labor organization.

Despite this rebuff from the TUC, the AIFLD is conducting regular "educational seminars" at both the SWWU and TAWU headquarters.

Fail to take over TUC

The Grenadian capitalists and their U.S. imperialist backers have met resistance to their antilabor drive in the Trade Union Council, the federation of the country's seven major unions. The employers "have yet to get a full grip and build a dependable labor movement for the private sector," Anselm De Bourg told the *Militant*.

Last year the Ministry of Labor submitted proposed changes to the Trade Union Recognition act that would have impeded union organization, increased government interference in internal union affairs, and restored the pre-1979 ban on strikes by workers in the utilities, transportation, education, health, and other fields. The TUC rejected these proposals.

De Bourg said that the government had submitted the proposed changes "to test the ground" for a new labor code that it is currently preparing to replace the pronoun laws adopted during the revolution.

At the yearly general meeting of the TUC on March 30, the AIFLD and right-wing labor bureaucrats failed for the second year in a row to take over the top leadership positions in the federation. SWWU president Eric Pierre was defeated in his attempt to unseat the incumbent TUC president, Basil Harford of the Grenada Union of Teachers. De Bourg, who had previously been second vice-president of the TUC, was elected first vice-president at this year's meeting.

U. of Mich. students face May trial

BY ED GOLDMAN

DETROIT—On May 9, seven University of Michigan students will go on trial for protesting weapons research being conducted at the Ann Arbor campus.

The students were part of a group of 11 arrested on May 6, 1984, while sitting in at a laboratory that is developing diodes for the Pentagon's Phoenix missile. The 11 are members of the Progressive Student Network (PSN), an antiwar group that has organized protests against war research at Ann Arbor since 1982.

Four students were tried and convicted of criminal trespass in January 1985, of whom two served twelve-day jail terms after refusing to pay fines "to a judicial system that defends the arms race." The remaining seven students were originally tried on March 7.

At the trial, they based their defense on the responsibility of students to speak out against their university's complicity in the Pentagon's arms buildup. After hours of deliberation, the jury was unable to reach a verdict, and a new trial was scheduled for May.

According to Anna Walsh of the PSN, the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor annually receives \$7 million for military-

related research, including the Phoenix missile, the "stealth" bomber, and electromagnetic pulse technology used for disrupting communications.

University policy forbids classified research whose "clear purpose" involves the destruction of human life. But in 1982 the University refused to extend this policy to "unclassified" research such as the Phoenix missile, ignoring proposals on research guidelines submitted by both faculty and student councils.

The guidelines on classified research, though they do exist on paper, have in fact never been used to reject even a single research project proposal. In 1984, the university's committee that is entrusted with applying the guidelines rejected a proposal for the first time ever (a Navy project involving underwater sound waves). But Ann Arbor's vice-president in charge of research overruled his own committee, allowing the research to proceed.

The PSN plans to continue protesting military research on campus and is participating in a local April 20 rally for students unable to travel to Washington, D.C. Contributions to the legal defense and statements of support may be sent to: Ann Arbor 11 Legal Defense Fund, 904 Oakland St., Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Peace with Justice in Ireland. Speaker: Seamus Burns, representative of Na Fianna Eireann (Irish Republican Youth Movement). Wed., April 24, 7 p.m. 110 Bell Building, UAB, 7th Ave. S. Ausp: UAB Department of Political Science and Urban Affairs.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Grenada Under U.S. Occupation. Speaker: Sam Manuel, member of National Committee of Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from visit to Grenada. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 27, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

Vietnam 10 Years Later: the Lessons for Today. A Young Socialist Alliance educational series with classes by Fred Halstead, author of *Out Now!*, a history of the movement against the war in Vietnam.

1. "Vietnam: Why the United States Was Defeated." Sun., April 28, 11 a.m.

2. "Vietnam: the Lessons for Today in the Struggle Against War in Central America." Sun., April 28, 2 p.m.

Translation to Spanish. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$3. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

San Jose

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46 1/2 Race St. Donation: \$3. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO

Denver

The Truth About Vietnam: An Answer to Richard Nixon. Lessons of Vietnam for today's Central America solidarity activists. Fri., April 26, 7:30 p.m. 25 W 3rd Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (303) 698-2550.

An Evening With Ernesto Cardenal. A poetry reading and dialogue on current events in Nicaragua with Father Cardenal, Nicaragua's minister of culture. Sun., April 28, 7:30 p.m. Montview Blvd. Presbyterian Church, 1980 Dahlia. Donation: \$3. For more information call (303) 832-4508.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

Farmers in Revolt. Speaker: Roger Beall, Louisiana activist in the American Agriculture Movement; Jim Rogers, member of Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 27, 7:30 p.m. 3207 Dublin. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Vietnam: Commemorate the 10th Anniversary of the Victory Against U.S. Aggression. A panel discussion. Sun., May 5, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor (Kenmore T). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Vietnam and Kampuchea Today. A weekend conference.

1. Rally. Speakers: Diane Wang, member

National Committee of Socialist Workers Party, toured Vietnam and Kampuchea in 1984; Prof. Alan Hooper, Minnesota professor recently returned from Vietnam; Mahmoud el-Kati; Janice Dorliea, National Black Independent Political Party; representative of American Indian Movement. Sat., April 27, 8 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave.

2. Classes with Diane Wang. Sun., April 28, 11 a.m. "Vietnam and Kampuchea," a slideshow presentation. Noon. "Revolution in Vietnam 1975-79." 2:15 p.m. "Kampuchea Today." 508 N Snelling Ave.

Ausp: Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Building an Antiwar Movement Today: Lessons of the Vietnam War. A panel discussion. Sun., April 28, 7 p.m. 3109 S Grand, room 22. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

NEW YORK

Albany

What Causes Plant Shutdowns? Speakers: Walt Snyder, member, New York Public Employees Federation; Larry Lane, member United Steelworkers Local 8247 and Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Fri., May 3, 8 p.m. 352 Central Ave, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more

information call (518) 434-3247.

Manhattan

Swedish Auto Worker Speaks. Conclusion of U.S. tour of Swedish socialist and unionist. Speaker: Göte Kildén, metal workers committee chairperson at Volvo truck. Introduction by Andrea González, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of New York City. Translation to Spanish. Fri., April 26. Reception, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. Social to follow. 79 Leonard St. (5 blks south of Canal). Donation: \$3. Ausp: New York and New Jersey Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445 or (201) 643-3341.

