ACTION

Mobilization for

Peace, Jobs

March & Rally in San Francisco

April 1986 50 cents

Vol. 4, No.4

Reagan, Congress: Hands off Nicaragua!



Protestors picket a San Francisco hotel on March 28 where the leading contra force, the Nicaraguan Democratic Front (FDN), held a fundraiser.

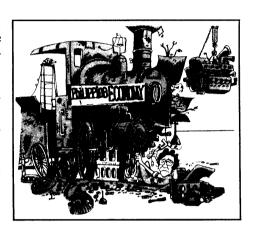
The U.S. war against Nicaragua escalated sharply this past month, underlining the Reagan administration's objective of over throwing the Sandinista government.

"U.S. President Ronald Reagan has declared war on Nicaragua," noted the Toronto daily, The Globe and Mail (March 5, 1986), pointing to Reagan's lobbying and media blitz to obtain \$100 million in military and economic aid to the contras.

Reagan said the Nicaraguan government was a "cancer" that must be removed. His administration also announced that U.S. Army units would be building a new military airstrip in Honduras only 20 miles from the Nicaraguan border and that two U.S. military maneuvers, involving up to 4400 U.S. troops, were underway in Hon duras just six miles from the Nicaraguan

Although the contra aid request narrowly failed in the House of Representatives on March 20, it was evident that the Demo crats would support most of Reagan's package at a later date. "That the president will get some military aid for the contras has been a foregone conclusion from the beginning," said Norman J. Ornstein, a congressional analyst for the American Enterprise Institute.

The New York Times (March 29, 1986) (continued on page 6)



Philippines: How long the honeymoon?

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

In the weeks after a popular mobilization swept Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos from power, the struggle of working people has not let up. Last month, close to 22,000 workers went on strike at U.S. military installations. Thousands of cooks, janitors, and laborers joined picket lines at Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Base. Barricades were constructed to seal off the gates.

Meanwhile, poor people in the Manila area have defied government housing authorities by occupying half a dozen housing projects and other undeveloped plots of land. The squatters claim that they are acting in accordance with Aquino's "people's power" slogan.

Unfortunately, the "people," 72 percent of whom live below the poverty line, remain unrepresented in President Corazon Aquino's big business-oriented cabinet. Reforms have been slow in coming, al though the government did act to restore the writ of habeas corpus and release all political prisoners.

The recently declared "interim govern ment" is dominated by conservative elements. Aquino is trying to hold together an alliance including the armed forces, the traditional wealthy families, and forces around the Catholic Church—as well as "modernist" businessmen who had been excluded from Marcos' favor.

The government's right wing—typified by Prime Minister Salvador Laurel's United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO)—has expressed strong opposition to Aquino's "dictatorial" removal of local pro-Marcos officials. UNIDO hopes to win the Marcos officials to its perspectives.

Farmers demand land reform

Plans for economic reform remain uncertain beyond vague encouragement to the "private sector." Last month, when Aquino ordered a 9-percent cut in fuel (continued on page 13)

Local P-9 strikers defy all odds; take on bosses, cops, bureaucrats

ordered the Austin, Minn., packinghouse workers' Local P-9 to end its strike against the Geo. A. Hormel & Co.

benefits of \$40 per week, announced that it to strikers who sign up and tell the Hormel bosses they are ready to go back to work.

On March 16, Local P-9 called emergency meeting to deal with this blow

P-9 issues call to shut down Hormel plant

from their own international union. Over 800 strikers voted by a large majority to stay out.

Later that week, on March 20, a demonstration of nearly 450 strikers completely closed down the Hormel plant for five hours. Austin cops, aided by sheriffs from the surrounding area, arrived

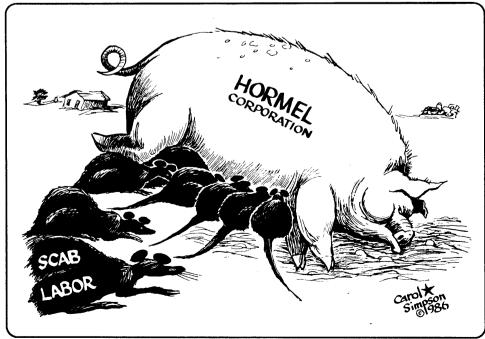
Commercial Workers International Union Announcing that the demonstrators were in ment from across the street, moved in to violation of an injunction, they ordered block the way. Local P-9 leaders, in line them to disperse.

