

Hands off Panama! U.S. military out!

The indictments handed down by two U.S. grand juries against Panamanian Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega are a provocation against Panama and should be condemned by all opponents of U.S. aggression in Latin America.

The indictments are the latest escalation in a two-year campaign by the U.S. gov-

EDITORIAL

ernment to destabilize Panama, with the aim of overthrowing its government — something that is talked about openly by U.S. officials.

The ultimate goal of this effort is to undermine the treaties that would turn the Panama Canal over to Panamanian sovereignty on Dec. 31, 1999.

These agreements were signed in 1977 by U.S. President James Carter with the Panamanian regime of Gen. Omar Torrijos. Washington also pledged to evacuate U.S. military bases by then. An estimated 10,000 U.S. troops are stationed in Panama.

U.S. control of the Panama Canal dates back to the beginning of the 20th century.

Just weeks after Panama declared its independence from Colombia in 1903, the new government signed a treaty with Washington for the construction of the canal across the isthmus. The treaty gave Washington indefinite control over the canal; the right to maintain "public order" in Panama City, Colón, and other parts of the country; to build military bases; and station troops in the Canal Zone.

In response to the latest escalation of the U.S. campaign against Panama, Noriega and others in the Panamanian government have called for the removal of the U.S. Southern Command, which is headquartered at the canal.

The southern command is the Pentagon's nerve center for directing the contra war against Nicaragua and the activities of U.S. military forces throughout Central America.

Panama has also recalled its ambassador to Washington for consultations, and six of its military officers who are being trained in the United States were ordered to return home.

Panamanian working people have also demonstrated their opposition to the threat of U.S. imperialist intervention. Some 3,000 peasants, government employees,

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Gov't defends FBI spying on foes of U.S. intervention

BY FRED FELDMAN

Reagan administration officials have rushed to the defense of an FBI campaign of spying and disruption aimed at critics of U.S. intervention in Central America.

White House spokesperson Marlin Fitzwater stated February 3 that the FBI investigation of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and other antiwar groups "had a solid basis for its initiation and continuance."

The scope of the FBI operation came to light at the end of January when the government was forced to release 1,200 pages of heavily censored documents to the Center for Constitutional Rights. The FBI has



U.S. soldiers on duty at Panama Canal. Washington's campaign against Panama and Noriega government is aimed at modifying canal treaty to assure continued U.S. military presence.

West Bank, Gaza gripped by Palestinian strike

BY HARRY RING

Despite an escalation of savage Israeli government repression, Palestinians marked the close of the second month of their uprising with a two-day strike that gripped all of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The strike action came in response to a call by the underground "PLO-National Unified Leadership of the Uprising."

Describing the response, a February 8 *New York Times* dispatch said, "Cities, villages, and refugee centers throughout the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Arab East Jerusalem looked like ghost towns."

The dispatch added that with the strike, "the underground Palestinian leadership group illustrated its ability to coordinate demonstrations throughout the occupied territories."

refused to release another 2,400 pages.

The investigation began in 1981 on the pretext that CISPES might be violating the Foreign Agents Registration Act. In 1983, according to FBI Director William Sessions, it became a "full international terrorism investigation."

This placed it under guidelines set by a 1981 executive order that authorizes burglaries, planting of informers, and other methods of disruption against targeted individuals and groups. Since the late 1930s, presidents and federal police agencies have acted as though such executive orders override the provisions of the Bill of Rights guaranteeing freedom of speech, press, as-

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The massive act of defiance came in the face of brutal violence by troops and colonial settlers.

Two Palestinian youths were beaten to death by Israeli soldiers, and at least two others were shot dead by settlers.

In the West Bank village of Salim, on February 5, soldiers and a local settler beat and stomped four Palestinian youths.

Then a bulldozer, operated by a soldier with a settler next to him, dumped almost three feet of dirt over them, covering them up to their necks and making it almost impossible to move. Village women finally found and rescued them.

Notorious as racist vigilantes, the colonial settlers are becoming increasingly involved in the attacks on the Palestinians.

As of February 9, the known number of Palestinians killed had reached at least 52.

Hospital and United Nations sources put the number of injured at more than 800.

An East Jerusalem hospital treated so many wounded it began running out of blood for transfusions.

An appeal for blood was broadcast over nearby mosque loudspeakers. Scores of volunteers rushed to the hospital.

The indomitable spirit of the 1.5 million Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip has not been crushed by the Israeli violence.

An added thorny problem for the Israeli rulers has been the fierce rebellion of the Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem, who are, legally, Israeli citizens.

A dispatch to *New York Newsday* reported that on February 6 Jerusalem had seen "the worst violence since its Arab section was captured by Israel in 1967."

In some areas, street lights were shat-

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Contra atrocities target civilians

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The congressional vote against the Reagan administration proposal for funding the contras "does not mean that the war has ended or is about to end," warned Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega February 4.

The vote "was a decision that should contribute to ending the illegal policy of force, which the United States has been promoting and continues to defend, in violation of international law." Nonetheless, he stressed, the Nicaraguan people "cannot let their guard down."

The day after the U.S. House of Representatives voted to reject the Reagan proposal, a gang of Washington's mercenaries ambushed a civilian truck loaded with passengers in northern Nicaragua. The contras detonated three Claymore mines as the truck drove by, and then opened fire on the survivors. Eighteen were killed, including five infants. Another 18 were wounded.

Horacio Cano survived by pretending to be dead. He told the daily *Barricada* that the contras fired indiscriminately at people fleeing from the initial attack. When they shot down one who was running away, the killers burst out laughing and cheering.

The mercenaries then descended on the dead and wounded lying near the truck, kicking their bodies and stealing their belongings.

One woman saw her tiny grandson fall dead, and was screaming uncontrollably, Cano said. "The contras told her: 'Shut up, old woman, or we'll blast you again.'"

Two days later, a contra threw a hand grenade into a crowd of demonstrators in a narrow street in the town of Wivilí, not far from the site of the February 4 ambush. The march had been organized to protest the attack on the passenger truck.

The grenade blast killed nine people, five of them children. Thirty-three more were wounded, including nine children.

The government later reported that it had captured two suspects in the attack, including the individual who police believe threw the grenade. He was a member of a small

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Peace actions set for N.Y., Calif. on June 11

NEW YORK — National peace demonstrations have been set for New York City and the West Coast on June 11. Initial sponsors for the actions include disarmament groups, opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America; women's, Black, and Asian rights groups; students; religious leaders; and trade union officials.

The demonstrations will take place during the third United Nations Special Session on Disarmament. They will focus on total abolition of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, general and complete disarmament, self-determination and non-intervention around the world, and the shift of military funds to development and human needs.

Representatives of antinuclear and antiwar organizations from around the world will participate in the actions.

Islanders seek end of Australian rule

BY NITA KEIG

SYDNEY, Australia — Four hundred delegates of island communities throughout the Torres Strait, meeting on Thursday Island, have called for independence from Australia.

This group of islands, which forms a bridge between northeast Australia and Papua New Guinea, is the home of a largely Melanesian population of 25,000 people.

In calling for independence, the conference, which took place January 21, also backed a US\$3.5 billion compensation claim initiated by some islanders against the Australian government for "illegal occupation, unjust conquest, and property and environmental damage."

Delegates also resolved to take their case before the United Nations Committee on Decolonization later this year. Already island leaders have sought support from member countries of the South Pacific Forum.

The islanders focus their grievances on their lack of control over the resources of the land and surrounding seas. The pearling and fishing industries have historically generated great wealth but little, if any, of this has benefitted the island population.

A fishing catch worth more than \$14 million is being taken from island waters each year but "not a cent is being returned to the islanders," according to the deputy chairman of the Islander Coordinating Council, Getano Lui.

More recently, mining operations, including gold mining on Horn Island, had commenced without any consultation with

the islanders and no suggestion of royalties or compensation.

Living conditions on the 17 inhabited islands are a growing source of anger. Poor housing; inadequate provision of water, sewerage, and electricity; and limited educational facilities are just some of the problems.

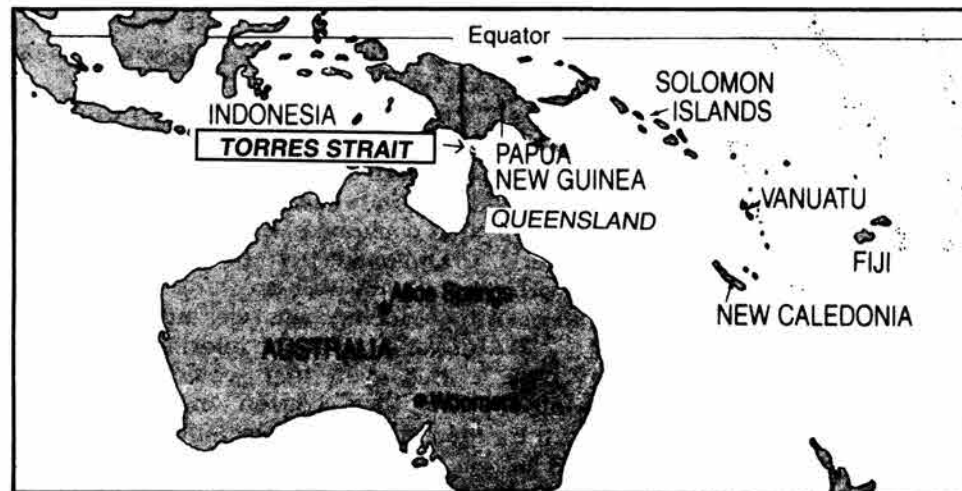
Trade and commerce is dominated by a tiny layer of private entrepreneurs, leading to exorbitant prices for food and other basic commodities.

These factors, combined with extremely limited job opportunities, have led to a long-term population drain, with some two-thirds of the Torres Strait Islands people living on the Australian mainland, many permanently.

Peter Sabatino, 36, a participant in the Aboriginal rights march that occurred here January 26, left Hammond Island when he was 27. With some Filipino ancestry (the pearling industry drew many Japanese, Malays, and Filipinos into the population of the Torres Strait till well into the 20th century), Sabatino originally left to study for a religious ministry, a course he has since abandoned.

He described the authoritarian and paternalistic regime of the Queensland state administration that rules the islands. This government has the cooperation of the Anglican church. "Anyone who challenged the power of the administrators, over however petty an issue, was subject to discipline. Troublemakers were weeded out."

His own father found himself sent to Palm Island Reserve off Townsville in Queensland (some 600 miles from his



home) for a period of months over a minor dispute with authorities on Hammond. Such arbitrary controls and punishments were part and parcel of Queensland's infamous Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Act. (Aborigines are the native peoples of Australia.)

Australia's Labor Party government has rejected outright the demand for independence. Prime Minister Robert Hawke's response has been to call for the establishment of a new Aboriginal and Torres Strait

Islanders Affairs Commission, and to request that Aboriginal Affairs Minister Gerry Hano prepare a submission to cabinet on the issues raised by the islanders.

As the Labor government orchestrates bicentennial celebrations of European settlement in Australia, the call of Torres Strait Islanders for independence highlights not only the continuing oppression of the country's indigenous population, but also Australia's character as an imperialist power in the South Pacific.

Socialist publications help expose roots of FBI spying

BY NORTON SANDLER

Recent revelations about FBI spying and disruption directed against opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America have outraged many. And many would be interested in reading the article "Washington's 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation."

Written by Larry Seigle, the article appears in the current issue of *New Internationalist*, a Marxist magazine. It also appears in Spanish in the December 1987 issue of the monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Discussing this and other *New Internationalist* articles with *Militant* and *PM* subscribers can be a boost to our distributors as they campaign to sell subscription renewals.

Victims of the recently revealed FBI operations against the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) include a wide range of groups and individuals. We encourage our distributors to get the *Militant*, *PM*, and *New Internationalist* into the hands of these activists even if they are not yet subscribers.

The *New Internationalist* article describes how the growth of the FBI began not in the 1950s and '60s as is often assumed, but on the eve of World War II.

U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt expanded and centralized federal police powers. These powers were used against the labor unions and the Black movement in an

effort to sweep aside all obstacles to U.S. imperialism's drive toward war.

In 1981 President Ronald Reagan issued an executive order to expand domestic spying on opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America.

In *New Internationalist*, Seigle explained that the question as to whether presidents have "inherent powers" that give them the right to violate democratic rights in the name of so-called national security has been at the heart of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against the FBI and other government cop agencies.

In 1986, federal Judge Thomas Griesa ruled that government spying, break-ins, and disruption operations were violations of the right to privacy and other constitutionally protected activity.

By expanding the circulation of *New Internationalist* and other socialist publications in the coming weeks, our distributors will be helping fighters today learn some of the important lessons acquired by the most conscious sections of the working-class movement in five decades of resisting FBI attacks.

These activists will also develop a better understanding of the stake they have in defending the court decision in the SWP case and how that decision can be used by everyone to help advance the fight against the FBI.

'Militant' sales in Australia

BY MARK SEVERS

SYDNEY, Australia — The fight against racism in this country, centering on the struggle against the killings of Blacks while in police custody and for land rights for the native Aborigines, has picked up steam. The 30,000-strong march for Aboriginal rights that took place here January 26 (see last week's *Militant* for coverage) was the largest such action ever.

Supporters of the *Militant* were greeted with a little surprise and a lot of enthusiasm as we introduced people to the paper at the action.

The coverage of the 1986 racist lynching in Howard Beach, New York, and the fight to bring the assailants to justice was of particular interest to young antiracist fighters here, both Black and white.

I introduced the *Militant* to four young Aboriginal women from Broken Hills, New South Wales, which is about 1,000 miles from Sydney. Their fathers were miners and railroad workers. They described the terrible housing, education, and health care that Aborigines face.

They knew about the U.S. civil rights movement and said that was the kind of movement they wanted to see in Australia.

Mostly they wanted to know about socialism.

We talked for a long time about the struggle of the working class against the ruling rich and how the battle against racism is part of that. They decided the best way to learn about socialism was to read about it every week in the *Militant*, so they all chipped in and bought a subscription.

I spoke with two young Maoris from New Zealand who were antiracist activists. Maoris are the native people of that country. They were excited to see a U.S. newspaper that campaigned against racism. They wanted to know why Bernhard Goetz, the New York subway vigilante, had gotten off, and what people in the United States think about Nicaragua. When they learned the *Militant* had a bureau in Nicaragua, they immediately decided to buy copies.

Three young white students from Sydney, who were attending their first demonstration, had just read an article in the local press about the sentencing of Jon Lester for his role in assaulting the three Black men in Howard Beach.

Though we had a limited number of papers, we sold 45 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* at the demonstration.

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member, Palestine National Council

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

Puerto Rico independence fighter demands release from detention

BY TIM CRAINE

HARTFORD, Conn. — On January 26 Filiberto Ojeda Ríos appeared before federal Judge T. Emmet Claire to demand that he be released from pretrial detention.

Ojeda is one of the Hartford 16, supporters of Puerto Rican independence who were arrested in August 1985 and March 1986 and charged with conspiracy in the 1983 robbery of the Wells Fargo depot in West Hartford.

Ojeda and another defendant, Juan Segarra Palmer, have been held in jail for 29 months, setting a record for pretrial detention. Several motions for their release have been denied on the basis of FBI claims that the two are "dangerous terrorists."

The courtroom was packed with supporters of democratic rights who had come to hear Ojeda's appeal to the judge and to protest the denial of his constitutional right to bail.

Ojeda began his presentation by taking the charge of terrorism head on. He pointed to United Nations Resolution 4061, which in defining terrorism specifically affirms the right of colonial peoples to struggle for self-determination. The U.S. government supports terrorism around the world, he said, citing the examples of Nicaragua and Angola.

During the 89 years in which the United States has occupied Puerto Rico, it has used terrorist methods to maintain its rule. These include the attempt to destroy Puerto Rican culture through the indoctrination of school children to instill in them a sense of national impotence, the assassinations of independence activists and labor leaders, and the maintenance by the colonial police of a "subversives" list of independence supporters. Puerto Rican women have been subjected to forced sterilization in violation of the 1948 UN Genocide Convention. In the arrests in the Wells Fargo case, the FBI indiscriminately searched homes of the defendants and illegally seized political documents and personal letters.

Cuban revolution

Ojeda, who has lived and worked in Cuba, then refuted the FBI charge that he is a "Cuban agent." Solidarity between Cuba and Puerto Rico, he explained, derives from their common history of struggle, first against Spanish colonial rule and later against U.S. imperialism.

The Cuban revolution inspired Puerto Ricans to take pride in their nation. Revolu-

tions, however, cannot be exported. To be a "Cuban agent" would be contrary to what the Cuban revolution stands for: the right of all people to self-determination.

The prosecution has charged that to release Ojeda would be a "danger to the community." They point to the fact that he resisted arrest by the FBI agents.

Ojeda responded that it is the FBI that is the danger to his community in Puerto Rico. The August 1985 arrests, which amounted to a cop invasion of Puerto Rico, were carried out behind the backs of the elected officials of the colonial government of Puerto Rico. Thousands of Puerto Ricans have signed petitions demanding Ojeda's release; they obviously don't believe that he is a danger to the community.