May Day Celebration Book Sale. Discount of 20 percent with this ad on initial visit. Books in English, Spanish, and French. May 1-4, 12 noon - 7 p.m. 79 Leonard St. (5 blocks south of Canal between B'way and Church). Ausp: Socialist Books/Librería Socialista. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Militant Bookstore Grand Opening Celebration.

1. Program: "Reagan's Wars Against Working People — from the United States to Central America to South Africa." Speaker: Mac Warren, National Organizational Secretary of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., May 11, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$2.

2. Classes: "History and Lessons for the Civil Rights Movement." Sat., May 11, 2 p.m. "The Road Forward for Black Liberation

Today." Sun., May 12, 11 a.m. Speaker: Mac Warren. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$1.50 per class.

Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

TEXAS

Houston

The Soviet Union Today: What Working People Should Know About It and Why We Should Defend It. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 27, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

A Look at Mining in Britain, USSR, and India. Eyewitness report and slideshow by Joy Huitt, president of Lady Coal Miners of Utah. Fri., April 26, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Maurice. Cuban film on the Grenada revolution and life of murdered Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Sat., April 27, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Is the Soviet Union a Threat? Speaker: Dave Morrow, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., May 4, 7:30 p.m. 4704 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Swedish socialist tours the Midwest

Göte Kildén, the Swedish socialist and auto unionist, opened his U.S. speaking tour with visits to Detroit, St. Louis, and Kansas City.

Chief union steward at the truck division of Sweden's big Volvo plant, Kildén is a leader of the Socialist Party. The party is the Swedish section of the Fourth International and a sister organization to the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

Kildén had a busy one-day visit in Detroit. He had an informal discussion meeting with socialist auto unionists from Detroit; nearby Windsor, Canada; and Toledo. Detroit SWPers also invited three co-workers from a GM shop.

Later, Kildén was interviewed by a reporter for the national UAW paper, *Solidarity*.

Four GM workers were among the audience when Kildén spoke at the Militant Labor Forum that night. The audience also included Central American solidarity activists who were especially interested in his account of labor's role in the very active Swedish solidarity movement.

In Kansas City, almost all the SWPers work nights, so a public weeknight forum couldn't be arranged.

But some 20 people, including eight or nine auto workers, attended a lunch get-together with Kildén. A Salvadoran family that has sought refugee there also attended.

Kildén met with Rev. Nelson "Fuzzy" Thompson, director there of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a nationally prominent civil-rights figure.

Later, in Plattsburg, Missouri, Kildén met with Junior Wilson, a leading figure in Groundswell, the farm-protest movement.

In St. Louis, Kildén held an informal session with socialist auto unionists and

coal miners. He was particularly interested in talking with the several women coal miners participating, since there are no women coal miners in Sweden.

He went on a tour of the Chrysler plant assembly line. There he was surprised by the safety conditions, which he said were much worse than in Sweden. Several of the shop stewards in the plant discussed the issue with him. He then met with the president of the union.

Kildén spoke that night at a well-at-

tended forum, including five people who came from a local newspaper notice.

Afterward they adjourned to a fund-raising dinner for the April 20 demonstration in Washington.

Kildén will participate in the Washington demonstration and then fly to Los Angeles for a three-day visit, beginning April 21. From there he'll go on to Houston and finally to New York for a New York/New Jersey windup meeting on Friday, April 26.

Farm protests in Missouri continue

Continued from Page 3

ers being thrown off the land and workers being thrown out of work."

Jesse Jackson, a leading Democratic Party politician, was a featured speaker at the rally. Unlike the other speakers, who pointed to the potential power of the alliance of farmers, labor, and oppressed minorities, Jackson pointed in a different direction. He called for a conference of farm-state governors, mayors, and farmers and agricultural economists to come up with a solution for the farm crisis.

Pointing to the state troopers Jackson said, "These men in blue are not your adversaries. They're your neighbors. They're not taking your farms. The problem is in Washington. Bankers are not your natural enemies," Jackson said. "The president of the bank [Kearney bank, which is foreclosing on the Wilson farm] is having as much trouble as Mr. Wilson."

As the time of the sale grew near, the crowd began chanting "No sale! No sale!" The crowd did not try and shout down the

sale. Several members of the Missouri Groundswell made bids on the Wilson farm. The sheriff, however, declared that the land was sold to the Kearney Trust Co.

Wilson has since filed a lawsuit challenging this sale, as well as the one on March 15.

The fight to save the Wilson's farm is not over. Discussions are under way about what to do next. This includes filing a suit against the state troopers for the arrests and injuries caused at the March 15 action. Key in these discussions is how to further the alliance between farmers, labor, and the Black community.

Farmers have recently joined two protests in Kansas City — one in the Black community and a picket line organized by UAW Local 710 against Libby Welding Co. Perry Wilson, Sr., told the press at the April 12 picket line, "I'm down here in support of these Libby workers just like the UAW and other unionists came up to support me in Plattsburg."

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Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 3750 West McDowell Road #3. Zip: 85009. Tel: (602) 272-4026.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 25 W 3rd Ave. Zip: 80223. Tel: (303) 698-2550.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 137 NE 54th St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 370486. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. **Tallahassee:** YSA, P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 222-1018.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

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

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LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

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

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MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 7146 W. McNichols. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 862-7755.

MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 3109 S. Grand, #22. Zip: 63118. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

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NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 352 Central Ave. 2nd floor. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 434-3247. **New York:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668.

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TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923.

Dallas: SWP, YSA, 132 N. Beckley Road, Zip: 75208. Tel: (214) 943-5195. **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, 767 S. State, 3rd floor. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip: 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

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

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 422 Shrewsbury 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.

Getting touchy? — The *New York Times* castigated the Oxford English Dictionary for permitting the Soviet edition to substitute its



Harry Ring

own definitions of words like capitalism and socialism. It would have made Orwell cringe, howled the *Times*. The definitions? Capitalism: A system based on "the exploitation of man by man."

Socialism: "A social and economic system which is replacing capitalism."

A steal — The Pentagon will be picking up a few more weapons than it planned three months ago. Like, 284 more aircraft, 364 more tanks and tracked vehicles, and 19 more ships. What with a lower rate of inflation, the price tags on these items are lower than anticipated, so they're being snapped up. Total extra tab, \$25.1 billion.

Equally precious — After our local supermarket jacked up the frozen orange juice 20¢ a can it made sense when we read the business page headline, "Platinum leads rally; Orange juice

prices up."

It's the American Way — Rejecting an argument that children were being barraged with what amounted to commercials, the FCC refused to ban TV shows starring such toys as Papa Smurf. Without commercials, the commission explained, there wouldn't be children's shows on commercial TV, so what's wrong with starring toys? They also refused to block manufacturers giving stations a cut on the toy sales take.