Ojeda's attorney, Richard Harvey, explained that prosecution charges against Ojeda are all based on acts allegedly committed in Puerto Rico for which there has not been a single indictment. Yet by holding him in pretrial detention the government has virtually convicted him on these charges without giving him a right to trial.

This has been carried out under the Bail Reform Act of 1984, the effect of which is to deny the democratic principle of the presumption of innocence.

The reason the government refuses to in-

dict Ojeda is that it wants to try him in Connecticut, where the authorities hope they can gain a conviction, rather than in Puerto Rico where he would be tried by a jury of his peers.

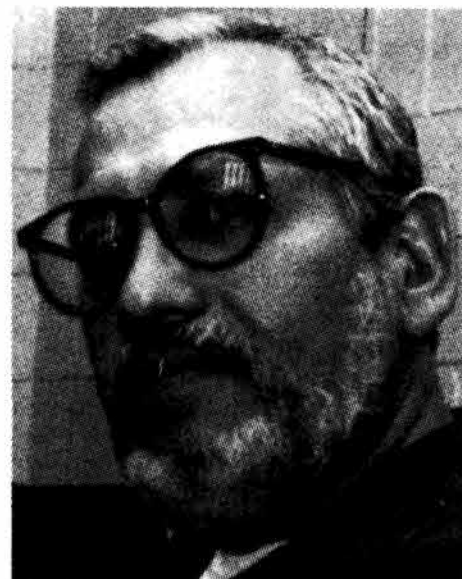
Ideas on trial

Prosecuting attorney Albert Dubrowsky argued that Ojeda should not be released because the "risk of flight" would be too great. What weighs against his release, according to Dubrowsky, is "who he is, what he does, and what he believes."

While reiterating the FBI's charges of terrorism against Ojeda, Dubrowsky maintained that this is "a simple robbery" case and that "political arguments" do not belong in the courtroom.

Harvey replied, "It is as disingenuous to say that he is only charged with conspiracy to rob as it is to say that Nelson Mandela was only charged with violating the pass law. Filiberto Ojeda Ríos is on trial because he is an *independentista*."

On the constitutionality of the case, Harvey cited the recent case of a convicted murderer whose release from prison was ordered by a federal judge on the grounds that he had been held without bail in pretrial detention for 18 months, less time than that already served by Ojeda and Segarra.



Militant/Selva Nebbia

Filiberto Ojeda Ríos

The government has two alternatives, Harvey said — to release the defendants or to grant them an immediate trial. The government is reluctant to pursue the latter course since they would be unable to use hundreds of hours of tape recordings, the legality of which is still being contested by the defense in pretrial hearings.

Supporters from Boston, New York, Hartford, and Springfield, Massachusetts, all pledged to continue a petition campaign demanding release of the two prisoners, the dropping of all charges in the case, and an end to the harassment of the Puerto Rican independence movement.

Oil workers on strike at Mobil, BP

BY SYLVIA ZAPATA

TORRANCE, Calif. — "Remember November 24th — Beware! Beware! This could happen again with untrained supervisors running the plant." That was the text of a sign carried by one of two dozen pickets, members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW) Local 1-547, outside the Mobil refinery here.

A full-color newspaper photo on the sign showed the massive fire that began on last November 24 at Mobil. It took two days to put it out, luckily with no fatalities.

Oil workers here and at Mobil refineries in Ferndale, Washington, and Beaumont, Texas — nearly 2,000 altogether — walked off the job February 3 after the company's unilateral move to make key control room jobs supervisory positions.

The operator monitoring the control room is responsible for organizing the entire crew of operators to keep the refining processes running smoothly — as well as

safely shutting down and starting up units. This operator has had the "board" job. At most refineries the position is called head operator. This job at Mobil will now be "console supervisor." At Torrance, this involves 40 jobs and at Beaumont, 70 positions.

The OCAW recently filed unfair labor practice charges with the National Labor Relations Board protesting this sweeping change, but with little expectation that the NLRB would rule against the company's unilateral decision.

The appointment of "console supervisors" and the elimination of OCAW-represented jobs will have deep consequences. The company has taken the position of appointing anyone regardless of seniority and experience.

This has a chilling affect in that management personnel will be controlling the computers that control refinery processes in a given unit, rather than union-represented workers whose priority is safety, rather than maximizing profits.

Sylvia Zapata is a member of OCAW Local 1-547. She is an operator at the Chevron refinery in El Segundo, California.

BY MICHAEL MAGGI

MARCUS HOOK, Pa. — Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-234 struck the British Petroleum (BP) refinery here February 3. BP is the third largest oil company in the world. OCAW Local 7-346 struck the company's refinery in Toledo, Ohio.

BP provoked the strike here with its demands for these concessions:

- Extension of two-tier contract provisions currently in effect to other sections of the refinery.
 - A 50 percent cut in sick pay any year the refinery absentee rate reaches 2 percent. Included in company statistics for absenteeism are company approved unpaid personal days, jury duty, military leave, and days lost due to long-term illnesses such as heart attacks.
 - Elimination of scheduled breaks for maintenance workers.
 - Elimination of double-time pay and premium pay for working on days off or putting in over 40 hours during a regular schedule.
 - Extending the workday through forced overtime and the operators' work-week by working them seven consecutive days, with two days off on a rotating basis.
- BP has also demanded reduction in crew sizes. It has reduced the work force from more than 500 union workers to 345 since 1981.

Workers were angry when they learned

that refinery manager Ed Kulinski argued at contract talks with the union that government-ordered compliance with affirmative action guidelines had forced the hiring of "untrainable workers."

Company officials also claimed that their statistics traced chronic absenteeism to a certain zip code — a section of town in the Black community.

The negotiating committee protested Kulinski's remarks by walking out of the negotiating meeting and issuing a statement blasting his remarks as racist. The union statement noted that BP has investments in South Africa.

"We reject the company's attempt to divide us up. Local 8-234 negotiates for all its members. We have no second-class citizens in this union," said Denis Stephano, the local's financial secretary.

A victory for the union was scored on February 8 when all union contractors respected the OCAW picket line. The union had distributed copies of a BP memo calling for a 20 percent cut in contractors' wages.

Solidarity messages and donations can be sent to OCAW 8-234 Defense Fund, P.O. Box 1171, Linwood, Pa., 19061. Telephone (215) 845-2413.

Michael Maggi is a refinery operator and member of OCAW 6-662 in Pine Bend, Minnesota.

Socialist will run for Arizona governor in recall election

PHOENIX — Bernie Senter, a 37-year-old meat-packer from Phoenix, will be the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Arizona in the May 17 election, scheduled as a result of a successful petition effort to recall Gov. Evan Mecham.

Senter is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 9912 at Sunland Beef Co. in Phoenix.

The socialist candidate will be campaigning for an end to the U.S.-run war against the people of Nicaragua; for immediate restoration of the Martin Luther King Day holiday rescinded by Mecham; and for a working-class program to fight the deepening economic crisis.

A big effort will be required to win a spot on the ballot for the socialist candidate. Petitioning will begin immediately to gather the required 3,336 signatures, which must be filed by March 18. Volunteers are urgently needed. Contact the campaign at 1809 W. Indian School Rd., Phoenix, Ariz. 85015. Telephone (602) 279-5850.

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W.Va. rally blasts gov't move to appeal rulings against FBI

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — Under a banner reading, "An injury to one is an injury to all — defend democratic rights," Roger Banks of the Mountain States AIDS Network explained why he supported Judge Thomas Griesa's ruling against FBI spying and disruption. The ruling came in a suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against the attorney general and federal police agencies.

"Big Brother wasn't too thrilled when the SWP tried to exercise their rights," he said. "But two of the groups that can benefit from Griesa's decision are AIDS groups and gay rights organizations."

Banks was part of a broad panel of speakers at a January 30 meeting sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which publicizes and helps raise funds for the socialists' suit. The meeting was called in response to the Justice Department's steps to appeal Griesa's rulings.

The government has used the AIDS epidemic to restrict the civil liberties of all "undesirables," Banks charged, "not just gays, but the poor, drug users, Blacks, and Hispanics."

"We all deserve equal protection, but we can't leave the job of protection up to a government that has shown it can't be trusted," he continued. "We have to go out and use the rights that the Griesa decision upheld to win what we need."

The meeting heard messages from imprisoned coal miners Donnie Thornsby, David Thornsby, Arnold Heightland, and James Darryl Smith.

State and federal police collaborated with A.T. Massey Coal Co. to frame up and convict the miners in December on charges stemming from the shooting death of a scab coal truck driver. The incident took place during the 1984-85 strike by the United Mine Workers of America against Massey. The four face terms of up to 50 years in jail.

Paul Smith, another miner facing the same charges, was acquitted by a federal jury in January, but immediately arrested by Kentucky police on murder charges.

"I am the president of Local 2496 of the United Mine Workers of America," the message from Donnie Thornsby stated in part. "I am a strong supporter of the union and the right to strike. My strong leadership and support is the main reason I was singled out by the government to be harassed and eventually railroaded to be convicted of a crime I did not do."

His message continued, "I hope that in

some way this will help others to see the need to support each other."

"There is a long history of FBI and cop frame-ups in the labor movement," said Toba Singer, a unionist and spokesperson for the PRDF in the labor movement. "This case shows that this pattern continues." Singer said all supporters of democratic rights should demand that the miners be freed and vindicated.

Roger Forman, representing the West Virginia Civil Liberties Union (WVCLU), urged people to read Judge Griesa's rulings in the suit against political spying to understand the importance of defeating the government's appeal. "The Socialist Workers Party was under constant attack and surveillance, and the government didn't find one illegal act."

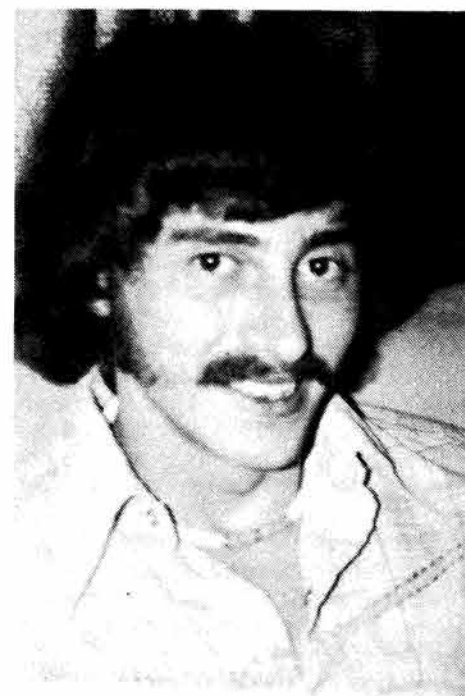
Forman said that the executive board of the WVCLU had discussed the suit and

voted to support the PRDF.

The meeting also heard Florette Angel of the National Council of Jewish Women and the Block Bork Committee, and Phil Carter, a Marshall University professor who is fighting racial harassment and discrimination on the campus. A message of support came from state Sen. Tod Kaufmann.

Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born worker who is conducting a fight to win permanent residency in the United States, spoke for the PRDF.

The government's appeal of Griesa's rulings, he said, "opens a new stage in this fight. This is an appeal to undermine the Bill of Rights. In appealing Griesa's rulings and spying on groups and individuals who oppose U.S. intervention in Central America, the U.S. government is sending a single message — if you disagree with the government, the Bill of Rights doesn't apply to you."



Donnie Thornsby sent a message to Charleston meeting to defend political rights. Thornsby was a leader of 1984-85 miners' strike against A.T. Massey Coal Co. and is being framed up in connection with death of a scab.

Reagan defends spying on war foes

Continued from front page
sembly, and association.

The documents revealed that between 1981 and '85, the FBI had placed antiwar activists and their homes and offices under "physical surveillance," tapped their phones, and photographed participants in demonstrations and meetings, taking down the license numbers of cars thought to belong to participants. The agency had planted informers in organizations and established large numbers of permanent government files on organizations and individuals regarded as suspect because of their antiwar activity, providing "derogatory" information from these files to the White House or other government agencies.

The documents added to the evidence of FBI involvement in some or all of more than 100 burglaries of antiwar offices.

The revelations led a U.S. House of Representatives subcommittee on civil rights to take testimony on the program. The FBI has agreed to release more documents to the committee.

Widespread criticism

The disclosures have provoked widespread criticism of the FBI, including editorials in the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*. Arguing that the FBI had gone "astray," the February 6 *New York Times* blamed "some agents and supervisors"

who had "lost their direction — and their sense of the difference between political dissent and subversion."

The Reagan administration's defense of the operation, however, showed that much more was involved than excesses by a few renegade FBI agents.

On January 29 Fitzwater had claimed that President Ronald Reagan was "concerned because there should be no investigation of Americans for their political beliefs."

Not a shred of evidence

But on February 3, Fitzwater sang a somewhat different tune. "The investigation of CISPES was based on reason to believe that CISPES was engaged in international terrorism or supported known terrorist elements," he said. "This included CISPES claims of a relationship with the guerrillas in El Salvador."

In fact, four years of FBI surveillance and harassment of CISPES — and of groups "suspected" of having ties to CISPES — did not produce a shred of evidence to provide "reason to believe that CISPES was engaged in international terrorism."

The claim that CISPES could be investigated for allegedly expressing support to "known terrorist elements" is a direct challenge to First Amendment rights. According to this claim, anyone who politically supports the liberation struggle in El Salvador, or any other struggle the U.S. government designates as terrorist, is a target for "antiterrorist" surveillance, informers, and disruption.

The investigation was justified, according to Fitzwater, because CISPES "was established with the assistance of the Communist Party USA and the Communist Party of El Salvador." Fitzwater provided no evidence for this red-baiting.

His statement suggests that the U.S. government is also carrying out a wide-ranging "anti-terrorist" investigation of the Communist Party — and that any group "suspected" of being politically linked to the CP is likewise targeted. The CP and CP members have long been a target of government spying, harassment, and frame-ups.

Fitzwater's defense of the FBI investigation adds to the evidence that the government's use of "terrorism" smears to justify disruption campaigns extends far beyond CISPES, to include the Communist Party and other political groups opposed to administration policy.

Scores of organizations

The documents released revealed that scores of organizations — unions, religious organizations, campus groups, Black rights organizations, and others — were subjected to what FBI Director Sessions called "limited investigation" on the pretext that they might be "fronts" for CISPES

or have other contact with the antiwar organization.

Fitzwater revealed that the FBI "provided CISPES-related reports to the United States Secret Service and to the White House situation room concerning potential threats to the President." This contradicted his January 29 claim that the White House and National Security Council had known nothing about the attack on CISPES.

The innuendo that FBI spies enabled the Secret Service to head off a physical attack by CISPES on the president and vice-president is also unsupported by any evidence.

It is apparently based on a smear by Frank Varelli, a former FBI informant who had been assigned to infiltrate the Dallas chapter of CISPES.

Last year, when Varelli went public and filed suit for back pay from the FBI, he admitted that his FBI assignment had required him to collaborate with assassins — not in CISPES, but in the Salvadoran death squads. Part of his job had been to provide Salvadoran officials linked to the death squads with the names of Salvadorans being deported from the United States.

Fitzwater's attempt to keep the smear campaign against CISPES alive contradicted February 2 statements made by Sessions. Sessions asserted that the FBI ended its investigation after four years of spying showed that "CISPES was involved in political activities involving First Amendment rights — and not international terrorism."

The real target

In fact, the contradictory claims made by Sessions and Fitzwater are attempts by both to get around the fact that the "activities involving First Amendment rights of CISPES and other groups" were the real target of the FBI disruption campaign.

The kind of spying and disruption campaign that was waged against CISPES and other antiwar groups was ruled unconstitutional in a New York courtroom in August 1986, when federal Judge Thomas Griesa ruled for the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance in their suit against the attorney general, the FBI, and other federal police agencies. Griesa ordered the government to pay \$264,000 in damages.

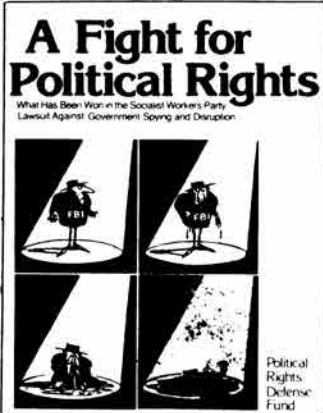
A year later, Griesa issued an injunction, barring the FBI from making any use of the mountains of files it had illegally accumulated on the two organizations.

These decisions constitute a powerful precedent. They are a weapon in the hands of everyone fighting for their right to freely speak, write, and demonstrate.

That is why the Justice Department, headed by Attorney General Edwin Meese, is taking steps to appeal Griesa's rulings. On February 5, Justice Department lawyers submitted a proposed schedule to the U.S. Second Court of Appeals setting the week of June 6 for final arguments on the appeal — the last step prior to deliberation and decision by the court.

Join the fight for democratic rights

Help the Political Rights Defense Fund protect the Bill of Rights. Support the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government spying.



DECISION:

Government spying and disruption are unconstitutional and illegal

Complete text of Judge Thomas Griesa's August 1986 decision in *Socialist Workers Party v. FBI* lawsuit, plus text of his injunction barring use of FBI files.

- ☐ Enclosed is my tax-deductible contribution of \$_____ Name _____
- ☐ I want to be a sponsor of PRDF. Address _____
- ☐ Send me _____ copies of the federal judge's decision (\$1 each). City _____
- State _____ Zip _____
- Organization _____
- Signature _____

Send to: Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, NY, NY 10003

Surrogate mother contracts ruled invalid

N.J. Supreme Court issues mixed decision in 'Baby M' case

BY CINDY JAQUITH

The New Jersey Supreme Court ruled February 3 that the surrogate mother contract in the "Baby M" case was "illegal and invalid."

The 7-to-0 ruling reversed some of the most anti-working-class aspects of the March 1987 decision by Judge Harvey Sorkow, but upheld others.

Sorkow had used the power of the courts to take away the baby of Mary Beth Whitehead-Gould, against her will, and give the child to William and Elizabeth Stern. No proof was ever offered that Whitehead-Gould was unfit to raise her daughter. Sorkow's justification for his action was a surrogacy contract signed by Whitehead-Gould and William Stern.

The Supreme Court ruling restored Whitehead-Gould as the legal mother of her child, and revoked the child's adoption by Elizabeth Stern.

However, the judges claimed that Whitehead-Gould's home is "anything but secure," and rejected her right to raise her own daughter, ordering that the girl will remain with the Sterns.

Background to case

The case began when the Sterns went to a surrogacy agency to hire a woman to bear them a child. The agency arranged a contract between William Stern and Whitehead-Gould. She agreed to be artificially inseminated with William Stern's sperm, carry a pregnancy to term, and then deliver her baby to the Sterns for \$10,000.

In the course of her pregnancy and giving birth, however, Whitehead-Gould decided she wanted to keep her child. The Sterns got a court order from Judge Sorkow compelling Whitehead-Gould to turn over her daughter. Then they got five cops to pounce on her doorstep demanding the child.

When Whitehead-Gould fled with her baby to Florida, the Sterns hired private detectives, tracked her down, and seized the infant.

The case then went to trial, with Sorkow on the bench. He ruled that the surrogacy agreement was "a valid and enforceable contract," awarded the baby to the Sterns, and stripped Whitehead-Gould of even the right to see her daughter. The New Jersey Supreme Court later granted her limited visiting rights.

An informed decision?

Involuntary servitude was outlawed in the U.S. Constitution more than a century ago. No worker can be bound to a labor contract they want to get out of. Yet Whitehead-Gould, according to Judge Sorkow, had no right to break a contract guaranteeing she would carry a pregnancy for someone else for nine months and then turn over the baby.

The surrogacy contract Whitehead-Gould signed also forced her to "assume all risks" of the pregnancy, "including the risk of death," and submit to "abortion on demand of William Stern" if he so chose, while being prohibited from choosing abortion herself.

The contract compelled her in addition to relinquish her right to raise her child prior to even becoming pregnant.

Sorkow argued that Whitehead-Gould



Left to right: Judge Harvey Sorkow, Elizabeth and William Stern, Mary Beth Whitehead-Gould. New Jersey Supreme Court overturned Sorkow's reactionary ruling that Whitehead-Gould was bound by surrogate mother contract. But court denied her right to raise her daughter, who remains with Sterns.

must live up to the contract because she had made an informed decision in signing it and "was not forced into the relationship."

The Supreme Court said no. It pointed out that the surrogate mother "never makes a totally voluntary, informed decision, for quite clearly any decision before the baby's birth is, in the most important sense, uninformed, and any decision after that, compelled by a pre-existing contractual commitment, the threat of a lawsuit, and the inducement of a \$10,000 payment, is less than totally voluntary."

"In addition to the inducement of money," said the court, "there is the coercion of contract: the natural mother's irrevocable agreement, prior to birth, even prior to conception, to surrender the child to the adoptive couple. Such an agreement is totally unenforceable in private placement adoption...."

"Integral to these invalid provisions of the surrogacy contract is the related agreement, equally invalid, on the part of the natural mother to cooperate with, and not to contest, proceedings to terminate her parental rights, as well as her contractual concession, in aid of the adoption, that the child's best interests would be served by awarding custody to the natural father and his wife — all of this before she has even conceived and, in some cases, before she has the slightest idea of what the natural father and adoptive mother are like."

The court went on to argue that "this is the sale of a child, or at the very least, the sale of a mother's right to her child."

"It totally ignores the child; it takes the child from the mother regardless of her wishes and her maternal fitness."

The only surrogacy arrangement valid in New Jersey, the court concluded, is one where no money payment is involved and where the surrogate mother is guaranteed the right to change her mind.

Thus, the judges ruled, Whitehead-Gould "is not only the natural mother, but also the legal mother, and is not to be penalized one iota because of the surrogate contract."

Having said this, however, the Supreme Court went on to uphold Sorkow's view that this is a custody case in which William Stern has "rights" as the "father."

But it is neither a custody case nor is Stern the "father." A custody case usually

arises when two people who have been jointly raising children split up and disagree over who will get the children. Whitehead-Gould and Stern neither lived together nor planned to.

Stern's claim to be the "father" rests entirely on the surrogacy contract, now invalidated by the Supreme Court, and his assertion that he is the sperm donor.

But a "father" is not defined by who claims to be the sperm donor but by whom the woman chooses to live with.

And a "father" has no "right" to raise the children of the woman who gave birth to them. It is the woman who carries the pregnancy, gives birth to the baby, and then begins to nurture that baby who has the right and responsibility to raise the child. The only legitimate reason for the state to intervene is if the woman is proven unfit to care for the child. Nothing of the kind was ever established in this case.

'Rather harshly judged'

The Supreme Court conceded that Whitehead-Gould was "rather harshly judged" in the original trial.

"We do not know of, and cannot conceive of, any other case where a perfectly fit mother was expected to surrender her newly born infant, perhaps forever, and was then told she was a bad mother because she did not," the judges said.

In fact, the Sterns paraded a battery of witnesses before the court who played on every anti-working-class and antiwoman prejudice common to custody cases. They stressed that the Sterns are both well-paid PhD holders, which apparently places them above scrutiny, while Whitehead-Gould had once worked as a barroom dancer and was married to a sanitation worker with a drinking problem.

The Supreme Court refused to return Whitehead-Gould's child, however. The reason: "The Sterns promise a secure home, with an understanding relationship that allows nurturing and independent growth to develop together. Mary Beth Whitehead's family life, into which Baby M would be placed, was anything but secure.... And today it may be even less so."

What makes it "even less so," according to the judges, is the fact that following the trial, Whitehead-Gould became pregnant by a man who was not her husband. She

then divorced her husband and remarried. But this is irrelevant to her fitness to raise a child. The Supreme Court is simply reimposing the same anti-working-class, sexual double standard used to victimize Whitehead-Gould and her daughter in the original trial.

Despite its mixed character, the Supreme Court decision is expected to strengthen other challenges to the validity of surrogacy contracts. The Nebraska state legislature, for example, voted a few days later, 41-to-1, that such contracts are void in the state. And shortly before the New Jersey ruling, a Michigan judge ruled in a case similar to "Baby M" that surrogacy contracts are unenforceable in that state.

Meanwhile, Whitehead-Gould will return to court for a decision on what visitation rights she will have. The New Jersey Supreme Court has barred Judge Sorkow from conducting the hearing.

ANC addresses trade unionists, students in Phila.

BY SIBYL PERKINS

PHILADELPHIA — "I want to know what I can do and find out more about what's happening in South Africa," was the response of one student after hearing a talk by a member of the African National Congress.

Nearly 350 unionists and students turned out on January 15 for the second annual salute to Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, opposition to apartheid. The Philadelphia Area Labor Committee Against Apartheid sponsored the event. Herbert Edwards, president of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 170, chaired the meeting, which took place in the ACTWU hall.

Robert Kallish of Service Employees International Union Local 668 read King's message against apartheid to the standing-room-only crowd. Rosita Johnson from the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers talked about the African National Congress' (ANC) Freedom college in Tanzania and promoted a project to send material aid to the school.

The keynote speaker was ANC member Dennis Goldberg, who was one of the original nine defendants with Nelson Mandela in the famous 1963 Rivonia trial. Goldberg is in exile in Britain.

The local representative of the ANC, Godfrey Sithole, talked about political prisoners on death row in South Africa and urged people in the audience to write letters to South African President Pieter Botha in order to pressure the South African government to release them. He also talked about the case of Dr. Fred Dube, an ANC member who has been denied tenure and dismissed from his teaching position at Stony Brook State University in New York because of false charges of anti-Semitism.

Supporters of Dube's fight to regain his job circulated petitions urging the Stony Brook chancellor and Gov. Mario Cuomo to rehire Dube with tenure. Nearly 200 signatures were collected. One high school student asked for petitions to circulate at her school.

L.A. youths picket South African consulate

BY KARLA PEÑA

LOS ANGELES — More than 600 people, mostly high school and junior high school students, celebrated Martin Luther King's birthday by demonstrating against apartheid and imprisonment of students in South Africa. The protest took place January 18 in front of the South African consulate in Beverly Hills.

The action was organized by the Los Angeles Student Coalition for Progressive Action, which consists of students from more than 30 high schools and junior high schools in the Los Angeles area. Also participating in the coalition were Children of War, Shalom Youth, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Protesters picketed for more than two hours outside the building that houses the

consulate and took turns participating in a building-lobby sit-in. Organizers of the protest had originally planned to have the sit-in at the offices of the consulate itself, but building security and the Beverly Hills police would not allow them inside.

"This demonstration is fighting against the oppressive forces of apartheid," said Josh Kaufman, a junior at Oakwood High, one of the co-chairs of a rally held after the picket line. "This political action today was almost entirely youth — with Asian, Black, white, and Hispanic youth working together."

Alan Boesak from the United Democratic Front of South Africa also addressed the rally. Commenting on the claims of the South African government that there are

only 200 children in jail, Boesak stated, "You are here today to say that they are lying. And we say that one child in jail is one too many."

Ntato and Xolani, two exiled South African students who are touring the United States under the auspices of Children of War, pointed out, "None of us are free if South Africa is not free."

Other speakers included State Sen. Diane Watson, a representative from the South West Africa People's Organisation, and a Nicaraguan student from Children of War.

Karla Peña is a member of Children of War and a sophomore at Sherman Oaks High School.

U.S. volunteer: how contra war, embargo hurt Nicaragua

BY FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK — Two printers from the United States — John Staggs from New York and Greg Nelson from Kansas City — went to Nicaragua last December to help repair the presses and other printing machinery at *El Nuevo Diario*, *Barricada*, and the COMPANIC printing and paper products company. Mike Hebert of Boston, another U.S. printing worker, inspected bindery equipment at COMPANIC and other plants.

Back in New York City, John Staggs took a break from his work to talk to the *Militant* about his experience.

Staggs said that he, Nelson, and Hebert went to Nicaragua as part of the U.S./NICA Printers Project. It is one of several projects sponsored by tecNICA, which seeks to provide skilled U.S. volunteer workers to aid Nicaragua.

Staggs got a leave from his work as a press operator at Photocomp, a division of 408 Printing and Publishing Corp., which also includes the Pathfinder publishing house. Photocomp prints Pathfinder books.

"I worked about 10 days at *Barricada*," Staggs said, "which has 400 workers, from reporters to printers; a week at *El Nuevo Diario*, which has 250 workers; and another week at COMPANIC, which has 600 workers."

At *Barricada*, Staggs participated in reconstructing and reassembling the folder on the 25-year-old press so that books could be folded by machine rather than by hand. This will save vast amounts of labor in putting out millions of books and booklets that the Ministry of Education plans to turn out on this press for the government's Schoolbooks for Children and Literacy Crusade programs.

At *El Nuevo Diario*, Staggs and Nelson repaired a malfunctioning folder. As a result, the daily press run was reduced by several hours, and it became possible to increase the number of pages per issue.

"The U.S. economic embargo has hit Nicaraguan industry hard," Staggs said. "They have been unable to obtain replacement parts for all their U.S.-made machinery — such as the main components of the web presses. Many machines aren't operating because of the lack of the simplest small parts — such as a nut or bolt of the right size or thread."

"People scour the country, scavenging for abandoned machinery that may have usable nuts or bolts or other parts. Machinists have to spend much of their time at the lathes making single items like nuts or bolts just to keep machines running, rather than larger-scale projects that could expand productive capacity."

"The inventory of a single typical U.S. hardware store would make a huge change in the situation in Managua's factories," he said.

Staggs had been to Nicaragua in 1983, as part of a delegation that toured the country. "Then I got a broad view of the revolutionary changes taking place, at a time when the contra war was in an earlier stage," Staggs said.

Discussions with workers

"This trip was very different. The way I saw Nicaragua this time was largely through my discussions with coworkers — mostly among the press operators. I got a flavor for what some people among this layer of workers are thinking, utilizing my modest command of Spanish or a translator. I also talked with helpers, who are training to be press operators, and with some women press operators — something new in Nicaragua and not too common in the United States either."

Staggs stressed the impact of the war on the workers he met. "Everyone knows one or two press operators who are in the army, and a big section of the work force has already served. Many know someone who has been killed. They worry about the possibility that their children will be killed."

"There are gasoline shortages, food shortages, overcrowded buses, and power failures," Staggs said. "These occur partly

because the army has to have first priority in access to scarce resources so that it can defend the country. There is inflation, and the prices for many items are sky-high, particularly in the privately owned markets."

Staggs said that there is a unit of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), the main union federation at each of the plants he worked in, organizing all the workers in the plant.

At COMPANIC, the union was leading in the establishment of a day-care center at the plant, financing and constructing it through volunteer labor.

"From what I could see at COMPANIC, the CST made sure the workers' rights were guaranteed, but it also educated about the need for workers to lead in bettering conditions in Nicaragua as a whole, including by increasing production."

Staggs said he found a wide range of political views among workers. "There were many strong supporters of the revolution. But there were also people who were frustrated by the difficulties, and a few even told me they thought they would be better off in the United States."

No support for contras

But he said he didn't find any support for the contra war among workers, regardless



John Staggs (left) and Nicaraguan coworkers reassemble folder on press at *Barricada*. Militant/Alan

of their political views. "The first thing I heard wherever I went was, 'We're glad to have you here, but when are you going to get your government to stop the war.' There was definite feeling against the U.S. government and Reagan for pursuing the war."

Staggs said there is a lot that workers can do to help end the war and aid Nicaragua. "Go there and see for yourself."

He said that more ministries and factories, working with organizations such as tecNICA, are making it possible for North American volunteer workers to help them. "There is something that workers of every level of skill can do, such as in the harvest

and construction brigades, and there is also a need for workers with special skills."

Staggs said that tecNICA has now initiated a Skilled Trades Task Force that will provide skilled workers from the United States for Nicaraguan factories. Further information can be obtained from tecNICA, 2727 College Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94705. Telephone (415) 848-0292.

"We can talk to our coworkers and get speakers to union meetings who can educate on the truth about Nicaragua," Staggs concluded. "And workers and our unions should be part of every picket line, march, and public meeting that calls for an end to all funding for the contras."

'Nuevo Diario' thanks U.S. printers

The following article appeared in the Dec. 27, 1987, edition of *El Nuevo Diario*, a daily paper published in Managua, Nicaragua. It was titled, "U.S. technicians help break the embargo." The translation is by the Militant. The article has been slightly abridged.

Technical workers from the United States are putting their knowledge to work for our country, counteracting the embargo their government has imposed on us since May 1985. One such project is allowing the exercise of democracy through the printed word and the development of education.

TecNICA, as they call their project, sent more than 500 technical workers from different parts of the United States during 1987. They came to repair U.S.-made machinery that had stopped working due to the lack of spare parts caused by the embargo.

John Staggs and Greg Nelson, two printing technicians, are friends from the United States who were in Nicaragua for several weeks working to keep *El Nuevo Diario*'s Goss Community press running as good as new. Our machinery had problems in the area of the half fold cylinder gear, making it difficult to print 16-page issues because of paper jams that wasted both time and the scarce raw materials that are hard for us to get.

Together with a team of our workers, who gave up their December 7 [Purísima, a major holiday in Nicaragua], the two foreign friends took apart most of our press, took out the gears, shaped keys, and calibrated the unit until the shaft that makes the folder work was in perfect condition.

They offered similar kinds of assistance to *Barricada* and to the COMPANIC printing company, places that also produce school textbooks, notebooks, and various kinds of educational materials. Some of these materials were not being produced because of breakdowns in the machinery.

Among the 500 people that tecNICA sent to Nicaragua this year are mechanics, electronic technicians, electricians, computer specialists, and experts in other fields. They came to replace those nationals with these skills who decided to desert their homeland in search of money.

TecNICA workers are offering their technical help to all those Nicaraguan enterprises that rely on machinery manufactured in the United States, acquired before the triumph of the revolution and not work-

ing now because of problems in getting spare parts.