Pasta fizziola — Coca Cola is test marketing a Minute Maid orange soda in Canada. As promo hype, it's offering special recipes. Like a pasta salad of macaroni, tuna, strawberries, and melon with

a dressing of mayo and orange soda. Responding to unenthusiastic food critics ("Revoltin', opined one), a Coke PR person sniffed, "Taste is so subjective."

We'll see ya — Prison inmates eight miles from a Pennsylvania nuke plant about to go on line protested emergency evacuation plans under which, theoretically, they would be led to safety by guards and state cops. Guards have confided that if the thing blows they'll split. Responding to the prisoners' complaint, an official said, "They get upset all the time."

Fox to guard chicken coop — Agriculture Secretary Block made new appointments to the advisory

committee of the Federal Grain Inspection Service, which inspects and weighs grain exports. Appointees include Arvil Hawk of Cargill, Inc., one of the world's giant grain traders.

We didn't bat an eyelash — In midtown Manhattan, a full-floor, five bedroom condo, \$2 million. A local real estate column assures: "Formidable though these prices may sound to most New Yorkers, they are well within the range of the market."

Thought for the week — "Cause of quality-control problems might be managers — not workers" — *Wall Street Journal* headline.

Growing international support for Kanak struggle

The South Pacific island of New Caledonia and its indigenous Kanak population have suffered under French imperialist rule since 1853.

Throughout the 19th century, French settlers took over most of the land on the fertile west coast of New Caledonia and drove out the Kanak inhabitants.

Today, most Kanaks live on reservations or in traditional villages on the narrow east coast. They survive through subsistence farming and fishing.

Until the end of World War II, Kanaks were obliged by law to remain on their reservations. Until 1946 they were denied the right to vote.

The Kanak people, led by the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS), are fighting for their independence. Last fall, the FLNKS organized a successful boycott of the island's Territorial Assembly elections. On December 1, they announced they had set up the Provisional Government of Kanaky.

The following two articles are about solidarity with the struggle of the Kanak people. They are reprinted from the March 29, 1985, issue of *Socialist Action*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the Socialist Action League, the New Zealand section of the Fourth International. Both articles were written by Eileen Morgan.

New Zealand Federation of Labor backs Kanak people

The national council of the Federation of Labor (FOL) has adopted a 10-point policy in support of the independence struggle being waged by the Kanak people of New Caledonia. These 10 proposals were drawn up by the steering committee of the Pacific Trade Union Forum at a meeting in Vanuatu on February 9.

The proposals include:

- Encouraging and publicizing an economic and tourist boycott of New Caledonia, including the disruption of aircraft and shipping servicing the country;
- Providing financial and other support to Kanak trade unions, and sponsoring and funding the establishment of a Kanak radio station;
- Sponsoring solidarity tours by representatives of Kanak trade unions and distributing information in support of Kanak independence;
- Sponsoring activities on April 20 as part of a "Day of International Solidarity for Kanak people."

The FOL national council has called on trades councils and affiliated unions to support this 10-point policy, particularly the appeal for financial assistance. The FOL itself is donating \$1,000 to the Kanak trade union, the USTKE.

Economic boycott

In March, Claude Wema, the vice-president of the USTKE, toured New Zealand for two weeks at the invitation of the FOL. During this time he visited Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin, Rotorua, Hamilton and Tokoroa, speaking to trade unionists about the Kanaks' struggle for independence and seeking their support for the Pacific Trade Union Forum's policy.

At a press conference in Auckland on March 14 he described the support he had received as "fairly favorable, both to my organization and its aims, in all the cities I visited." Explaining the call for an economic boycott directed against New Caledonia, Claude said that it "will certainly strike specifically at the [French settler] population in Nouméa, rather than at the rest of the country.

"For example, most of the fruit and vegetables seem to come from Australia and New Zealand. That is why we are asking for this boycott. We prefer the economic boycott as a weapon rather than those which cause blood to flow in New Caledonia. Already, we have 15 slain to mourn," he added.

FLNKS offices

In order to strengthen international understanding of and support for the Kanak struggle for independence, the FLNKS is setting up offices in Melbourne [Australia] and Wellington. Independence activist Susanna Ounei, who spent 1984 in New Zealand under Corso's sponsorship studying English, has returned to this country to take up this responsibility.

"We need all the support we can get now," she told *Socialist Action* on March 15. "When I say support for the FLNKS, I mean support for the Kanak people, because the majority are in the FLNKS now.

"We want a radio station and our own newspaper, a FLNKS newspaper. We need money now, really really need money," Susanna emphasized. "There are only 7,000 Kanak workers in New Caledonia from whom we can get money and their wages are low."

Another important fund-raising project, she explained, was for the rebuilding of the Kanak trade union headquarters, which was fire-bombed by French settlers in January. The USTKE office had served as an organizing center for the FLNKS. "It was right in the middle of town, where all Kanak people in Nouméa could come," she said.

"So what we really need now is money. I would also like to see more public protests like the pickets that have been organized in Wellington, Auckland, and Queenstown. I am prepared to go anywhere to speak and to get support for our struggle."

Beginning on March 20, Susanna embarked on a week-long speaking tour of the Manawatu and Hawkes Bay, speaking mainly at workplaces. A full report of this tour will be published in the next issue of *Socialist Action*. Corso is also planning to sponsor a national speaking tour by her later in the year.

Australian unions

While Claude was in New Zealand, USTKE president Louis Uregei was paying a similar visit to Australia. In a statement released on November 28 last year Cliff Dolan, the president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU), announced the Australian union movement's support for the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS). As result of Uregei's latest visit, the ACTU has decided to call for a one-week economic boycott against New Caledonia, Claude said.

At a governmental level, only Vanuatu, Indonesia, and Papua, New Guinea, have

recognized the FLNKS as the Provisional Government of Kanaky, he explained. "I am still waiting for an official response from the New Zealand government. I met with most of the Labor MPs in Wellington on Saturday, but I'm still waiting for an answer."

Trade Union Forum

The USTKE is a member of the Pacific Trade Union Forum, which represents unions from 14 different countries and territories in the Pacific. Claude explained that at the forum's October 1984 meeting in Nadi, Fiji, the majority of delegates present supported the Kanak struggle for its independence.

Following the FLNKS's December 1 declaration of a Provisional Government of Kanaky, the trade union forum sent a telegram of support calling for "an immediate end to French occupation" of New Caledonia. The telegram reaffirmed the Pacific Trade Union Forum's "support for the struggle of the Kanak people towards the exercise of their innate and active right to independence and expresses solidarity with the new provisional government."

Claude also explained that the Kanak trade union had strong links with other independence groups in the Pacific. "We have been to Tahiti for meetings, and the Tahitians have come and held meetings with us. The links are very close indeed — and the exchanges also — between the unions in French Polynesia and Kanaky."

Solidarity committees set up in France

Outside the South Pacific, solidarity actions with the Kanak struggle have taken place in France itself and in the French-controlled Caribbean islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique. Two sister organizations of the Socialist Action League, the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) in France and the Socialist Revolution Group (GRS), which is based in Guadeloupe and Martinique, have played important roles in this solidarity work.

The GRS has published a special issue of their magazine *Tranchees* ("Trenches") devoted to New Caledonia, entitled "The Truth About the Struggle of the Kanak People." It was also involved in the setting up of a support committee in Fort-de-France, Martinique, which organized a demonstration on January 18.

In France itself, the weekly magazine *La Vie* reports that a Louis Harris opinion poll taken on January 2-3 showed that 37 percent of those surveyed supported independence for New Caledonia, 19 percent were opposed, and 44 percent had no opinion on the issue. Of those who supported independence, 53 percent based their position on the "legitimacy" of the Kanaks' demand for independence, while 66 percent of those against independence said it would be "bad for the interests of France."

French committees

Solidarity committees have been set up in more than a dozen French cities, coordinated by the Association for Information and Support for the Rights of the Kanak people. On January 29, the association organized a solidarity meeting in Paris which



over 5,000 people attended. The meeting was addressed by Jean-Marie Tjibaou, president of the Provisional Government of Kanaky, who visited France in late January.

In an interview published in the February 1 issue of the LCR's newspaper *Rouge*, Jean-Marie commented: "It was truly an extraordinary meeting that warmed our hearts, as well as all those who prepared it. It warmed the hearts of all the militants fighting for something better, all of us..."

"This type of action carried out in France is very important for us, especially before the vote on self-determination... it can help those in New Caledonia who are hesitant, who are afraid to take a position for the freedom of the Kanak people without being against their country of origin."

Support appreciated

While in France Jean-Marie Tjibaou met with politicians, church leaders, and civil liberties activists. Meetings were also held with leaders of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT — one of the two main trade union federations in France), and of the National Teachers Federation.

Speaking to *Rouge*, he also praised the solidarity work carried out by the LCR. "I must also thank the LCR, which, in liaison with the Association for Information and Support for the Rights of the Kanak People, has done a great deal of work," he said.

"We appreciated the strength of your support. The contacts that [LCR leader] Alain Krivine made during his trip [to New Caledonia] aided us a great deal in concretizing the relations with your organization and all those here who support liberation struggles and the Kanak people. All this made it possible to have more authentic contact, because it was directly on the spot, and I must tip my hat to this special relationship."

Solidarity activists throughout France are now preparing to organize a national demonstration on April 20 as part of the "Day of International Solidarity for Kanak people" called by the FLNKS, which has also been endorsed by the Pacific Trade Union Forum and the Federation of Labor in New Zealand.

Subscribe to the Militant

More antiwar actions needed

Continued from front page

This is a plain statement of Washington's intention to send young U.S. workers and farmers to kill and be killed to install a pro-U.S. big-business regime in Nicaragua.

At the same time, millions of U.S. dollars and tons of U.S. weapons are being poured into El Salvador to prop up a dictatorship under assault by its own people.

And U.S. troops still occupy the island of Grenada, undoing the gains working people made under the revolutionary government led by Maurice Bishop.

It's to threaten the peoples of Latin America, Asia, and Africa — who are fighting to end U.S. domination of their lives the same way that Cuba did more than 25 years ago — that Washington is putting nuclear missiles in Europe and is developing "Star Wars" weapons for outer space.

The government tells us the war in Central America is being waged for peace and social justice.

We know that's a lie.

It's being waged to make Central America safe for big business to exploit working people and reap superprofits. In order to prevent the workers and peasants of those countries from challenging their U.S. masters, Washington puts in power and props up the bloodiest dictators — in the name of democracy. That's why Washington supported the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua before the revolution there. That's why it supports apartheid in South Africa. U.S. employers profit from the oppression of 23 million Blacks in South Africa.

Washington needs South African President Botha — who guns down Black demonstrators — just like it needed Somoza.

And it's no surprise that a government that condones anti-Black terror in South Africa lets killer cops run free in Black and Latino communities from New York to Los Angeles.

The April 20 marches are a powerful way to oppose Washington's oppression and exploitation at home and abroad.

Marching on April 20 are many of those who are facing the brunt of the rulers' offensive.

Nine international and national unions are endorsers of April 20. They are: United Steelworkers, International Association of Machinists, International Chemical Workers, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, United Electrical Workers, United Farm Workers, United Food and Commercial Workers, and United Furniture Workers.

Scores of local unions and officials have also backed the demonstrations.

This participation of the potentially powerful trade union movement reflects the opposition to the U.S. war among the ranks of labor.

Significantly, family farmers, who have been organizing protest actions against the government and the bankers, are part of our coalition. Their own struggle experiences have led them to take the government's claim to be defending peasants in Nicaragua and El Salvador with more than a grain of salt.

Workers and exploited farmers have the biggest stake in opposing the war. And they have the economic, social, and class power to stop it and to put an end to exploitation

and oppression at home.

What's the most effective way to further broaden the active opposition to the government's policies and deepen the participation and leadership of workers and family farmers in the fight against the war?

Some leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties tell us we should rely on them to stop the war, end racism, win women's rights, stop farm foreclosures, and defend the union movement. Then they turn around and vote for war spending and cutbacks in social services.

It would be an error for us to look in their direction in thinking about what to do next.

Nothing can substitute for building our own united, mass protest movement, independent of the two governing parties of the bankers and corporations.

This is the lesson of the gigantic civil rights movement, which eliminated the social system of legal segregation known as Jim Crow.

This is the lesson of the women's rights movement's fight for the vote 70 years ago and the struggle for legal abortion.

This is the lesson of the labor movement, as well. No capitalist politician ever gave us our unions — we had to fight every step of the way against the employers and their government, cops, courts, and Democratic and Republican politicians.

And surely this is the lesson of the movement against the Vietnam War.

How was that war ended?

Through the struggle of the heroic people of Vietnam, with the support of a national and international antiwar movement. That movement organized demonstrations, teach-ins, picket lines, and speak-outs to answer Washington's lying, prowar propaganda; to educate working people about the real aims and nature of the war, and to forthrightly demand: Bring our boys home now!