In addition to their profound technical knowledge, these people also have a great desire to counteract the embargo ordered by their president, Ronald Reagan, in May 1985. They take charge of raising funds from the people of the United States.

This time tecNICA members repaired our press, a printing unit of a press at COMPANIC, and the folder on an old press at *Barricada*.

John Staggs is a technician in the print shop of Pathfinder Press. This is one of the publishing houses that produces material that helps tell the truth about Nicaragua, counteracting the disinformation that the U.S. administration carries out through its apparatus.

John explained that he asked permission at work to come here to use his printing skills to help. He said that his bosses' agreement to let him travel to Nicaragua is

How 'Labor Export' works in Honduras

BY JON HILLSON

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras — According to the daily *La Tribuna*, published in this capital city, 500 Honduran peasants displaced by the U.S.-created Nicaraguan contras will be transported to the United States in February to do farm labor in Florida, Texas, and Arizona.

Details obtained by *La Tribuna* are sketchy, but they hint at the adverse impact of the contra war in Honduras, particular in the nation's southern region where the mercenaries are based and from which they enter neighboring Nicaragua.

Contra crimes against Hondurans, including rape, robbery, murder, and narcotics trafficking have been publicly protested. And contra troop movements have wasted coffee plantations, outraging owners of such enterprises.

The January 21 article alluded to protests mounted by displaced peasants from these areas, who, as they flow into this city, have become part of Tegucigalpa's growing army of the unemployed.

Unnamed North American "psychologists," *La Tribuna* reported, spent several days recently in Honduras, "sent by enterprises interested in contracting Honduran *braceros* [hired hands]."

The "psychologists" for the anonymous companies carried out a "rigorous analy-

sis" of a number of peasants, selecting 500 to go to the United States, the newspaper reported. The project is called "Labor Export."

This week of individual examinations was carried out in the "most absolute secrecy," at the request of those in charge, *La Tribuna* said.

Those rejected included peasants over 30 and those deemed ill or unwilling to leave their homes.

The initiative was coordinated through the Honduran company SITSA, with the cooperation of Julian Lagos, president of the Association of Unemployed Hondurans, whose participation in this operation was carried out in an unofficial and "independent form," *La Tribuna* stated.

One reason for this may be due to the mode of payment of the Honduran workers. They will receive \$4.50 an hour while in the United States, to be paid only monthly.

Every month each worker gets 25 percent of their earnings, \$1.13 an hour, with 50 percent being sent "to their families in Honduras through the Central Bank" and the remaining 25 percent set aside in personal accounts payable upon the worker's return to Honduras. It is not clear if the worker will receive U.S. or less valuable Honduran currency upon their return.

Brigade is a first for peasant women

All-women's unit helps harvest Nicaragua's coffee

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MATAGALPA, Nicaragua — "We're coffee pickers. Onward. Onward. If anyone doesn't like it, that's tough. That's tough!"

"Not one step back. All women must advance."

"Watch out! Watch out! We're warning you: we're so much more than we were before."

These were members of a women's harvest brigade, chanting as they picked coffee on a steep mountainside outside of Matagalpa.

This is the first such group made up of women. It is a sign of growing efforts these women are making to challenge the discrimination and isolation they have traditionally faced.

"This is a qualitative step for peasant women," explained brigade coordinator Marta Valle. "They have always been the most isolated. Today, with the revolution, we have women in the army, in the Ministry of the Interior, women teachers, and women doctors. But the peasant woman is still locked within the four walls of her house."

Peasant women have traditionally been isolated on the family plot, working long hours cooking, washing, and caring for the children. Their lives were supposed to revolve around husband and family. Women also worked in the fields on many farms, especially during harvest time, but their labor was not considered equal to men's.

Since the 1979 Sandinista revolution, women here have won greater participation and rights in many areas. But change has been uneven.

One indication of the challenge facing women peasants is the fact that when rural families join together in a cooperative or collective farm, it is usually only the men who become members, with the right to vote and to a share in the profits.

In early 1987, Valle said, there were only 819 women members in cooperatives and collectives in all of northern Nicaragua, fewer than 5 percent of the total. "This is despite the fact that women make up the majority of the work force on many cooperatives," she added.

At its 1986 congress, the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG) adopted a perspective of integrating women into productive labor, including as members in cooperatives and collectives. During 1987, Valle and other UNAG leaders met with peasant women throughout this region and raised the issue of women's participation at many meetings of peasants. By year's end,

the number of women cooperative and collective farm members had increased to 1,249.

Women's coffee brigade

"The harvest brigade seemed the next step for women to take," Valle explained. "With it, we are participating in the most important task for our region, the coffee harvest. It also shows what women are capable of doing, and it lets women from different areas work together and share their experiences."

"And it is such a big step," she emphasized. "The idea that a peasant woman would leave her home and husband and go miles away to pick coffee was unheard of."

Many women expressed interest in the brigade, but some backed out as the time to leave drew near.

"They faced tremendous pressure from their husbands, parents, or other family members," Valle said. "The men said: 'Who'll cook my food? Who'll wash my clothes?' Or they became angry and jealous just thinking of their wives off on their own. Others said that women were worthless and didn't belong on such a brigade."

This opposition was one reason UNAG decided to organize an all-women brigade, instead of integrating the women in mixed brigades as is done with students, city workers, and farm workers.

"We had enough trouble with the women's contingent," Valle said. "It was too much to expect someone to tell her husband she was going on a brigade with men too. That will be possible only after we advance some more."

Despite all the obstacles, 75 women participated in the brigade, nearly twice the initial goal of 45.

The Sandinista daily *Barricada* wrote that the group showed "the existence of a small revolution among women of the peasantry."

'I wanted to learn'

Zeneida García, 29 years old, is a member of a collective farm that raises vegetables. She joined the brigade "to do something different, to learn. I didn't want to be stuck in my backyard all my life."

She was able to leave her children with her mother. Several other women on her farm wanted to come also but couldn't because they had no one to take care of their kids.

Carmen Vargas, a 19-year-old from a cattle ranching collective, said she joined to have the experience of working together with the other women, and to help with the

harvest. "Coffee brings money our government needs," she explained. "And since the men are fighting in the defense, we women have to do our part for the revolution in production."

Lola Roa, 24 years old, stressed that for her, and for others on the brigade, an important part of the experience was working with other women. Roa is the only woman member of her cooperative at home.

"I am used to only working among men," she said. "This is the first time I have worked together with women."

Efautina López, 25 years old, said she came "because I wanted to advance. I live on a cooperative, but I didn't even know how they work. I wanted to learn more."

"This was all my decision," she stressed. "My husband doesn't know I came. He mobilized with the Bernardino Díaz Ochoa [another UNAG harvest brigade], and then I came here. We'll see what happens when he gets back," she said. Then she quickly added, "I don't expect any problems. He's very Sandinista."

López left two children with her mother, two with an aunt, and brought one with her. Some other women also brought children. Each day the brigade assigned one member to watch the kids while the others picked.

"This experience helped make them more aware of the need for child-care centers," Valle commented. "We've been discussing how to get centers started on cooperatives back home."

Overcoming prejudices

Once they were on the brigade, the women continued to confront problems.

One unexpected difficulty was with their equipment. Full-time coffee brigades are usually supplied with sturdy boots to work in, but most of these women had only flimsy plastic sandals.

"No one thought of ordering smaller-size boots that would fit women," Valle said. "We often have this problem in the countryside, including with the UNAG-run stores. They carry men's shirts and pants, but forget about women and children's clothing."

At some of the state and collective farms where the brigade worked, other peasants had a hard time accepting the group of women.

"Some places took us in just like members of the family," López said. "But on others there was suspicion and mistrust, even among the women. We had to convince them that we came to work, not to fool around with their men."

At each farm, the women presented skits in meetings with the other peasants. They acted out scenes of women discussing their decision to join the brigade with their husbands, raising and answering the suspicions and prejudices held by others. At one farm, where the brigade was received very coolly at first, six women offered to join by the end of its stay.

The brigade leaders also organized study



Militant/Larry Seigle
Participant in women's coffee brigade in Matagalpa region of Nicaragua.

groups to discuss women's role in society and UNAG's perspective of organizing women in the cooperatives and collective farms. They held classes on farm organization, chairing meetings, giving reports, and other skills.

"I've learned a lot," García said. "We studied how women were kept back before, how we were isolated, and the men wouldn't let us out of the house."

"But now, no! Now we have equality. We have to work together with the men, equally. Working is great!"

Vargas pointed out that they had discussed how the Somoza dictatorship had promoted the subordination of women, and that with the Sandinista revolution they were going to change that.

López, like others, said she planned to meet and share her experiences with other women at home and get them all to become voting members of the cooperative. And next year, she vowed, she would bring at least 10 more women on the harvest brigade.

"This group is going to keep on working and get more women involved," Valle said. "They are now grass roots women leaders, the vanguard."

2nd Howard Beach thug sentenced

BY SAM MANUEL

NEW YORK — A white teenager, Scott Kern, was sentenced to a prison term of 6 to 18 years on February 5 for his participation in a lynch-mob attack on three Blacks in the mostly white Howard Beach section of Queens, New York. One of the Blacks, Michael Griffith, was killed. A second Black, Cedric Sandiford, was severely beaten.

Kern was convicted on Dec. 21, 1987, of second-degree manslaughter and assault along with two other white youths, Jon Lester and Jason Ladone. Lester has been sentenced to the maximum penalty the law allows, 10 to 30 years in prison. Ladone is scheduled to be sentenced on February 11.

In giving Kern a lesser sentence the judge said, "While Lester was the instigator" of the attack on the Blacks, Kern was a "follower." The judge added, "Even though he may have been a follower, he did participate in the reckless chase of Michael Griffith" and "following his witnessing of Griffith's

death" he participated in the "brutal beating of Sandiford."

Kern must serve a minimum of six years in prison before he can be considered for parole. His sentence consists of two consecutive three to nine year terms, one for second-degree manslaughter in Griffith's death and another for the assault on Sandiford.


On January 18 some 3,000 people, — including unions and Black, Latino, and Asian rights organizations — marched against racist violence in New York. Many also demanded maximum sentences for those convicted in the Howard Beach attack.

Seven other participants in the racist attack will face legal proceedings on lesser charges this spring.

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Pathfinder mural: 'Most important public art g

Artists, political figures urge end to harassment of mural celebrating role of w

On January 29 a speak-out was held in New York to protest city officials' harassment of the Pathfinder Mural Project.

The mural is a six-story work that is being painted on the south wall of the Pathfinder Building, located in Manhattan's Greenwich Village. The mural will feature the portraits of many revolutionary leaders from throughout the world whose works are published by Pathfinder, including Malcolm X, Fidel Castro, V.I. Lenin, Che Guevara, and others.

The two portraits that have been completed so far are those of Nicaraguan revolutionary leaders Augusto César Sandino and Carlos Fonseca. They were painted last fall by Nicaraguan artist Arnoldo Guillén.

On December 3 an agent of New York's Environmental Control Board delivered 35 citations to the Pathfinder Building, each with a maximum fine of \$100. The citations were for posting leaflets in the neighborhood inviting the community to attend an open house in late November to meet some of the people involved in the mural project, including Guillén.

In response to this selective harassment, the mural project launched a protest campaign demanding that the citations be dropped.

More than a hundred political activists and artists attended the defense rally, which was held at the well-known artists' community of Westbeth, located near the Pathfinder Building. In last week's *Militant*, we ran a news story on the meeting.

This week, we are printing excerpts from some of the speeches and messages that were presented.

Juan Sánchez

Painter. Participant in 1986 Bienal of Third World Art, held in Havana, Cuba. His work is currently part of an exhibit of political art at the Museum of Modern Art in New York titled "Committed to Print."

This country is very full of contradictions. Freedom of expression is for you to be able to say whatever you want to say, as far as content, aesthetics, concept, and form are concerned.

The reality of it is that public art is not supposed to have any kind of content, in terms of illustrating the struggle of Black people in this country, or the struggle of Latino people, or the struggle of Native American people, or the struggle of white people. "Freedom of expression" has nothing to do with that. There's no place for that type of work.

Political art has been going on for centuries, in spite of the censorship — although in this country, there is not supposed to be any censorship. Art with social and political content has been going on, designed to mobilize people, to help them recognize the strengths within themselves, and by whatever means necessary, make those changes.

What I would like to see is every one of those artistic statements about liberation for Central America, for the people in

South Africa, for the people in all oppressed nations — and liberation for the people here — on every corner of the streets of Manhattan.

Leslie Cagan

National coordinator, Mobilization for Survival.

Instead of delivering citations to the mural project, the city's Environmental Control Board should be tracking down corporations that daily pollute this city. Progressive people throughout this city look forward to the completion of this mural — we all know that it can only add to the cultural excitement of a city as diverse as New York. We look forward to the day when more murals go up and corporate headquarters stop being built.



Steve Bernstein

Steve Bernstein

New York-Nicaragua Construction Brigade.

The brigade's work in support of the struggle in Nicaragua is no different than the work of other organizations that work here and that work in other countries. Part of our work is organizing, and part of our organizing is done by being able to communicate with other people in our communities and with other groups.

It's stopping projects like this mural from using the walls, from using the lampposts, from using the streets, that is the same as stopping us from letting our messages go out to people.

The irony of it is that this is the country that always says, "The problems in Nicaragua, the problems in other countries are because they don't have the right to free speech."

In this country, free speech means million-dollar campaigns to run for any office. It means million-dollar buildings that you have to own. And even if you own your own building, they don't want you to put up what you want on your own wall! Most

of us don't have much money. One-hundred dollar summonses in groups of 35 are basically a way of committing genocide on all of us in terms of our work.

We in the brigade support the project, because the project, we recognize, is just part of us.

Tomas Villanueva

President, United Farm Workers of Washington State.

We have followed the progress of the mural with great interest. It is a mural that we believe expresses the struggles of working people throughout the world.

Opposition to this great piece of art certainly has to be regarded as a violation of our rights of freedom of expression and speech. To allow the opposition to prevail would be to allow the disarmament of our only weapon — the freedom to speak, the freedom to expose the truth.

Marina Gutiérrez

Art educator and artist. A prizewinner in 1986 Havana Bienal. Also a participant in "Committed to Print" exhibit.

We are living in the era where there are intentional policies to limit information. We are living in the city and state where elementary, secondary, and university levels of education have been sabotaged over the long term, where there's an over 50 percent drop-out rate, and where 87 percent of the students are called "minorities."

We are asked to believe the Reaganoid in the White House who makes pronouncements about world prosperity and happy democracies growing all around us. We are asked to succumb to illusion. For these reasons, I'm here — to defend public images that don't sell Coca-cola, cars, or cigarettes, and speak in defense of our reality.

Rudolf Baranik

Prominent artist. One of the organizers of the show by North American artists "Por encima del bloqueo" (Beyond the Blockade), which was donated to Cuba at Havana Bienal.

I heard about the mural first from Mike [Alewitz] when we were together in Havana [at the 1986 Bienal Third World art festival]. He described to me how these revolutionary images would be seen all the way from Wall Street and the World Trade Center.

It is wonderful that it is going up, and I believe that Pathfinder really found a beacon — because that is what "pathfinders" should do — and that beacon is telling Wall Street that they will be defeated.

At the same time, I would like to say that the mural could have and should have been conceived more broadly and involved broader sections of the radical movement. Mao Tse tung was not published by Path-

finder, but that does not mean that he should not be there. Ho Chi Minh was not published by Pathfinder. Neither was Joe Hill, because he wrote poetry and songs, and Pathfinder does not publish those, but he should be there. Rosa Parks wrote nothing, and she should have been there.

I'm not picking personages at random. I simply believe that the mural should be elaborated to be closer to the contemporary struggles and what is important to the American people. Certainly Dr. King is more important to the American people than the leaders of the Comintern.

That said, I want to say — in the name of quite a few artists in New York who are not here, but with whom I have talked about the mural — that they consider this project a wonderful endeavor, the most important public art that is going up in New York. We thank Pathfinder publishers, and we would like to help them as much as possible.

Cliff Joseph

Painter and art psychotherapist. Resident of Westbeth, a New York artists' community.

We're involved in a fight. This is really going to be a struggle. I believe that the mural is going to be completed. We're not going to let anyone prevent that from happening. It's going to be completed, and I think all of us here who call ourselves artists should be inspired to go out and seek walls all over the city and put up more, comparable murals. That's very important.

Some time ago, I was inspired to make the statement: "The power of art belongs to the people." That's what I believe, and I think that's what you here believe. I think the establishment knows the power of art, and what it can mean to a people in its struggle against oppression.

I want people to understand that we have this power that we can use to fight the oppression that needs to be fought against in this country, and in our world.

Art has the power to communicate to people on the deepest spiritual level, with potency that can inspire us to take up the struggle that we need to wage, to fight this fight and to win this fight.

So we can't afford to just stop at putting that mural up. We have to go beyond that, and we have to fight to get many, many more murals around this city, around this state, around this nation, making the statements that people need to make: statements about freedom.

Rafael Colon-Morales

Artist and curator of Museo del Barrio in New York City.