In the struggle against the war in Central America today we have powerful allies in the fighting people of Nicaragua and the freedom fighters in El Salvador. And we have already begun to involve labor and family farmers in the struggle.

The April Actions for Peace, Jobs, and Justice Coalition pulled together the organizations which built April 20 and the three related days of activities.

In the course of building the demonstrations, local coalitions were organized in dozens of cities around the country. They will be discussing what to do next in their areas, as well as national perspectives.

This fall we can build on what we've been able to accomplish so far by organizing nationally coordinated local protest actions to involve and actively draw in even more unionists, farmers, Blacks, Latinos, women, and youth in the fight against war, racism, and union-busting.

The working people around the world are looking at the growing U.S. war in Central America. They wonder what our response will be to the aggression of the U.S. government.

Through April 20, we let them know — the opposition to this war among working people is growing in the United States, and this opposition can be built into an effective movement.

That's what April 20 means. Let's go forward from there.

Nuclear arms and Washington's war in Central America

Two demands of the April Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice — No U.S. intervention in Central America and Stop and reverse the nuclear arms build-up — are deeply interconnected. The U.S. government's nuclear weapons form part of its arsenal against the people of the world who are fighting to free themselves from the yoke of imperialist exploitation and oppression.

In his 1983 speech, "The Working-class Road to Peace," Brian Grogan, a British leader of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (an international socialist organization), looks at the connection between nuclear arms buildup and imperialist intervention against the colonial revolutions. The talk was given at a Socialist Educational and Activists Conference in Oberlin, Ohio.

It is reprinted in full in the Winter 1983-84 issue of *New Internationalist*, a magazine of Marxist theory and politics. Each issue costs \$4; a special subscription offer of four issues for \$12 is also available. For single copies or a subscription write: New Internationalist, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

We must not overlook a second way in which the nuclear weapons question is linked to imperialism's colonial wars. Along with the development of their strategic

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

nuclear arsenals aimed at the Soviet Union, the imperialists have also developed "tactical" nuclear weapons that can be used in so-called local wars. Thus the Pentagon's Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), developed as a flexible military task force able to intervene rapidly in the Middle East or elsewhere against a revolutionary insurrection or rebellion, is equipped with its own nuclear weapons.

U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger has been quite explicit about how Washington views this question. "It is possible, I believe, to fight some wars using conventional forces . . . but I think that if you advise potential opponents in advance that you do not intend to cross certain lines, that you have almost assured another Vietnam. . . . Any time you get into a war the possibility that you will use every weapon available has to be left open."

Washington's open threats to use nuclear weapons to defeat national liberation struggles is nothing new. U.S. imperialism threatened to use its nuclear arsenal twice during the Korean War, as it did several times against the Vietnamese, in the Taiwan Straits in 1958, during the Cuban missile crisis in 1962. . . . All these have been made public knowledge by the U.S. rulers, and one can only guess how many other occasions there have been.

There is good reason to point to the danger that imperialism might decide at some point to use nuclear weapons against a national liberation struggle. At the same time, it is important to understand why the imperialists have so far *not* done so. . . .

Washington and other nuclear-armed capitalist powers are not at all convinced that all-out war would necessarily result from use of a tactical nuclear weapon against a colonial people.

The main check on the imperialists in this regard is a political one. Imagine the political price they would pay, for example, for using a nuclear weapon in Africa. Such an act would be met with horror and hatred on a massive scale not only in Africa, but throughout the colonial world, destabilizing neocolonial regimes and risking revolutionary uprisings. Imagine the response in the Black communities of the United States, Britain, and elsewhere, and among other working people in the imperialist countries.

Imagine the political price Washington would pay throughout Latin America and the Caribbean if it were to use nuclear weapons against the peoples of Nicaragua or against Salvadoran freedom fighters. . . . Once again, imagine the political price the imperialists would pay at home, in terms of the breakdown of mass confidence in the justice of their rule.

This does not mean that imperialism might not decide at some point to pay such a price. But only if it judged the political costs of not doing so to be weightier than the certain gigantic repercussions of such a decision for the stability of its entire system of rule at home and internationally. Our job is to struggle to keep the political price of any such imperialist use of nuclear weapons high. Every advance by the workers and farmers raises that price; every victory by imperialism lowers it and increases the danger of the use of nuclear weapons.

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The Soviet missile moratorium

The angry White House response to the Soviet government's announcement of a unilateral moratorium on deployment of nuclear missiles in Europe spotlights the real U.S. aim in current arms control talks.

Faced with strong antinuclear and antiwar sentiment at home and internationally, Washington has tried to use the talks as a smokescreen for an escalating arms buildup. It seeks to use nuclear blackmail to give it a free hand against the Nicaraguan revolution and to check national liberation struggles worldwide.

Its claimed readiness to discuss arms reduction suffered exposure when Mikhail Gorbachev, Soviet Communist Party general secretary, announced the moratorium on the deployment of medium-range missiles in East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

He said the moratorium would remain in effect until November and would be extended if Washington halts the further deployment of its missiles in Western Europe.

He explained that the action was being taken to give "a serious impulse" to improved U.S.-Soviet relations.

Gorbachev added: "The American leaders are declaring that they are for radical reductions of armaments. If that is so, it would be logical first to put a brake on the arms race and then immediately go over to arms reduction."

Despite this clear explanation that the Soviet moratorium is intended as an opening step toward mutual arms reduction, Reagan aides argued that the move was intended to freeze what they claim is a current Soviet lead on such missiles in Europe.

The White House charged that the Gorbachev announcement was intended to foster "dissension" among its West European NATO allies by tapping popular antinuclear sentiment.

Capitalist governments in Western Europe, however,

were quick to back the hard-nosed U.S. position. In Holland, for instance, a public commitment was cynically brushed aside. Earlier, to placate popular sentiment, the government had postponed accepting NATO missiles until 1988, with a final vote slated for this November.

At the time, it was declared that if the Soviet Union put a moratorium on its deployment of missiles in Europe by Nov. 1, then Holland would not accept the NATO ones. But responding to the Soviet moratorium, a Dutch foreign ministry spokesperson said this was no reason to alter their stance.

Gorbachev's April 17 announcement came the weekend that nearly half a million antinuclear protesters demonstrated in West Germany and additional thousands turned out in other European countries. In Britain, a reported 11,000 people faced a heavy downpour to protest at a U.S. military base.

Testimony that the White House was thrown off balance by the Soviet initiative came with the abrupt retreat from its recent proposal for a Reagan-Gorbachev summit.