I want to express my solidarity with the fraternal peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador, and my continued support for the revolution in Cuba.

I live and work in *el barrio* in New York. And there we have difficulties not only with murals, but with Museo Del Barrio, Taller Boricua, Puerto Rican Heritage House, and the beginnings of galleries which have had to close or have not been able to grow or develop.

I want to go back to 1898, when Puerto Rico was invaded by the U.S. army. This was our first encounter with imperialism, which is parallel to the experiences of many other countries in the world and in Latin America. This encounter brought about the subjugation of our art and culture. Many of our artists were confined to small towns and had difficulty being teachers, or developing their art work, both easel painting and murals.

The mural tradition has come to many countries in the Americas. In Puerto Rico there has been great difficulty not only in putting them up on the wall, but actually saying what we want to say in those murals.

I want to leave you with two thoughts: one of them is the number of Puerto Rican artists who are in jail at present. I can name two: Elizam Escobar and Dylcia Pagán.

And secondly, the fact that there was a



Pathfinder Mural Project/Holbrook Mahn
Prominent Nicaraguan artist Arnoldo Guillén (right) puts final touches on the portraits of Nicaraguan revolutionary leaders Carlos Fonseca (left) and Augusto César Sandino.

Coming up in New York'

Working-class press



Militant/Osborne Hart
Rafael Colon-Morales

movement of murals here in the United States in the 1930s in which Mexicans as well as other Latin American artists participated. And we have to remember that the mural project of Pathfinder does not encounter the same difficulty as [Mexican muralist] Diego Rivera found. After he painted those beautiful murals for the workers, in Rockefeller Center in 1933, they were plastered over and something else was put on top of them.

Judy Freiwirth

National Mobilization for Survival.

On behalf of the National Mobilization for Survival, we would like to express our support for the Pathfinder Mural Project and condemn the recent political attacks by the city's Environmental Control Board.

It's clear that these attacks are political harassment rather than "environmental pollution," as stated by the control board. The attacks are an infringement of our free speech and artistic freedom. We call for all citations to be immediately dropped and for this political harassment to be stopped.

Margaret Winter

Attorney.

You are creating a beautiful and powerful work of public art. It will be a gift to the millions of working people of the city of New York, and a lasting contribution to the city's cultural heritage.

Nicaragua Medical Material Aid Campaign (NICMAC)

The avenues open to many groups for communicating through the major media are often limited. It is obvious that many groups and entertainment events get their message out through street communication and posters. To select one group and message for heavy fines is unacceptable in a free society.

Phillip Danzig

Architect. Participant in an Arts for a New Nicaragua brigade. Has painted murals in Nicaragua and New Jersey.

I want to speak for a moment about the mural, because the mural itself is key to all of this. It's going to be a very beautiful mural, and I congratulate the people working on it. I hope you've seen it — it's very clear, it's very graphical, it's very bold, it can be seen. Only two images are there, but it's going to be extremely striking.

Public art has gone on for a long time, and it's always been controlled from the top, until perhaps more recently. Now, there's a lot of art that's pushing up. I don't want to compare the mural to graffiti, but there's such a thing as public expression. The people have a right to control the walls and the environment that they see.

Perhaps the Environmental Control Board should be called the "thought control board." And talk about the citations that they're giving to the mural! When this mural is finished, it will be given other types of citations. It will be given citations for bringing something very positive.

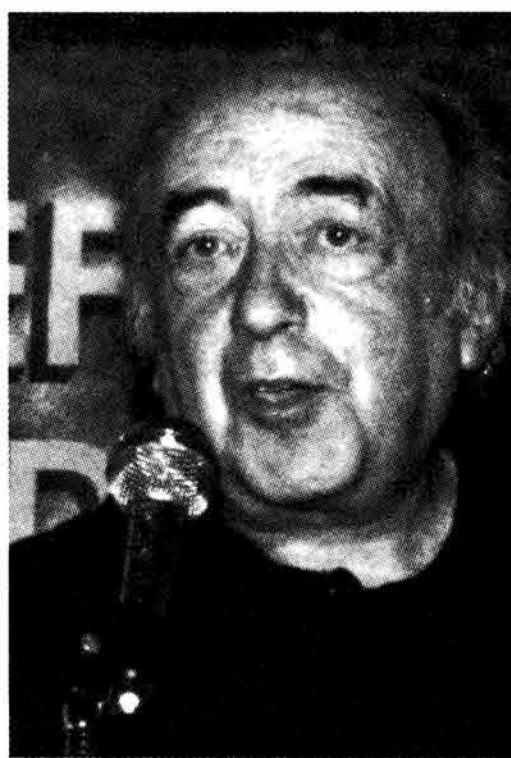
I would like to close by saying that I did work on a mural in Nicaragua, with two muralists from Nicaragua, and two other Americans, as part of an Arts for a New Nicaragua brigade. I went down there naively, not knowing very much about the history of Nicaragua.

I ended up in a town called Rivas, which is very proud to be the first town in Central America that successfully resisted a North American invasion in 1856. I was very proud to do a historical mural there, and I feel very wonderful about being able to see the faces of these men I've never met, Fonseca and Sandino, here. It makes me feel that here in New York there's something to be proud of.

Mike Alewitz

Project director and designer, Pathfinder Mural Project. Organized several mural projects in Nicaragua.

There's only one reason for the harassment of the mural, and that's the political content of the work that's being put on the wall. The mural portrays some of the individuals who have been published by Pathfinder, but the mural is only in part about those individuals. It's more about the



Rudolf Baranik (left) and Phillip Danzig.

movement that created and molded them, the movement of thousands and millions of people that those individuals represent.

This project is first and foremost an internationalist project. We have invited people from throughout the world to participate. Some will be painting particular portraits on the mural. Others will be participating in the general painting and activities that go on around it.

Thiago de Mello

Brazilian jazz composer, musician.

It's a privilege to be here in good company. I can recognize my friends who came



Militant photos by Osborne Hart

here to support the mural project, and this struggle against the city of New York.

It's an honor for me to be speaking in the name of the executive committee and membership of Ventana, a cultural organization made up of U.S. artists in solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution, and in particular with Nicaraguan artists.

Casa El Salvador

We at Casa El Salvador are in solidarity with the Pathfinder Mural Project. We think that artists in New York have the right to perform their art in anyplace they plan. To stop this would be violating the constitutional rights of all U.S. citizens.

Messages demand N.Y. mayor drop citations

BY SUSAN LaMONT

NEW YORK — The harassment of the Pathfinder Mural Project by the city administration of New York is being challenged by a wide array of individuals.

In addition to the successful speak-out held at the end of January, the project has requested that messages of protest be sent to Mayor Edward Koch demanding an end to the selective harassment of the mural. Supporters of the project are also circulating petitions demanding that the 35 citations issued by the city's Environmental Control Board be dropped.

Already, several dozen artists, political activists, lawyers, teachers and others — mainly from New York, but a few from as far away as Salt Lake City and Phoenix — have fired off messages to Koch.

"The transparent reason for these fines," wrote Rosilyn Wilder, a professor of creative arts at New York University, "unauthorized posting" of leaflets in a section of the city that is plastered with postings, is

laughable. Outdoor notices are and have long been a major form of communication for artists and other groups lacking funds for costly ads. . . .

"The Pathfinder mural will go on, its effect magnified by city repression. Withdraw the citations and endorse freedom for artistic expression!" Wilder's message concludes.

New Yorker Dina Rukeyser wrote to Koch, "The attack on the project is selective and therefore, undemocratic. Don't sabotage it, New York needs this commemorative mural! I urge you to drop the citations."

Artist Keith Christensen's message said, "I want you to know that I as an artist-citizen oppose [the mural's harassment] and join the protest of this infringement on the freedom of speech rights of the project."

The mural project has also received signed petitions from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Louisiana, West Vir-

ginia, Georgia, Utah, and elsewhere. Mural supporters have gathered signatures at Nicaragua solidarity meetings, antiracist protests, and other political events, including a well-attended December meeting for the mural held at the Martin Luther King Center for Non-Violent Social Change in Atlanta.

Artist and art educator Marina Gutierrez, who participated in the speak-out, gathered 72 signatures from high school and college students who attend her classes at Cooper Union Art School in New York.

A substantial article about the mural and the defense effort appeared in the *Villager* in early February. The lower Manhattan community paper quoted Diane Gellman of the city's Department of Transportation, who said that about 82,000 commuters drive north on West Street, past the mural, every weekday. The mural, 67 feet high and 87 feet wide, faces south and will be hard to miss, the article noted.

The campaign against the city's harassment is being organized through Pathfinder Books at 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013; telephone (212) 226-8445. Copies of the petitions can be obtained there.

Protest messages should be sent to Mayor Edward Koch, City Hall, New York, N.Y. 10007. Please send copies to Pathfinder Books.

For more information on the Pathfinder Mural Project, clip and mail the coupon below to the project at 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

☐ Please add my name as a sponsor of the Pathfinder Mural Project.

☐ Enclosed is a tax-deductible contribution of \$_____. Make checks payable to the Anchor Foundation.

☐ I would like _____ copies of the mural project brochure.

☐ I would like to work on, paint, or document the project.

☐ Please send me a catalog of Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

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Mural project director to tour West Coast



Mike Alewitz

Pathfinder Mural Project Director Mike Alewitz begins a month-long tour of the West Coast on February 13. The tour will publicize and build support for the mural project, raise funds, and broaden the defense of Pathfinder's right to put up the work free from harassment.

Alewitz will present a slideshow and talk on "Art and Revolution," covering art of the early Soviet avant-garde, the Mexican mural movement, recent artists' brigades to Nicaragua, the Pathfinder Mural Project, and other political art. He will also have a slideshow on the 1986 Havana Bienal, a prestigious international Third World art show that he attended.

His tour schedule is:

February 13-18 Bay Area, California

February 19-21 Artists for Cultural Democracy Conference, San Francisco

February 23-28 Los Angeles

March 2-12 Seattle; Portland, Oregon

For more information, contact the Pathfinder bookstore nearest you (see directory, page 12).

Contra atrocities terrorize civilians

Continued from front page

contra squad that had been operating near Wiwilí.

In other terrorist actions from February 4 to 6, the mercenaries ambushed a tractor and killed two civilians, kidnapped six peasants, blew up an electric power line, and dynamited a bridge.

During this same period, the Sandinista People's Army reported killing 31 contras, including a top field commander, in nine combat engagements.

'The war is here'

"The war is here and continues," Ortega said in his February 4 declaration. "It has not been ended despite yesterday's vote by a majority of the U.S. Congress." He noted that the vote had been very close.

"Children, workers, women — the Nicaraguan people — continue to be murdered in our country."

"We do not hide the social and economic effects of the war," Ortega continued. "We do not hide the fact that the Nicaraguan economy has been seriously affected because it suffers the direct impact of the war. . . . Despite the congressional vote, the U.S. economic embargo against Nicaragua is still there."

"The majority vote in the Congress expresses an openness to what has been the unanimous outcry of the international community for a negotiated solution and a rejection of any military solution," said Ortega.

"It should contribute to the Central American governments completely fulfilling the commitments we made" in the accords reached in Guatemala and Costa Rica.

But, Ortega noted, "Salvadoran territory continues to be used by the United States to attack Nicaragua," despite the fact that the government of El Salvador signed the accords, which prohibit such activity.

Moreover, Ortega continued, "nobody can deny that Honduran territory continues to be occupied as a base for aggression against Nicaragua. The United States must withdraw all its bases, and the Honduran government must comply with the accords, expelling those mercenary forces that are occupying Honduran territory."

Nicaragua, for its part, will continue to offer amnesty to any contra who agrees to stop fighting.

"We extend our hand once again to those Nicaraguans who are mixed up in the counterrevolution, so that they can take advantage of the Guatemala accords and immediately accept the cease-fire, disarmament, and amnesty," Ortega said. "This is the security mechanism that would guarantee that their rights will be respected or, if they so desire, that they will be aided in resettling in another country."

'Humanitarian aid'

Ortega warned that "the door is not completely closed in Congress to President Reagan soliciting more funds for the war. He can use regular [budgetary] mechanisms to seek more money for the war."

"Furthermore," he added, "it is said that they intend to approve 'humanitarian aid' in the near future. Thus, the U.S. government will try to find a way to approve money for the war through so-called humanitarian aid."

"The only 'humanitarian aid' allowed

British Ford strike

Continued from back page

under the Conservative Party government's antilabor laws.

Miners are now in their third month of a union ban on overtime work.

Workers at the Renault truck plant at Dunstable, just north of London, have organized strike action.

Teachers in London this week went on a daylong strike as well to protest the cutbacks in the funding of the Inner-London Education Authority by the government.

A contingent of Ford workers marched with the striking teachers. The teachers contributed to the collection buckets that the Ford workers took along.

Messages of support for the Ford workers can be sent to Transport and General Workers Union, Ford Central Branch, 76 Rainham Rd., Rainham, Essex RM137RL, England.



Militant/Harvey McArthur

Peasant cooperative decimated by contra attack in Jinotega Province of Nicaragua, June 1987.

[under the Guatemala accords] is aid that would help in the resettlement of those who have ceased fighting and have accepted the peace process," Ortega said. "Other types of so-called humanitarian aid, such as that approved recently by Congress, is merely support for the war."

Even without immediate new funding, the contras are well equipped. Moreover, Washington is increasing arms shipments to them.

And contra backer John Singlaub said in Washington that he would step up efforts to

raise money for the mercenaries. Singlaub is a former U.S. army general who worked closely with the Reagan administration in the past to get arms and other supplies to the contras when Congress temporarily cut off military funding for the contras from 1984 to 1986.

'Continue on the alert'

"The war will come to an end when the U.S. government accepts a cease-fire," Ortega said, "when it rejects a policy of force and threats, including that of using

U.S. military might to invade Nicaragua, and when it decides to accept a direct dialogue" with the Nicaraguan government.

Just as the Nicaraguan people will make every effort to defend their country and end the war, Ortega said, "we are sure that the peoples and governments of the world who defend international law and the right of peoples to be free, will also continue to be alert and mobilized. And especially so the American people, who have rejected the interventionist policy of their government."

Coal miners ratify new contract

Continued from back page

frank if the contract was voted down.

"Miners had a hard time approaching the contract in a national framework," Alabama miner John Hawkins emphasized. "Many thought they would be on strike if the contract was rejected."

Hawkins works at the Jim Walters No. 5 mine near Birmingham, where the contract was voted down. This mine is under a me-too contract. "Miners who work for companies covered by the me-too agreements would have continued working if the contract was rejected. It was easier for them to say, 'Send it back for more, what have we got to lose?'" Hawkins explained.

Hawkins said he voted for the contract because its defeat would have had different implications for different sections of the union.

Bob Allen said, "In my opinion there wasn't anything that would have unified the full union membership behind a strike. Most people thought that if we turned this down, we might be in for a long strike." He works at Exxon's Monterrey No. 2 mine in Albers, Illinois.

"Miners don't think this is a wonderful contract," said Clay Dennison from the American Electric Power mine in northern West Virginia.

In union locals, questions were raised about the expanded panel rights. Dennison said some saw this as a way for the union to get a toehold in Consolidation Coal's large nonunion Bailey mine in Pennsylvania.

At a few union meetings, miners expressed concern about the lack of safety they would face at nonunion operations. Others asked whether they would be able to maintain their seniority rights at mines they were originally laid off from if they were fired from nonunion operations.

Steps to strengthen union

The miners I spoke with wanted to emphasize immediate steps the union can take to strengthen itself in the coming days:

- Winning the same contract for the 2,000 Pittston miners and miners at other companies where union members are now working without contracts is a top priority.

In a provocation against the union, Pittston cut off medical benefits to retirees and their surviving spouses when the old contract expired January 31. That company has hired what its spokespeople call "asset protection teams" to police its property in the event of a strike. Union officials refer to them as hired "gun thugs."

- The union was strengthened in the West as it fought a number of strike battles last spring. But at the Decker and Big Horn surface mines in Montana and Wyoming, the union is under attack again.

Scabs have been brought in to work the mines. The union has been hit with court injunctions and heavy fines. Its members and their supporters have faced repeated arrests. Solidarity for these miners and those on strike at mines organized by the United Mine Workers in North Dakota is needed.

- The union should take the lead in defending Kentucky miners Donnie Thornsby, David Thornsby, Paul Smith, James Darryl Smith, and Arnold Heightland. The

five were active in the 1984-85 strike at A.T. Massey Coal Co.

Nearly two years after the strike ended, Kentucky State cops and the FBI arrested the miners and charged them with the shooting death of a scab hauler. Four of the miners have been convicted and face from 35 to 45 years in jail. Paul Smith was acquitted in federal court but immediately rearrested on murder charges by the Kentucky cops.

This frame-up is designed to deal a blow to the union in the heart of the Appalachian coalfields. A big mobilization of union support in their behalf has the potential to turn this frame-up around.

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The February issue of PM includes an article about the changes in world politics today and the relationship of these changes to shifts in capitalist development.

The article reviews a talk given by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, that discussed the past seven years of the ruling-class offensive against working people, and the international working-class unity that is necessary to wage an effective fight against the rulers' attack.