Now the approach is that Reagan might hold a "meeting" with Gorbachev when he visits the United Nations this fall, but a full-scale summit would require extensive prior discussions.

The initial Reagan proposal for a summit meeting, like the U.S. presence at the Geneva talks, was intended as a propaganda cloak for its continuing arms buildup, particularly the MX and Star Wars programs, and to take some of the international stench off its dirty war against Nicaragua.

Gorbachev put his finger on Washington's "disarmament" strategy when he said: "They speak about defense but prepare for attack, they advertise the space shield but are forging a space sword, they promise to liquidate arms but in practice build up these arms and perfect them."

Columbia students demand divestment now

Continued from back page

Faculty and staff of the university have shown their support despite the atmosphere of intimidation created by the university administration. On April 9, 200 members of the faculty issued a statement calling on the university administration to refrain from using force or coercion against the protestors and to divest all its stock in companies with holdings in South Africa.

On April 11 the faculty organized a teach-in on apartheid in support of the sit-in, which drew between 500 and 800 people.

Messages of support have been received from prominent individuals and groups. This includes Jesse Jackson; Herbert Daughtery; the African National Congress of South Africa; the American Committee on Africa; the UN Special Committee on Apartheid; Noreen Connell, president of the New York National Organization for Women; Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador; the U.S. Student Association, among others.

On April 15 Jesse Jackson spoke to a 1 p.m. rally of some 1,500 people at Columbia in support of the students. That same day, the students won another victory in court. Judge Bruce Wright refused to permit Columbia's administration to call in the cops to remove the students.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, the South African Nobel Peace Prize winner, sent a message of support that was particularly embarrassing to the university president, Michael Sovern. Sovern had invoked Tutu's name in an attempt to convince the students that divestment was counterproductive. Sovern said, "More than any university in America, Columbia has reached out to help South Africans in their struggle against racial oppression. Bishop Tutu proudly calls Columbia his university."

On April 10 Tutu bluntly condemned the use of his name and telegraphed the students the following message: "We welcome your effort to have economic decision be based on moral principle."

As Sovern's arguments are discredited one by one, he has become increasingly isolated on campus.

When asked what they hope to accomplish one student responded, "our goal is to build a movement that will continue not just until the university divests but until apartheid is brought down."

The Columbia protest has already sparked similar actions around the country. Students at University of California at Berkeley have camped in front of Sproul

Hall now renamed for the South African martyr Steven Biko. Students are sitting in at Rutgers in New Jersey, and a major protest was held at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. Solidarity rallies are planned for Princeton and the University of Michigan.

Inspired by the Columbia action, students at Northwestern University in Illinois held a protest against a Nicaraguan leader of the U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries. And protests continue at the University of Wisconsin at Madison and University of Colorado at Boulder against CIA recruiters on campus.

To maintain the sit-in the coalition is asking organizations to join the daily rallies at 5:30 pm and spend the night. On Thursday, April 18, a citywide rally has been called for 5:30 p.m. at Columbia. New Yorkers returning from the April 20 march on Washington are especially invited to a late night rally that Saturday.

Messages of support, news of related actions, and financial contributions should be sent to the Coalition for a Free South Africa, Malcolm X Lounge, Hartley Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 10027. Messages calling for divestment should be sent to Michael Sovern, president, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027.

BY DON MACKLE

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J. — Students demanding Rutgers University in New Jersey divest holdings in companies doing business in South Africa began a sit-in demonstration in front of the New Brunswick campus Student Center on April 12.

Over 500 students rallied that Friday afternoon to press the total divestment demand. Previously the university had agreed to divest about one-third of the \$11 million currently invested.

After the rally the students marched to the Student Center, chained shut the doors, hung banners renaming the center for Nelson Mandela, and began the sit-in.

Speakers at spirited impromptu rallies over the weekend also talked about the U.S. war in Central America and urged participation in the April 20 march on Washington, D.C.

Leaflets for the Washington action circulated through the crowd and many students at the demonstration already had plans to attend.

The action has received support from the community in the form of donations of

food and blankets.

A contingent of the demonstrators went to Columbia University to express solidarity with the sit-in participants there, and on April 14 a contingent from Columbia visited the Rutgers sit-in and spoke at a spirited rally. The Speaker of the New Jersey Assembly, Alan Karcher, and Deputy Speaker Willie Brown also spoke.

At a rally on the night of the April 13 sit-in, Bernie Sanders, the mayor of Burlington, Vermont, spoke to the demonstrators. Rev. Henry Atkins, a leader of the Central America refugee sanctuary movement, has been participating in the protest also.

Since the afternoon the sit-in began groups of 75 to 200 Black, Latino, and white students have been camping in front of the building. Three demonstrators are on a hunger strike.

Participants and supporters of the sit-in have also been engaging in an ongoing discussion on a wide range of issues from South Africa and Central America to Palestine and racism here at home.

The *Militant* has been well received. Over 100 copies have been sold to demon-

strators and supporters on campus, as well as in the surrounding New Brunswick community.

The Coalition for Total Divestment, which organized the sit-in and April 13 rally, has been actively contacting community leaders, elected officials, and labor leaders, inviting them to come to express solidarity with the demonstration.

The action has received widespread press coverage in New Jersey.

Meanwhile on April 16, police moved onto the University of California's Berkeley campus and arrested 158 protesters who were taking part in a week-long action against the University's investments in South Africa.

A noontime rally the day of the arrests drew a crowd of more than 1,000. Mario Savio, a leader of the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley in the 1960s, addressed the rally. Savio told the students, "It's a nationwide demonstration. The students at Columbia and Rutgers are watching you. Don't let them down."

Fire hits L.A. abortion clinic

BY SARAH MATTHEWS

LOS ANGELES — On Monday night, April 8, a seventeen-alarm fire broke out at the Feminist Women's Health Center here, destroying all but the waiting room and the director's office.

No one was hurt. But damage is estimated at \$910,000, and \$100,000 will be needed to reopen the clinic. The clinic has been the target of harassment and bomb threats for many months.

When the fire was put out, the arson squad began investigating. Since then, they have given only conflicting reports to the clinic directors. Carol Downer, the codirector of the clinic, explained, "It is impossible not to see this in the context of the wave of recent attacks on clinics."

In 1984, 30 abortion clinics were bombed. This is the first such major attack on a clinic in 1985.

Tuesday morning, determined not to be intimidated, clinic workers started working in a van parked in front of the charred building, doing pregnancy testing and other functions. A location search and fundraising have been started in order to

reopen the clinic as soon as possible.