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'Haiti needs a revolutionary government'

Interview with general secretary of the Autonomous Federation of Haitian workers

BY ART YOUNG

MONTREAL — Recently I was able to speak with Yves Richard, general secretary of Haiti's leading trade union formation, the Autonomous Federation of Haitian Workers (CATH). Richard discussed the history and activities of CATH and the general situation facing Haiti's toilers.

CATH, Richard explained, was founded in May 1980, after he and other leaders established union locals in several factories. That year, however, also saw a severe crackdown by dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier, and CATH was unable to continue functioning openly. Richard was forced into exile in Quebec. Other union leaders who stayed in Haiti had to go into hiding for years.

Right to exist

Following the overthrow of Duvalier in February 1986, CATH has been able to reorganize and grow, forming local unions in a number of factories and setting up a national organization.

The union has had to fight for its right to exist, Richard explained, as it is a special target of the current military-dominated government and the Tontons Macoutes, Duvalier's private thug army, which, though formally banned, still functions.

In the last year, several hundred people have been murdered by these repressive forces. Many activists no longer sleep at home, in order to escape the death squads. Richard's name and those of other federation leaders are among those on the Macoutes' hit list. Under such conditions, it is very difficult for CATH locals to fight for better wages or working conditions. The bosses have a free hand to do what they want, Richard said.

Peasants fight for land

Richard said there are nearly 225,000 members of CATH, a majority of them peasants. The union federation also includes neighborhood committees that represent the impoverished residents of urban slums.

The union members in the countryside include peasants who own some land, those who are landless, and seasonal agricultural laborers.

"In Haiti, 70 percent of the peasants and farm laborers have no land of their own. There has to be a profound land reform. And when we carry it out, there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth," Richard said. "We will take the land that the

Macoutes have stolen from the peasants. We will take the state lands." This land is often illegally occupied by the large landowners.

Richard foresees a land reform "based on the Haitian mentality and reality," that is, one that is linked to a series of other measures, such as a literacy campaign, a reforestation program to halt catastrophic soil erosion, and an end to smuggling, which is undermining the national economy.

'Fighting for radical change'

An article in the May 1987 issue of CATH newspaper, *The Workers' Voice*, explains the union's principles: democracy in the union, full participation of the members, and worker-peasant solidarity, including international solidarity. "As a nationalist and Third-Worldist labor federation," *Workers' Voice* explains, "CATH must take positions in favor of the millions of workers in the Third World, in order to contribute to the anti-imperialist struggle."

Richard explained that in Haiti "you can't have a labor federation that only makes wage demands in the factories. In a country where so many people are starving to death, where so many people have no work, we have to build a union organization that meets the needs of all the people."

"You can't have a real change if we don't demand the de-macoutization of [purging of the Macoutes from] the army, if we don't demand the democratization of the whole state apparatus, if we don't demand a profound land reform."

"Our organization is fighting for a radical change in Haitian society. The Haitian bourgeoisie can't accept that. The Haitian oligarchy can't accept it either. But keep one thing in mind," he continued. "That is the determination of the Haitian people to uproot the whole repressive system that reigns in our country. Sooner or later the struggle will lead to a showdown between the bourgeoisie and the popular masses, the workers, the peasants, those who have no land or no job, and so on."

"To achieve our demands, we need a revolutionary government," Richard said.

'We need your support'

"When Duvalier left, it was the United States, Canada, and France that set up the junta. These countries are responsible for all the crimes that have been committed against the Haitian people," Richard explained.

"Canada is one of the countries that plays the American game. [The Canadian leaders] pretend to be different, to be democrats, to not want to interfere in our internal affairs, but none of that is true," he said.

"We ask all Quebec, Canadian, and American organizations that believe that the Haitian people's struggle is their struggle, to show their solidarity with us," Richard said. "We ask them to put pressure on their governments to have them respect our right to self-determination, our right to freely choose the leaders we want, free of outside pressure."

This means not recognizing the results of the recent fake election, and halting all aid. "With this aid," Richard explained, "in two years of power the military government hasn't built anything for the people, not even latrines. Instead, we've been given a series of massacres, thanks to the arms that Reagan has sent the army."

In January, CATH issued an international appeal for an oil and economic embargo against Haiti to help bring down the military government.

Richard wound up with a special appeal to North American trade unionists. "We ask all workers to get their unions to take a firm stand on what is happening in Haiti, because we think that the Haitian people's struggle is not only the struggle of all consistent democrats, it is also the struggle of all North American workers."

CATH can be contacted at 93 rue des Casernes, Port-au-Prince, Haiti. Telephone: 509-2-4506.



Union leader Yves Richard

Socialist Voice/Brigitte Brunner

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Private U.S. aid plan inadequate, says Hanoi

Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach scored as inadequate the Reagan administration's plan to restrict U.S. humanitarian aid to Vietnam to that provided by private organizations.

The agreement to send humanitarian aid was reached in Hanoi last August by Reagan's special envoy, John Vessey, a retired general and former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Following Vessey's visit, Washington issued a report detailing Vietnam's need for humanitarian assistance, principally prosthetic devices and rehabilitation aid for 60,000 Vietnamese suffering amputations as a result of the U.S. war on Vietnam. The report encouraged private organizations to provide help.

At that same meeting, according to the January 20 *New York Times*, the Vietnamese government in exchange agreed to step up the search for some 1,700 U.S. soldiers listed as missing in action at the end of the war.

Hanoi understood that the projects would be followed up on a government-to-government basis. Washington has denied that the two projects were linked. Since the war, successive U.S. administrations have refused to establish diplomatic relations with Vietnam, or to pay reparations for damages done during the war.

Thach told reporters that there must be a least some aid from the U.S. government. "Otherwise, my people will ask why the United States refuses to give government aid to Vietnam while Vietnam gives government aid to the United States," he said, referring to the search for missing U.S. soldiers.

At the end of January, Vietnam announced that it would turn over the remains of five U.S. soldiers and information on 18 others. Vietnam expends a considerable amount of resources in searching for and documenting evidence and records of missing U.S. soldiers.

Japan leads in trade with South Africa

Japan has become South Africa's number one trade partner. Japan and the United States maintained nearly equal trade with South Africa through 1986. In 1987 Japan's trade with South Africa rose from \$3.6 billion to \$4.3 billion. Not counted in these figures is Japanese sales to South Africa through third countries such as West Germany.

Japan exports cars, machinery, and

electronic equipment to South Africa. It imports mostly raw materials, notably coal and gold, platinum, and other metals. South Africa accounts for only about 1 percent of Japan's world trade, but half of its trade with Africa.

Officially the Japanese government opposes apartheid. It strictly limits sports and cultural exchanges, tourism, and the export of computers to South African police agencies.

"We can safely say that in 1987 the figure of our trade is by far bigger than any other country's," a Foreign Ministry official said. "These are the facts. This certainly embarrasses the government."

But an official of the Ministry of Trade and Industry said, "The logical thing is to take action to push reform in the apartheid system; it isn't logical to take action simply because Japan is number one in the trade figures."

Arrests in Puerto Rico antilabor frame-up

A former official and two members of International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 901 have been arrested and charged with 97 counts of murder in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

The frame-up is based on accusations that the union is responsible for the Dec. 31, 1986, fire at the DuPont Plaza Hotel in which 97 people were killed. The only "evidence" against the union was that its membership had met that day and rejected a management offer in a contract dispute.

Another union member, Héctor Escudero Aponte, is currently serving a life sentence resulting from a federal conviction in this case. Aponte "confessed" to setting the fire. The latest arrests are based on his testimony.

In a plea bargaining agreement, Aponte will turn state's witness against the union members. In exchange the government of Puerto Rico will sentence Aponte to 30 years in prison, to be served concurrently with the Federal sentence.

The union has maintained that it had nothing to do with the fire, even offering a \$15,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of its perpetrator.

Prosecutors on the island have continued to go after the union despite the fact that the initial investigations showed a broad range of lax safety procedures and management neglect. The hotel had no sprinkler system, fire alarms did not work, and much of the hotel furniture contained highly flammable and toxic materials.

Record profits in paper industry; investors divided on Int'l Paper

The U.S. forest products industry, which includes pulp, paper products, and lumber, earned record profits of \$4.6 billion in 1987, with expectations that 1988 profits may grow 25 percent. Most mills are running at capacity, and inventories of many grades of paper are low.

Exports of pulp and paper, which rose to \$5.9 billion last year, have increased due to the dollar's fall in relation to other currencies. Higher prices are also boosting profits. Newsprint prices, for example, rose 14 percent in 1987.

John A. Georges, chief executive officer at International Paper Co. (IP), said, "It would take quite a slowdown [in the economy] to have a serious impact" on the paper business.

Some 3,400 members of the United Paperworkers International Union are currently on strike or locked out at four IP paper mills.

Wall Street investment firms differ on how much IP — which is operating the four mills with scabs — is being affected. Standard & Poor recommends investors sell their IP stock, and Salomon Brothers has removed the paper giant from its list of recommended stocks. Kidder, Peabody and Prudential-Bache, on the other hand, recommend buying IP stock.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Who Pays the Price? The Impact of the Stock Market Crash on Working People. Speaker: John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 14, 4 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Bitter Cane. A film about Haiti. Fri., Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m. Translation to Spanish. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

CONNECTICUT

Hartford

The FBI — the Real Criminals. Speakers: Leonard Weinglass, defense attorney for Puerto Rican/Hartford 15; Héctor Marroquín, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 19, 7 p.m. Mitchell House, 38 Lawrence St. Sponsor: Connecticut Committee Against Repression. For more information call (203) 233-7996.

FLORIDA

Miami

The Government Move to Resegregate the Schools. A panel discussion on school desegregation in Miami. Speakers: representative, Committee Against Resegregated Education; Thabo Ntweng, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

The Fight Against South African Imperialism. Cuba: An Example of International Solidarity. Speakers: Charles Brunson, American Postal Workers Union, Free South Africa Coalition; Alan Gummerson, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Lodge 702. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

Rally condemns new Haitian regime

BY SUSAN LaMONT

NEW YORK — "Haiti is not for sale," "Hey, hey, USA — get your hands off Haiti," and "No U.S. intervention — power to the people" were some of the chants heard at the February 6 protest in Brooklyn organized by the Committee Against Repression in Haiti.

The action drew hundreds of people, mostly Haitians, who braved sub-zero weather to show their opposition to the new government of Leslie Manigat, which was installed by Haiti's military through the fake January 17 elections.

Speakers at the action included Ben Dupuy, coordinator of the Committee Against Repression in Haiti; Andres Lurois of the Interunion Federation of Haiti; Carl August, an opposition activist imprisoned and tortured in Haiti last year; Reynaldo Laguna, president of the San Juan del Río Coco National Union of Farmers and Ranchers in Nicaragua, who is on tour in Brooklyn; and Martin Boyers of the Socialist Workers Party.

In mid-January, some 50 people took

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Malcolm X: His Life and Its Meaning for Today. Speaker: Jarrod Hayes, student at Emory University. Video: *El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz*. Sat., Feb. 13, 7 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

An Evening in Solidarity with the Palestinian People. Speakers: Dr. Hatem Hussaini, member, Palestine National Council; Kamil Eid, Palestine Human Rights Campaign; Katrina Breeding, attorney; representative, Georgia Black Students Association. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. Martin Luther King, Jr., Community Center, 450 Auburn Ave. Donation requested. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

IOWA

Des Moines

Socialist Educational Weekend. 1. "Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution." Speakers: Elizabeth Stone, editor of *Women and the Cuban Revolution*, recently returned from Cuba; Raúl González, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 2. "How the Cuban Revolution is Returning to the Ideas of Che." Speaker: Elizabeth Stone. Sun., Feb. 14, noon. 3. "Blacks and Women and the Cuban Revolution." Speaker: Elizabeth Stone. Sun., Feb. 14, 2:30 p.m. Classes held at 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2 per class. Sponsor: SWP and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Bitter Cane. A film on the political situation in Haiti. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Struggle for Peace in Nicaragua. Speakers: Ellen Haywood and Larry Ross, recently re-

turned from Nicaragua. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 13, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

turned from Nicaragua. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 13, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

Legacy of Malcolm X. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Feb. 20, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Cuba Today! An 11-part weekly educational series. Tuesdays at 6:30 p.m. and Saturdays at 2 p.m., through April 16. 140 S 40th St. Donation for series: \$1.50. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

Stop the U.S. War on Nicaragua! Speakers to be announced. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Cuba Is Showing the Way Forward. A socialist educational weekend. 1. "Cuban Revolution Today: a Historic Turning Point." A class by Margaret Jayko, coeditor of the *Militant*. Sat., Feb. 13, 1 p.m. 2. "Cuba's Role in Fight for a New International Economic Order." Class by Chris Rayson, Socialist Workers Party. 3. "Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution." A forum with Helen Meyers, Pathfinder publishers. All events held at 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$1 per class, \$3 for forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

20th Annual Malcolm X Memorial Awards Program. Guest speaker: Utrice C. Leid, the *City Sun*; film *Malcolm X*; cultural presentations by community artists. Sun., Feb. 21, 4 to 7 p.m. The College of New Rochelle, Brooklyn campus, 1368 Fulton St. (at New York Ave). Donation: \$3. Sponsor: East/Uhuru Cultural Center. For more information call (718) 398-1729.

Manhattan

Build Solidarity With Nicaragua. A panel discussion on how to build the antiwar movement in the United States. Dave Cline, Vietnam Veterans Against the War; Julie Spriggs, Nicaragua Network; Kermit Beauchamps, N.Y.-Nicaragua Construction Brigade; David Rosenfeld, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish and French. Fri., Feb. 12, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Valentine's Day Benefit Dance for the Hartford 15 Puerto Rican Political Prisoners. Sat., Feb. 13, 9 p.m. 119 Ave. D. Donation: \$7. Cash bar, DJ. Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression. For more information call (718) 972-7361 or (212) 927-9065.

What Road Forward in the Fight Against Racism? Speaker: Mac Warren, Black activist, national leader, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

A Night in Solidarity With Casa Nicaragua. Commemorate the 54th anniversary of Augusto César Sandino's death. Inauguration of newsletter *Barricadita*. Sat., Feb. 20, 6 to 10 p.m. Goddard Riverside Community Center, downstairs at 593 Columbus Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Casa Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 769-4293.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

The Palestinian Struggle. Speaker: Dr. Hatem Hussaini, former adviser to the Palestine Liberation Organization's observer mission to the United Nations. Sun., Feb. 14, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OREGON

Portland

Nicaragua Today. Eyewitness report and slide presentation given by members of the first Ben Linder Brigade. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Malcolm X: A Panel Discussion. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 27, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

Pittsburgh

Solidarity with the Palestinian Uprising: No to the Israeli Occupation! Speakers: Sam Roy, regional coordinator for the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; representative, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave., Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

No Aid to the Contras. Stop the War Against Nicaragua! Speakers: Bruce Plenk, co-chair of Utah Central America Solidarity Committee; Scott Breen, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

Eyes on the Prize. A video presentation and discussion on the history of the civil rights movement. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Blacks and the Nicaraguan Revolution. Sat., Feb. 13, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Lessons of the Civil Rights Movement for Today. Speaker: Ken Miliner, Socialist Workers Party, participant in 1987 Forsyth County demonstrations. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Nicaragua: the Deepening Revolution and the Fight for Peace. Eyewitness report. Speaker: Margo Storsteen, participant on recent coffee-picking brigade in Nicaragua, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Cuba's Example in the Fight Against Racism. Speakers: Tony Prince, Socialist Workers Party leader who has visited Cuba; others. Sat., Feb. 27, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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

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Nuclear waste? Hey, no problem — A large pile of radioactive dirt was found sitting outside the Pilgrim nuke plant in Massachusetts. An official assured,



Harry Ring

"Right now we're putting bales of hay around it and covering it with a tarp."

Early and often — In Emertsburg, Iowa, residents indi-

cated the presidential candidate of their choice by hitting the toilet flush as the list was broadcast. This year, cynics suggested fraud in the poll when the level of the town water tower indicated twice as many flushes as toilets. But maybe it was just an outbreak of campaign diarrhea.

Securing our borders — In a sweep at the Los Angeles airport, two immigration agents demanded to see the papers of an airport cop, suspecting, they say, that he was an undocumented rent-a-cop. When the cop brushed them off, they disarmed him and started hauling him off. Other airport cops came to the rescue, busting the *migra* agents.

Another "freedom fighter" —

Roger Miranda, the Nicaraguan defector with the tall stories about Nicaragua's military buildup, is receiving a reported \$800,000 from the U.S. government. That includes a reward, resettlement assistance, and a contract for unspecified future services.

Sharp as ever — "I've had an unholy desire to invite some atheists to dinner and then serve him the most fabulous gourmet dinner . . . and, after dinner, ask them if they believe there was a cook." — The prez at the National Prayer Breakfast.

TV flick of the week — "Rags to Riches. Fear of the Cuban missile crisis squelches Diane's ex-

citement for her sweet 16 party."

The Bill of Rights boys — In a damage suit by heirs of a cancer victim, Liggett & Myers was ordered to release its secret studies linking smoking to cancer. A company spokesperson complained this was "an invasion of privacy." Of course. Also an assault on the inalienable right to murder for profit.

Never a dull moment at Eastern — A fracas erupted at Eastern's counter at the Miami terminal when Juneau Ruddock objected strongly to a demand for another \$74 on her ticket. Her angry brother, boxer Razor Ruddock, punched a dent in a computer terminal, and another brother did

likewise with a cop that tried to use handcuffs. Eastern said it had "bent over backwards" trying to be helpful and could have demanded \$224.

Maybe next year — We're late in reporting it, but basketball star Bill Walton had his San Diego pad for rent for Super Bowl week. Includes tennis and basketball courts, jacuzzi, five baths, and a maid. Five days, \$20,000.

Thought for the week — "He looks wild to me. I would say he has a personality disorder." — An appraisal of New York's Mayor Koch by Joyce Brown, the homeless women he tried, unsuccessfully, to have put away as psychotic.

Palestinian strike grips West Bank, Gaza Strip

Continued from front page

tered and city water pipes smashed at their joints.

Police imposed curfews on two refugee districts within Jerusalem.

A spokesman for the cops said this was done because of "grave civil disturbances," including "throwing of petrol bombs, stone throwing, tire-burning, the barricading of roads and an attempt to stab a border police officer."

At the end of February 7 — the first day of the general strike — the army frantically ordered 12 towns and refugee districts under curfew, confining some 200,000 people to their homes.

In Nablus, the largest city in the West Bank, the entire population has been under such house arrest since the beginning of February.

On February 3, all West Bank schools, from elementary to university level, were ordered shut. Involving more than 800 schools and a quarter of a million students, the shutdown was ordered on the basis that the schools had become organizing centers for the uprising.

Meanwhile, the killings of Palestinians were extended from the larger towns and refugee centers to small villages that had not been greatly involved in the initial stage of the uprising.

In the tiny West Bank village of Beit Ummar, resolute protesters confronted Israeli troops February 7. The troops fired point-blank into the crowd, killing three villagers.

A February 8 *New York Newsday* report said:

"In recent days most of the protests have been in small villages. . . .

"The often remote, pastoral villages have much less irritating contact with the army, but increasingly are angered by the government expropriation of their land for Israeli settlements.

"More than half the land in the West Bank is now under Israeli government ownership or control."

The savage response of the Israeli rulers to the present uprising confirms they are ready to go to any extreme to ensure their continuing control of the Palestinians' land.

In a calculated demonstration of their resolve, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir took time out February 3 to participate in a tree-planting ceremony at the Israeli West Bank settlement of Nili.

"Settlements will grow and prosper," Shamir declared.

The Palestinian uprising is proving a huge obstacle to realizing that reactionary promise.



Palestinian youths at rally in West Bank village of Idna

Gas leak at scab-run paper mill

Continued from back page

the leak.

Jay residents "got into their cars and got the hell out," Local 14 member Gary McGrane explained. "It was like a caravan out of town."

Some 1,000 students of all ages were evacuated from local schools. As the high school students boarded the buses, chants of "scabs out, union in" broke out. Meanwhile, the company refused to evacuate some 500 scabs and supervisory personnel from the plant. About 1,000 scabs are currently working in the mill.

The evacuation was especially nerve-racking for working parents of small children, who heard about the emergency on local radio stations, and on teachers, who had to guide young students onto buses and keep things calm in the midst of traffic jams — a rare event in rural Jay.

Gov. John McKernan, whose brother is a lobbyist for the paper industry, praised IP officials for being "cautious to make sure that we did not have a more serious event on our hands."

The union's response has been to demand that the safety of the workers and residents of Jay be put first. "How many environmental disasters have to happen, how many times do people's lives have to be endangered, how many people have to be killed before the governor will take the safety threat caused by International Paper Co. seriously?" Local 14 President Meserve told the media.

"This massive chlorine gas leak is the latest and most serious in a chain of incidents at the IP mill," Meserve continued. "It follows major chemical spills into the river and a hydrogen sulfide gas leak a

week or so ago that hospitalized eight replacement workers. The continued operation of that mill by unqualified personnel poses a safety threat to the town of Jay and the entire Androscoggin Valley."

On February 8, some 1,500 angry residents jammed into a town meeting in Jay, demanding that IP provide information on emergency evacuation plans. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration and the Maine Department of Environmental Protection have announced an investigation of the accident.

The chlorine gas leak was a big topic of discussion during the second week of the Jay strikers' 20-person caravan to Massachusetts. The caravan is part of the paperworkers' outreach efforts to expand support for their long strike. Speaking to unions and on campuses throughout the state, the Jay strikers were asked, "What about the accident?"

At a rally and teach-in attended by students and faculty at Mt. Holyoke College in Holyoke, Massachusetts, striker Frank LeClair said the leak could have been "another Chernobyl, another Bhopal, if there had been no wind" to disperse the deadly gas.

Garment workers, electrical workers, machinists, firefighters, auto workers, paperworkers, and other unionists turned out across the state to hear caravan members address community rallies and local union meetings.

In East Deerfield, the Jay paperworkers picketed with United Transportation Union members who are on strike against Springfield Terminal Railway Co. The rail workers have been solid supporters of the Jay strike.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
Feb. 17, 1978

A massive boycott of nationwide municipal elections February 5 dramatized the deepening political isolation of the regime of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza.

The Conservative Party, the only legal opposition, said that 52 of its 132 candidates had withdrawn voluntarily in protest of the Somoza regime. A government spokesperson said early returns show that only 143,000 of the 700,000 eligible Nicaraguans voted.

The elections took place on the 14th day of a general strike that has posed the most powerful challenge to the Nicaraguan government since the beginning of Somoza family rule in 1933.

The upsurge began January 11, when more than 30,000 people gathered in the Nicaraguan capital of Managua to attend the funeral of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, who was murdered the previous day. Chamorro was the editor and publisher of *La Prensa*, the most prestigious capitalist daily in the country.

Chamorro was widely viewed as the main political enemy of the Somoza regime, aside from the Nicaraguan guerrilla organization, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The strike has paralyzed 90 percent of Nicaragua's commerce and industry. Hospitals and clinics have been closed as doctors, nurses, and health workers have joined the strike.

On January 30 the National Guard surrounded the campus of the National University in Managua and fired tear-gas grenades at student demonstrators.

Thousands joined in protests in the cities of León and Masaya on February 1. *La Prensa* reported that the next day the National Guard attacked demonstrators in Matagalpa, killing six people.

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Feb. 18, 1963 Price 10c

Frustrated for the moment in his attempts to crush the Cuban revolution, President John Kennedy admitted in his February 7 news conference that Cuba is not a military threat to the United States, but a political threat to the social system prevailing in the rest of Latin America. This threat, said Kennedy, must be met directly in Latin America itself.

Washington is preparing to do this by committing U.S. troops to South Vietnam-type counterrevolutionary warfare in Central and South America. The February 9 *Christian Science Monitor* reports that "the United States soon will be sending a new group of antiguerrilla experts to the Panama Canal Zone so it will be in a position to help Latin American nations cope promptly with Castro-Communist sabotage." That is, with any revolutionary uprisings inspired by the Cuban example.

Behind Mecham's impeachment

The Arizona House of Representatives decided February 5 to impeach Republican Gov. Evan Mecham for "high crimes, misdemeanors, and malfeasance in office." The next step is a trial by the Arizona Senate, set to begin February 22.

Mecham, it seems, was the only one surprised by the 46-to-14 vote. It has been clear for several months now that the outspoken bigot is on his way out of the governor's office. Most working people will be glad to see him go.

Although Mecham's removal from office seems virtually inevitable, the impeachment of capitalist politicians is rare. In fact, it has been nearly 60 years since the last governor was impeached: Henry Johnston of Oklahoma, who was removed from office in 1929.

Only six governors have ever been ousted from office in this way. The ruling rich who run this country don't like what such proceedings usually expose about the workings of their political system and the politicians they employ.

At the impeachment hearings, Mecham was charged, among other things, with concealing a \$350,000 campaign loan and "borrowing" \$80,000 in state funds for his Phoenix Pontiac dealership. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that Mecham is being impeached because he's corrupt.

Corruption exists at all levels of government and in both the Democratic and Republican parties. It's a time-honored part of the way the capitalist system works. If politicians were removed from office simply for being corrupt, government buildings throughout the country would be empty.

Mecham has become a political liability to the wealthy capitalists, ranchers, and land speculators who control Arizona, but for other reasons. His trumpeting of reactionary and racist views are repugnant to most working people in

the state. Even conservative Republicans like Barry Goldwater have called on Mecham to step down — for the good of the Republican Party.

Mecham's recent remarks referring positively to Japanese people undergoing surgery to change the shape of their eyes were the latest in a string of scurrilous comments made by the governor about Blacks, women, Jews, and gay people. His appointment of like-minded individuals to various government posts has also drawn fire.

Mecham's decision to rescind the state's Martin Luther King Day holiday soon after he took office in early 1987 sparked the efforts to remove him from office. The establishment of this holiday was a victory, won in 1986, resulting from a nationwide fight that forced the federal government and 40 states to give official recognition to the gains of the massive civil rights movement.

Mecham's canceling of the holiday, accompanied by the remark that King did not deserve such recognition, provoked a sharp reaction throughout the state, especially among Blacks. A major demonstration was held, and nearly 400,000 people signed petitions demanding a recall election — now scheduled for May 17 — before the impeachment hearings began.

The mounting pressure from ruling circles in Arizona for Mecham to step down also reflects the fact that businesses and government institutions, including the capitalist political parties, have had to adjust to the realities of what has been accomplished by the civil rights and women's rights struggles. Mecham's ouster is thus a barometer of what has already been achieved.

In one of her first moves, Acting Gov. Rose Mofford has urged the Arizona legislature to reinstate the King holiday. Strong opposition to this proposal from several legislators makes it clear that it will take a fight to reconquer this ground.

Is voluntary work different than 'Stakhanovism'?

BY DOUG JENNESS

In two recent columns, I wrote about the role of voluntary labor in the early years of Soviet Russia under V.I. Lenin's leadership and in Cuba following the overturn of capitalist rule there in 1959.

I described how work habits and broader social understanding resulting from voluntary labor point the way to breaking down the distrust, intrigue, and self-centeredness inherited from capitalist social relations. And how unpaid voluntary work can help begin the process of transition to communist society.

One reader told me that in political discussions about the rectification process currently under way in Cuba, she

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

sometimes gets asked about the difference between the volunteer minibrigades there and the Stakhanovist movement in the Soviet Union in the 1930s.

Even if many readers may never have heard of that movement, I think it's useful to answer this question, because it helps shed light on the progressive contribution of volunteer work.

Alexei Stakhanov was a Russian coal miner who, in August 1935, cut 16 times more coal in one shift with a pneumatic drill than was normally produced by a single worker in the same time period.

Soviet newspapers trumpeted this feat and began reporting similar record-breaking efforts. The Soviet bureaucracy, headed by Joseph Stalin, promoted these achievements and organized conferences to encourage other workers to emulate them as part of its drive to increase labor productivity.

Stalin asserted that this Stakhanovist movement, as it became known, "prepares the conditions for the transition from socialism to communism." (He promoted the false notion that Soviet Russia had already achieved socialism and was advancing toward communism.)

Stalin's claim that it pointed the way toward communism was farfetched.

In every country where capitalist rule has been overturned and the capitalist class expropriated, it has been impossible to immediately move to establish a communist society, where each person contributes according to their ability and receives according to their need. Until this is achieved, inequalities will necessarily continue to exist.

The challenge for communist leadership is to find steps that can help lessen income disparities and point the way toward undermining the forms of work inherited from capitalism and advancing toward the organization of labor on a communist basis.

The Stakhanovist movement did not point in this direction. Rather, it deepened wage disparities and reinforced work habits inherited from capitalism.

In Russia in the 1930s piecework was already widespread. In this context, the Stakhanovists, who produced a lot more than the average worker, received considerably more wages.

In the mines, non-Stakhanovist coal miners received from 400 to 500 rubles a month; a Stakhanovist, more than 1,600 rubles. And in some industries and for specialists, the gap was much wider.

On top of this, personal privileges were heaped on the Stakhanovists. They got first dibs on places in rest homes and in kindergartens for their children, free movie tickets, free lessons at home for their families, and many other such gratuities.

The Stalin leadership's promotion of the Stakhanovists — along with measures such as eliminating food ration cards that had tended to partially offset income disparities — accentuated differentiation in the working class and fostered the emergence of a labor aristocracy.

The main appeal of the movement was to the *personal* material interest of workers, and it undermined their social consciousness.

This is very different from what motivates volunteers for the minibrigades in Cuba, who are not individually paid for the many hours of extra work they do constructing child-care centers, housing, and other social projects. *Brigadistas* don't even get first crack at new apartments they build. That's determined on the basis of need.

Their reward is helping to contribute something that benefits all Cubans, no matter what they earn. Doing this kind of work requires and expands the political and social consciousness of the participants.

Moreover, the voluntary work brigades in Cuba have been linked with other measures to unify and strengthen the working class. This includes raising the wages of farm workers, who are lower paid on the average, in order to partially overcome wage inequalities.

As Cuban President Fidel Castro pointed out last year in a speech to Cuban unionists, the struggle for communism will "require tremendous political work, the need for profound education, the need for the creation and development of new human values. . . ."

That's what the Communist Party of Cuba is striving to do. And voluntary work is playing a decisive role in this process.

Hands off Panama!

Continued from front page

and union members rallied in the city of Santiago, capital of the province of Veraguas, to protest Washington's anti-Panama campaign. A banner at the rally read: "To bring Reagan to justice, Veraguas declares its own tribunal."

The February 5 indictments charge Noriega with conspiring to smuggle massive amounts of illegal drugs into the United States and laundering profits from drug sales through Panamanian banks. The indictments are based on the testimony of two key witnesses. One of them is Stephen Kalish, a convicted drug dealer. The other is former Panamanian Consul General José Blandón.

Blandón, whom Noriega has described as a Benedict Arnold, was dismissed in January by the Panamanian government.

Doing its share to keep up the pressure, the U.S. Senate began hearings on the charges against Noriega on February 8.

On the first day of the hearings, Paul Gorman, retired general and former commander of the U.S. Southern Command, admitted that U.S. embassy personnel had described Noriega as extremely cooperative in helping the U.S. government crack down on drug trafficking.

Gorman added that despite a 1983 investigation of Noriega, he was unable to find firsthand evidence of involvement in drugs and money laundering.

The Panamanian embassy in Washington has also made public a series of letters from John Lawn, administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration, praising Noriega for his "personal commitment" to fighting drug trafficking.

The campaign against Noriega has amounted to a grab bag of charges. They include drug trafficking, running guns to the Sandinistas before the 1979 overthrow of the dictator Anastasio Somoza, and meeting with U.S. Lt. Col. Oliver North to plan the training of Nicaraguan contras to fight against the Sandinista government, while also smuggling guns to the guerrilla movement fighting against the U.S.-backed regime of José Napoleón Duarte in El Salvador.

Noriega reported that in December 1986 Rear Adm. John Poindexter, a former national security adviser, visited Panama seeking that country's help in efforts to bring down the Sandinista government. When he was turned down, Poindexter warned of the "consequences," Noriega reported.

The Panamanian government had been a supporter of the Contadora Group negotiations, which sought an end to the contra war. The Panamanian government also has relations with Cuba.

In a February 7 interview on the CBS program "60 Minutes," Noriega explained that the United States government is trying "to set a precedent to which any Latin American leader with progressive ideas and not aligned with the empire will be submitted."

"There is a political conspiracy against Panama, not against Noriega, but against Panama," he added.

Noriega has stressed that U.S. troops in Panama must leave the country by Dec. 31, 1999, when the canal is to be returned to Panama.

A series of other moves against Panama have been made by Washington and other governments as well as by imperialist bankers. They include:

- A vote by Congress to cut off all economic and military aid, eliminate Panama's sugar quota, and mandate the United States to vote against loans to Panama in international development banks.
- Cancellation of a World Bank loan for \$50 million and suspension of disbursement payments on others.
- Lack of enthusiasm by foreign imperialist bankers for a Panamanian government plan to renegotiate payments on its debt, which totaled \$4.8 billion at the end of 1986. That same year Panama's trade deficit was \$1 billion.

The moves are designed to put further pressure on the Panamanian economy.

The U.S. government actively supports the so-called Panamanian democratic opposition, the National Civic Crusade. The crusade is an antigovernment coalition dominated by the Chamber of Commerce, Catholic church hierarchy, and associations of doctors, dentists, life insurance brokers, real estate dealers, other professionals, and businessmen.

Pentagon official Richard Armitage, assistant secretary of defense for international security, made a secret trip to Panama during the last week of December 1987. Armitage "urged" Noriega to "withdraw from politics." According to a January 8 *New York Times* report, Noriega was given until April to comply.