Wednesday evening, about 60 supporters of the clinic and other concerned people met to discuss the fire. Rosalie Abrams, from the Orange County Feminist Women's Health Center, said, "This is not an isolated struggle. Women will continue to have abortions. We will have them safe, and we will win!"

Maggie Seigan of the January 22 Coalition for Reproductive Rights, announced that there would be a women's contingent in the April 20 antiwar demonstration.

Seigan stressed the centrality of abortion rights for women. "The right to an abortion is essential to women. It is fundamental to our right to control our own bodies and plan our schooling, jobs, and lives. Before the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion in the United States, thousands of women died because of back-alley criminal abortions each year. A disproportionate number were Black and Latino women," Seigan said.

For more information, to volunteer or help out, call Laura Brown at (213) 461-6355. The next meeting will be Wednesday, April 24. Call for time and place.

LETTERS

April 20 I

Support is growing for the April 20 Actions for Peace, Jobs, and Justice here in Salt Lake City. The Salt Lake City Central Federation of Labor endorsed the action and donated \$100 to help build it, including making a special labor banner for the demonstration.

State Senator Terry Williams, the only Black legislator in Utah, has also endorsed April 20.

The Central American Solidarity Committee (CASC) which is organizing the demonstration here, is planning to send a delegation to San Francisco to participate in the demonstration there. And for those who can't make the trip, there will be a protest rally on April 19 to see the delegation off. T.R.

Salt Lake City, Utah

April 20 II

Labor, church and community leaders in Portland held a press conference April 1 to announce their plans to build the April 20 demonstration for Peace, Jobs, and Justice in Seattle.

Nita Bruggerman, manager of the Northwest District of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) and chairperson of the Portland April 20 Coalition, chaired the press conference. Other participants included Rev. John Jackson, Mt. Olivet Baptist Church and co-chair

of the Portland chapter of the Black United Front; Roger Auerbach, former president of the Oregon Federation of Teachers; Pat Williams of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and Jo Aughinbaugh from the Grey Panthers.

The Portland April 20 Coalition has made a special effort to get rank-and-file union members to the demonstration. It drew up a statement explaining why working people should support April 20 and the fight for peace, jobs, and justice.

As part of building the April 20 demonstration, the coalition is organizing support to make Portland a "Sister City" of Corinto, Nicaragua. Chris Brandon
Shirley Pena
Portland, Oregon

Reading Malcolm a risk

It appears that corresponding with the *Militant* and reading books from Pathfinder Press is a serious risk in this institution. These people have claimed that I am "advocating racial unrest" because I am a "black supremacist follower of Malcolm X."

Because of this bogus charge my release date has been pushed back for eight months. But such tactics will not prevent me from studying, and passing around Pathfinder books.



Malcolm X

You may be surprised to learn that the most avid readers of *Che Guevara Speaks* are the Cuban prisoners here. There are about 20 of them, and the book stays in constant circulation. A prisoner

Overtime

I really enjoyed Mark Satinoff's Union Talk article on overtime in the *Militant*. Capitalists all over the country are using the overtime trick to lower our wages. Instead of giving workers more pay to keep up with higher expenses and inflation, the company offers overtime. Workers take it because they need the money. The company not only gets out of paying people more, but they make more profits. As Mark mentioned, it's

cheaper for the company to pay time and a half than to hire another worker. So we don't really make more money — we just put in more hours.

Sonja Franeta
Jersey City, New Jersey

Occupational health

I am an activist physician working in the public-health area in Boston.

The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) estimates that each year, at least 13,000 workers are killed in industrial accidents, 5 million others are injured, and 100,000 die from exposure to toxic chemicals.

How has the medical profession been training itself to deal with this toll? Not very well, it turns out. But there are signs that this situation is changing.

A report in the January edition of the *American Journal of Public Health* presents the results of a recent survey of the 127 U.S. medical schools. Of the 111 schools which responded to the survey, 66 percent stated that they teach occupational health as part of their curriculum, a figure which compares to only 50 percent in a similar survey performed seven years ago. Further, at 54 percent of the schools surveyed, occupational health is a required part of the

course work, compared to only 30 percent seven years ago.

In addition, the schools that teach occupational health offer information on particular work-related diseases, on government agencies and programs, and on health care delivery and preventive medicine in the workplace. Many also provide opportunities for workplace visits, research projects, and summer clinical experiences in occupational health.

It used to be that a physician would hardly think of asking a person's occupation and work history, and, if asked, would be even less likely to connect that information with disease and illness. Given the narrow focus of clinical medicine, this is still true today. But, as the survey suggests, it probably won't be long before the question, "What kind of work do you do?" moves up a few notches closer to what is and — at least in the present U.S. health delivery system — will remain the lead query, "How will you pay?"

Joseph Regna
Medford, Massachusetts

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.

Columbia students' sit-in demands 'No investments in South Africa'

BY CAPPY KIDD
AND BOBBY MISAILIDES

NEW YORK — "If they come for you in the morning they're going to have to come for us in the evening," Vernon Mason told the cheering demonstrators at Columbia University's Hamilton Hall, now renamed "Mandela Hall." He was leading a march of 200 prominent Black figures from Harlem.

Under the leadership of the Coalition for a Free South Africa, hundreds of Columbia students have been sitting in at the main entrance to Hamilton Hall since April 4. The coalition is demanding that the university divest all of its \$32.5 million invested in corporations that do business in South Africa.

This dramatic protest is shaping up into a major test of strength between prodivestment forces and Columbia University, an institution that masquerades as a liberal defender of Black rights in South Africa.

Prior to the sit-in some 70 students went on a symbolic hunger strike. Seven of them refused food for 15 days. The hunger strike finally ended on April 8 when the Columbia administration agreed to meet with representatives of the hunger strikers. By that time two students had been hospitalized. A prepared statement by the hunger strikers was read by Tanagui'l Jones at the time of the meeting. She said, "in 1978 [the Columbia trustees] promised to divest from all corporations which 'through act or omission support apartheid.' These corporations have yet to be divested. IBM is still supplying computers which keep track of Blacks under the Pass Law system. Mobil is still providing oil to the South African military, and all companies are still obliged under the Key Points Act to offer their factories to the military in case of Black unrest."

The sit-in was a direct result of the Board of Trustees' refusal to comply with overwhelming student and faculty opinion in favor of divesting all the university's holdings in companies that invest in South Africa.

Socialist candidate for mayor of New York sends solidarity

The following solidarity statement is by Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City. It is being distributed to protesting Columbia University students and supporters demanding divestment. González has participated in solidarity activities.