Some White House, State Department, and Pentagon officials are worried that the recent indictments might make it harder to get rid of Noriega.

"The indictment could cause him to dig in even more," said one Reagan administration official. "If that happens, it will interfere with American policy of easing him out."

The U.S. government is vigorously pursuing its campaign against Panama. All those who oppose U.S. intervention should strongly condemn this attack on the Panamanian government and demand "Hands off Panama!"

Borge: 'Freedom from need or need for freedom?'

What is the place of democracy in the Nicaraguan revolution? Is guaranteeing democratic rights less important than providing material benefits to the nation's working people? Do the atrocities of the U.S.-funded contras ever justify violations of human rights by the Sandinista armed forces?

These questions were taken up by Tomás Borge, a central leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, during a "Face the People" session with visiting book publishers and solidarity activists last July. Borge heads Nicaragua's police and prison system.

His comments, reprinted below, reaffirm the revolution's policy of defending democratic rights and put the lie to the slander of "Sandinista totalitarianism" often circulated in the United States.

The translation is taken from the September 1987 issue of the magazine *Envío*, published in Managua.

Question. What has been done in Nicaragua to respect those human rights that are social: housing, health, food? Do you give more importance to those than to individual rights? What do you think is more important to people: freedom from need or the need for freedom?

Tomás Borge. The satisfaction of material human needs is a human right. In some countries, like ours, what happens is that the available resources are insufficient to satisfy the needs of the people. Our people have housing needs, but there's no cement, there's no building stone, no steel. Our people have health needs. We've made extraordinary efforts in this area, but we lack the resources to keep up to date with scientific advances in medicine.

The infant mortality rate in Nicaragua was more than 200 out of every 1,000 children born. In spite of our poverty, in spite of our shortages, we've been able to reduce this figure to 80 out of every 1,000. There was more than 50 percent illiteracy in Nicaragua. We brought that down to a little over 12 percent, although now, because of the

aggression, economic problems, and scarcity of educational materials, there is a rise in illiteracy again.

That is to say, it's not enough to have the determination to turn your country into the Promised Land. We'd like to build a paradise in Nicaragua, and we'd like to be able to pull solutions to our problems out of a hat like a magician.

When we talk to the people, when we go out to the barrios and see the enormous need, the tremendous limitations that our humble people live under, we could tear our heart out piece by piece and give it to the people if this would solve the problems. But no, we don't have the material conditions to respond to all the needs of the people. We make efforts to respond to these social rights that are such a vital aspect of human rights. And if we aren't more responsive, it's because we don't have the resources.

But it's not enough to respond to the material needs of the people. It's necessary to provide them liberty.

Unfortunately, the perfect society doesn't exist yet, but there are, without a doubt, more advanced societies. And there are also countries where there has been tremendous economic development, but where injustice is rampant.

I think that in revolutionary countries, where enormous efforts have been put into responding to social demands, great efforts are also being made to expand democratic space. This already exists where theoretical principles have been put into concrete practice, but they have had their limitations. These limitations are being confronted, I believe, with success.

We believe that in the final analysis, there is no essential contradiction between the realm of necessity and that of liberty. The most important demand, the most vital need of the human species, is liberty.

When we, who have won for ourselves the right to

construct a new society, overcome this aggression that is forcing us to pour out our blood, we will quickly build a new society where the needs of the people can be satisfied. But this can't be done at the expense of the demand for freedom. People have a right to their creativity, their participation, to ownership of their own works, their own freedom. Revolutions give this to people, and it would be unjust to take it away from them — that wouldn't be a revolution anymore!

Q. Is there torture or abuse in Nicaraguan jails? How are prisoners treated in Nicaragua? And how do Sandinista military personnel treat the civilian population?

Tomás Borge. There have been no deaths of prisoners in our jails, and there are no known cases of deliberate torture in the interrogation process. But yes, we know there have been abuses, acts of violence, even murders that have taken place during these years, in isolated cases, especially in the war zones. There have been military personnel who committed murders, particularly in the countryside. Some of our *compañeros* have committed serious crimes against citizens in Region VI [in northern Nicaragua], as well as against citizens on the Atlantic Coast.

In a very well-known trial in Nicaragua, some of those who had violated the law alleged in their defense that they did so for political and ideological reasons, to defend the revolution. But the Nicaraguan revolution doesn't understand this language!

There can be no ideological justification, nor can there ever be a political justification to violate human rights. A *compañero* can know by heart all the classics of revolutionary theory and be able to recite Marx from memory if he wants, he may believe in God or not, it doesn't matter. Here what matters is believing in humanity, respecting human beings! We're uncompromising on this!

LETTERS

Getting out truth

I would like to thank you for your excellent paper.

As a senior at Burnsville High School, this paper and Pathfinder books have enabled me to get the truth out to my classmates. I often bring up politics with friends, and I always know I can turn to the *Militant* for clarification and the truth not found in the business papers.

In my neighborhood we have conducted a series of loosely organized study sessions on socialism and world affairs. In these discussions the *Militant* has been our chief source of information.

Supplemented by Pathfinder books, these discussions have helped all of those who participate gain a more detailed understanding of the world and the criminal nature of capitalism and its supporters around the globe.

Cam Owens
Burnsville, Minnesota

Palestine

Thank you for mentioning the Palestinian revolution in progress. O.S.

San Francisco, California

MOVE

According to national news, there has been a "standoff" in Marion, Utah, between a Caucasian family and the police. The family was accused of the bombing of a church two weeks ago.

This incident should be brought to the attention of the Philadelphia newspapers because of the action taken in Philadelphia with the "standoffs" against MOVE in August 1978 and May 1985.

There is a blatant difference in the tactics used by Marion, Utah, city officials and police department when compared with the tactics used against MOVE by the vacillating Mayor W. Wilson Goode, his regime, and ex-police commissioner G. Sambor with his band of trigger-happy police.

It has been over two weeks since the "standoff" in Marion. The police keep repeating that they will be patient and wait it out, not wanting to use any force, especially with "children under 18" being inside the house!

This is a slap in the face to all Black people in Philadelphia and all Black people in the nation. See the vast difference in a situation with white families who defy the city officials and the police. As if MOVE people are not real people and their children are not real children.

Fazil Ansari Durant
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Clear

The *Militant* is the best, most direct, and truthful paper I've seen. Thank you for the clear view you consistently give us.

A. L.
Ashland, Oregon

Mural portraits

I think the recent complaints in the letters column about the relatively small size of Lenin's portrait in the Pathfinder mural are a little off the mark. Lenin, undoubtedly, would cringe at this kind of attention and say that pride of place, or size of a portrait in a mural, should be foreign to communists.

But what I want to know is, what are Nikolai Bukharin, Karl Radek, and Gregory Zinoviev doing in the mural? For all their contributions when they worked with Lenin, after his death when the Soviet Union faced a political counterrevolution, they sold out.

Bukharin and Zinoviev played huge roles in helping Stalin, and the conservatized bureaucracy that he led, defeat the Bolshevik-Leninist opposition. Radek was a part of that opposition until he capitulated and became a leading propagandist for the Stalinists, specializing in slandering his former comrades.

These communists, who lost heart and lost their principles and their political courage as well, just don't belong in the same category with the other revolutionary fighters depicted in the mural.

Tom Mauer
Dallas, Texas

Fermi 2

The Fermi 2 nuclear power plant in Monroe, Michigan, went into commercial operation on January 22. This is the sister plant to



Clay Bennett

Fermi 1, which operated for nine years but suffered a major accident in 1966 and was permanently shut down.

Fermi 2 has been plagued by numerous "unusual events," a term used by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to denote an emergency.

Detroit Edison, which heads a conglomerate that owns the plant, has been fined \$600,000 for violations of safety, security, and testing precautions.

The opening of the plant was declared when it passed a test by running 100 hours at 90 percent capacity. The trial run now permits Edison to begin charging all its customers for construction costs on top of electricity.

Initially, this will mean a minimum of \$1.10 a month per customer for the first year, increasing to \$5 a month in four years. This

will reap Edison an extra \$400 million a year.

Mark Friedman
Detroit, Michigan

Thanks

Thanks for resuming my subscription to the *Militant*, without which I feel intellectually deprived and mentally stagnated.

A prisoner
Lansing, Kansas

An eye opener

Sorry the renewal check is late. Keep up the good work! I enjoy the *Militant's* perspective on the issues of today. It's quite an eye opener.

D. U.
St. Cloud, Minnesota

Correction

A sentence was omitted from the article in last week's *Militant*

titled "Oil workers discuss contract that would set pattern for industry." The sentence was: "Amoco included in its proposed contract offer a \$900 ratification bonus and an increase in medical benefits."

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.

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: *Militant* Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

32,500 workers strike British Ford

BY BRIAN GROGAN

LONDON — All Ford's 22 auto plants in Britain are at a standstill here in the first national strike of Ford workers in 10 years.

Sixty percent of the 32,500 workers affected voted early in February to reject the company's revised contract offer. Union officials had recommended accepting the offer, but called their members out on February 7 in the face of the vote for rejection and the failure of Ford bosses to make a better offer.

Most of the strikers are members of the Transport and General Workers Union. The rest are members of several other unions.

Joe Gordon, union convener at the assembly plant at Dagenham in East London, explained what the union is demanding. Dagenham is the largest Ford plant in Europe.

"We want a 10 percent raise on basic rates, a doubling of the line workers' productivity allowances, a 37-hour week," and more paid holidays, he said.

"Over the 10 years since our last strike Ford has made vast profits through attacks on wages and conditions," he went on. "Production has massively increased with 40 percent fewer workers."

"Yet their present offer includes demands involving much more dramatic changes in working practices than anything we have seen in the past. It is these dramatic changes in working practices and the demand that we tie ourselves to a three-year deal that has created the determination to fight." The previous contract was for two years.

Ford management's final offer was for a 7 percent raise retroactive to November, with further increases of 2.5 percent above



Strikers picket Ford's largest plant in Europe, Dagenham in East London. First strike at Ford in a decade is part of rising labor militancy in Britain.

the rate of inflation in 1988 and 1989. But these wage increases are designed to get the workers to accept what Ford is really after: big changes in work rules.

Mick Gosling, another Dagenham assembly plant worker, said, "What management is after is complete flexibility of labor between jobs and skills, with the introduction of teams working on the lines. This will mean the de-skilling of skilled workers, and semiskilled workers taking on all sorts of minor maintenance jobs without any financial reward. This would mean greater productivity for the company and further job

losses for skilled and production workers.

"At the same time," he said, "trade union strength would be undermined by breaking down employees into small groups under the supervision of group leaders who would be encouraged to identify with management objectives through quality circles and other employee-involvement schemes."

Ford has called its long-term strategy the "Japanization" of working conditions and standards. On one gate a banner reading "We're Brits, not Nips" went up briefly, but after discussion between pickets and a

few shop stewards involved, it was taken down, not to be seen again.

"In fact," Joe Gordon said, "we are hoping to win solidarity from workers in other Ford plants across the world. We've always given international solidarity here when it's been asked for. As a result, we have good links with Ford workers in Germany and even in Brazil. We would very much like to build on this, especially in the United States."

"I was over in the United States last August and met GM workers in Detroit. We understand that U.S. workers already suffered the sort of attacks from Ford that they are now trying on us."

A large percentage of British Ford workers are Blacks, many from the Caribbean.

By the second day of the strike, 2,500 of the 10,000 workers at the Ford plant in Genk, Belgium, had been laid off because of a shortage of parts from Britain. The rest are expected to be affected by the end of the week, as well as workers in three of the four plants in Germany.

Among the 300-strong picket on the first day of the strike at Dagenham were a number of women workers. Women have traditionally worked in a separate trim shop, but just over two years ago, women began to be recruited to work alongside men on the assembly line.

One worker, Anne, explained, "We have just as much interest in the fight as the men. We don't want any three-year deals. Who knows what will be facing us then? The changes they are demanding will cut us out of a job, so we are out for as long as it takes."

Increase in labor struggles

This Ford strike is taking place in the context of rising union militancy in Britain.

Health workers recently have been involved in two one-day strikes, pressing for increased funding of the National Health Service, as well as a decent pay raise for health workers.

The Trades Union Congress, Britain's trade union federation, has called a national demonstration for March 5.

Seafarers (workers who work on the ferries going between Britain and Europe or Britain and Ireland) are still involved in local disputes even after their national strike was forced to be called off through the threat of the courts seizing union funds

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No major concessions in new coal pact

BY NORTON SANDLER

United Mine Workers members ratified a new contract on February 8. That agreement does not include the major concessions other U.S. unions have had imposed on them in the last decade.

The five-year contract negotiated with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) covers 60,000 miners. But the union has a major challenge ahead of it in forcing Pittston Coal Group, with operations in Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky, and some of the other operators, to sign a contract modeled after the BCOA agreement.

The BCOA is comprised of 14 companies, including Peabody Coal, Consolidation Coal, and Amax Coal — the three largest operators.

The full text of the proposed contract, with changes from the 1984 pact in bold type, was passed out at union meetings at least 48 hours before the vote. The agreement was approved by a 2-to-1 margin.

Some 50 other companies had earlier negotiated "me-too" agreements that bind them to the wage, benefit, and pension provisions of the BCOA contract. In return the union had agreed not to strike them for at least a year.

Miners will receive \$1.05 an hour in wage increases over three years. Under the new contract, the lowest-paid miner is paid \$14.75 an hour.

The union can reopen negotiations on wages and pensions after either the third or fourth year of the contract. The right to strike over those issues after three years was maintained.

Another change from the 1984 contract allows laid-off union miners expanded recall rights (panel rights) at other mines owned by the same company. This includes the company's nonunion mines, where three out of five job openings are now to be filled by union members.

The contract also calls for extending full union hiring rights to any portion of a com-

pany's operation that it leases out during the life of the contract.

Under one contract change, the employers can now arbitrarily force miners to use up their five personal and sick leave days when they miss work. This sparked anger and debate in many locals because it reduces miners' ability to decide how and when to use their days off.

Pension payments were increased for all working and retired miners and their surviving spouses. Pensions will be funded primarily on the basis of the number of man-hours worked instead of on the tonnage of coal mined. This change, which will result in the operators saving millions over the next few years, also came under fire in some locals.

A couple of weeks before a tentative agreement was reached, rumors circulated in the coalfields that the new contract would include a seven-day workweek.

"This was viewed as a major concession. It provoked a sharp response from miners, and strike talk increased," said Pennsylvania miner Kipp Dawson.

After sensing miners' resolve to fight over this issue, the operators dropped that demand.

"The coal companies clearly backed off from a head-on fight with the union this time around," Dawson stated.

Dawson said she does not like the length of the contract because it moves away from the membership having control over the union. She also pointed out that the wage increases are not likely to keep up with inflation.

"But the contract," Dawson explained, "does not contain lump-sum bonuses, probation periods for new employees, or two-tier provisions like those forced on many other unions." She added that contract language protecting the unions' hard-earned safety rights was not challenged.

The tentative agreement was announced January 30. Miners remained on the job under a contract extension until the vote

was held, in contrast to the union's long tradition of "no contract, no work."

Union officials had announced before the agreement was reached that Peabody, Amax, and Consolidation Coal would be selective strike targets. But during the week before the vote was taken, some miners were given the impression that all companies not covered by a me-too would be

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Deadly gas leak prompts union call to shut scab-run mill

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — A 112,000-gallon leak of deadly chlorine dioxide gas from International Paper Co.'s Androscoggin mill here forced the evacuation of this small town of 4,000 and parts of neighboring Livermore Falls in the late morning of February 5.

The Jay town government was informed of the danger by members of United Paperworkers International Union Local 14, who have been on strike against International Paper (IP) since last June, along with members of Firemen and Oilers Local 246.

The paperworkers immediately offered the efforts of 50 strikers to inform local residents of the leak, aid in their evacuation, and direct traffic — an offer Jay Town Manager Charlie Noonan promptly accepted.

The company's response to the potential disaster was to downplay the hazard, including initially refusing to allow town employees familiar with hazardous chemicals into the plant.

Bill Meserve, president of Local 14, urged that the mill be shut down. "On behalf of all the members of Local 14, their families, and the people of this town, I am asking Governor McKernan to close the IP

mill," Meserve said. "IP shows as much concern for the people of the Androscoggin Valley as Union Carbide did for the people of Bhopal."

In its liquid form, chlorine dioxide is used as a bleaching agent in making paper. In its gaseous state, the compound is deadly — during World War I, it was used in chemical warfare.

The massive leak occurred when scab contractors working inside the mill severed a five-foot section of pipe, which fell and broke off a valve on the chlorine dioxide tank, releasing the liquid, which then turned into gas.

It formed a huge, green cloud that hung over the mill for two and a half hours. "It kept coming out and coming out," said Local 14 striker Ray Ouellette.

Charles Ledbetter, who was on picket duty at the time, said the scabs in the mill "were forcing their way out of the building." The company would not allow the scabs to leave the mill grounds.

A windless day would have meant certain inhalation of the gas, Ledbetter explained, which can kill, cripple, and cause permanent respiratory damage.

IP claimed that no one was injured by

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