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

Please accept my solidarity in your struggle.

Your action this week has been an important step forward in the struggle against U.S. support — both corporate and governmental — for the racist apartheid regime in South Africa.

The government's support for racism in South Africa reflects its racist policy at home. Its support for the violence in South Africa is part of its war against the oppressed and exploited people of the world — particularly today in Central America.

I am sure that the brothers and sisters fighting today in South Africa, hearing of your struggle here, are encouraged to continue because they know they are not alone.

You are setting an important example for youth and for all those opposed to apartheid. With these actions you do make a difference.

My campaign pledges its support to stand with you in our common struggle.

The trustees have held these investments in contradiction to their stated intentions in 1978 and despite a unanimous vote for divestment passed in 1983 by the University Senate.

The university administration has responded to the sit-in by trying to intimidate and divide the coalition. Selective threats of expulsion were issued first to one student, then to 10 others, and then to 48. Students identified by security's video cameras and other sources continue to be randomly singled out for disciplinary letters. Claiming that the sit-in is disrupting the educational process, the administration then resorted to legal action, obtaining a restraining order and citing 14 students for contempt of court.

Not to be intimidated, the coalition sent a letter to the administration signed by 500 students giving their names and student ID numbers as participants in the sit-in. The coalition won a big victory when it obtained a temporary restraining order from New York State Supreme Court Justice Bruce Wright preventing the university from taking any police action against the students pending a hearing scheduled for April 15.

The students have added the call for full amnesty for the protesting students to their list of demands.

Responding to the charges that they are disrupting the educational process, one student told the *Militant*, "The best way to learn history is to make history. I've learned more out here in eight days than I've learned in a whole year at Columbia. It's a different kind of education. It gives you insight into human relationships. It



Samantha McCormick

Columbia students sit-in at Mandela Hall, surrounded by posters and banners from supporters.

changes you."

Solidarity has been pouring in from all over the country and around the world. The outside of Mandela Hall is plastered with banners, posters, and letters from different organizations, campuses, and high schools. Every day hundreds of supporters show up to express their solidarity. Music, announcements, and speeches go into the night.

Columbia students have rallied in support of the protestors as have many local stores, restaurants, and churches; they provide contributions of food, services, blankets, and money.

There are solidarity marches up to Col-

umbia every day from different New York communities and other campuses.

On April 11, 70 hospital workers from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 420 arrived carrying banners supporting divestment. AFSCME District Council 37 sent \$250 worth of food and coffee. In addition Local 1199 of the hospital workers, Local 802 of the American Federation of Musicians, and District 65 of the United Auto Workers (UAW) extended their solidarity by offering food, desks, and office equipment and by sending delegations.

Continued on Page 19

Attacks on Grenadian unions continue

BY STEVE CLARK

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — The U.S.-installed capitalist government on this Caribbean island is continuing its efforts to housebreak the organized union movement.

The Grenadian employers, in collaboration with U.S. imperialism, are "trying to recapture ground lost during the revolution," explained Anselm De Bourg, president of the Commercial and Industrial Workers Union (CIWU).

The revolutionary government of workers and farmers established in March 1979 pursued policies that fostered the growth and strengthening of the unions. That government, however, was overthrown in October 1983 by a counterrevolutionary faction within the governing New Jewel Movement led by former Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard. This coup culminated on October 19 with the massacre of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and other revolutionary leaders, including Vincent Noel, president of the Bank and General Workers Union (BGWU), and Fitzroy Bain, president of the Agricultural and General Workers Union (AGWU).

The overthrow of the revolutionary government then paved the way for the U.S.-organized invasion of October 25, and the installation of a neocolonial capitalist regime. The initial Interim Advisory Council was replaced in December 1984, following bogus elections, by the current New National Party (NNP) government headed by Prime Minister Herbert Blaize.

Several hundred U.S. occupation forces remain on the island, together with a larger contingent of Jamaican, Barbadian, and other Caribbean government troops.

"Because of the current political climate," De Bourg told the *Militant*, "the employers hope that the workers can be entirely subjugated once again." Washington's promises that the invasion would

bring in its wake major economic development projects to create jobs and better living conditions have not been fulfilled, De Bourg said.

Before the imperialists are willing to make any significant investments in Grenada, he said, they insist on "bringing back the colonial mentality." They demand cheap labor, poor working conditions, and a union movement and leadership that has been brought to heel.

They want "to Americanize the labor movement, to tame it for the private sector," De Bourg explained.

The destruction of the workers and farmers government and resulting U.S. occupation have gone a long way toward helping

the capitalists achieve their goals. But Grenadian workers have put up resistance through their unions.

An aspect of the antilabor offensive since October 1983 has been waged directly by individual employers. This has taken the form of arbitrary firings and layoffs, the rollback of wages and benefits, and efforts to weaken or break the unions.

The U.S.-installed government has played a central role in the attacks on workers and the unions. It has shut down many economic development projects of the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG). These include the agroindustries plant; the Sandino prefabricated housing

Continued on Page 15

Kiko Martínez faces new trial

BY DUNCAN WILLIAMS

DENVER — Francisco "Kiko" Martínez, a veteran fighter for Chicano rights, is slated to face a new frameup trial April 18 in federal court in Tucson, Arizona.

Speaking at a well-attended meeting of the Militant Labor Forum here April 6, Martínez declared, "Either we or the government will win a moral victory in this case."

A farmer who for years was a prominent Chicano movement attorney, Martínez described to the forum the political motivations for the government's attempt to frame him on a letter-bomb charge and the two previous trials he was subjected to.

In 1973, Martínez was falsely charged with sending letter bombs to a Denver cop, a school board member, and a third person. A media lynch campaign was whipped up against him. Fearing for his very life at the hands of Denver's notorious killer cops, Martínez fled the country.

In 1980, returning to this country, he

was apprehended at the border.

In 1981, he was first tried on the bomb charge. This ended in a mistrial when it was established that the judge had met secretly with the prosecutors to plan to victimize his supporters at the trial.

In 1982 he was subjected to a second trial on additional charges. The government's claimed main piece of evidence was conveniently lost. It was clear there was no case and the jury acquitted him. The last charges against him were finally dropped.

Then, this past January 21, a posse of FBI agents and cops, with drawn guns, swooped down on his home in Alamosa, Colorado, arresting him on charges of giving false information. The basis of the charge? When he re-entered the country, he had given another name!

His case deserves the support of everyone concerned with social justice. Contributions and messages of support can be sent to the Kiko Martínez Defense Committee, Box 753, Alamosa, Colo., 81101.