Twenty-four strikers and supporters were The UFCW bureaucracy, ending strike arrested and carried away in two waiting vans. But when the cops attempted to fill a ing against support to the strike, moved to will continue to pay post-strike assistance third van, the crowd of strikers and sup-

On March 14, the United Food and several hours after the action began. porters, observing and shouting encourage with their plan, called off the action.

On March 25, the UFCW top official dom, which had been vigorously campaign -

(continued on page 4)



International Outlook: Nicaragua today, pp. 7-12.

Put child care where it belongs—in the schools

By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

Fight back!

Everybody talks but nobody does anything! This is especially true about child-care needs. Despite the crisis facing families, there has been nothing but talk from both major political parties. Children are still the most neglected sector of our society; they continue to represent the largest section living in poverty.

I am a strong advocate that child care be placed under the control of the public-school system. Those public schools that already have child-care services are far superior to the baby-sitting type private setups.

Public-school child care is education-oriented. Like kinder - garten, which in its time was an extension of the public-education system to younger children, public-school child care would work

to prepare children for their whole learning experience.

The following paragraphs are taken from an excellent position paper published by the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) executive council on Dec. 17, 1974. The need for childcare is even more urgent today:

"Synthesis of important research shows us that the individual develops as much as 50 percent of his or her mature intelligence from conception to age four. Another 30 percent develops between ages four and eight. Children whose intellectual growth is neglected—either at home by parents who may be hard-pressed or ill-equipped to provide them with the necessary stimulation, or in institutions which are understaffed and under supplied—suffer immeasurable damage to their learning ability.

"When these facts are combined with the real need of working parents for adequate child care (in 1972, 5.5 million children under six years old had mothers who were working or looking for work; nearly 26 million children under 18 were in the same position), quality early childhood education and day care for children of all ages become even stronger public-school imperatives."

The authors of the paper stress that the public schools are able to offer essential child-care services since "the country is filled with underutilized school buildings and qualified teachers without jobs."

They also point out that schools are subject to public planning and policy-making by elected bodies, unlike private agencies in the day-care business.

"It is our belief," the AFT paper states, "that high quality

ASCAR ACTION

Closing date: March 30, 1986

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Socialist Action (ISSN 0747-4237) is published monthly for \$6 per year by Socialist Action Publishing Association, 3435 Army St., No. 308, San Francisco, CA 94110. Second-class postage is paid at San Francisco, Calif.

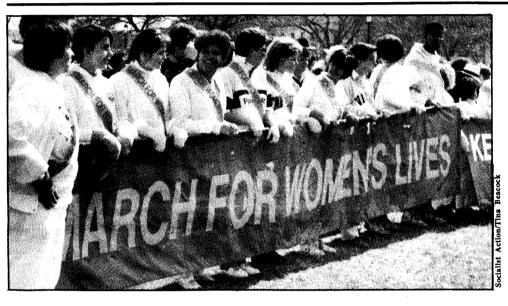
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Socialist Action, 3435 Army St., No. 308, San Francisco, CA 94110.

Rates: 12 issues for \$6.00; Canada and Mexico \$12.50; \$30.00 airmail for all other countries; \$14.00 surface mail for all other countries.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of *Socialist Action*. These are expressed in editorials.

early childhood education and day care can help us begin to solve a number of our pressing social problems. It can help us reduce underachievement, it can provide health and institutional care for those who might not get it otherwise, it can bring parents closer to the schools, it can stimulate school integration by providing quality programs at earlier ages."

"Such a program," the AFT executive council concludes, "can help us begin to provide universal education with all its benefits for all our citizens of every age." Amen!



L.A. abortion rights march draws 30,000

By CAROLE SELIGMAN

LOS ANGELES—Sunday, March 16, began with a bang—of thunder. Hail, lightning, rain, and even a tornado hit Los Angeles that day. Two-and-three-quarters inches of rain fell. The weather, remarkable for Southern California, was the back drop for a far greater drama. Between 25,000 and 30,000 people, mostly women, marched for the right to safe, legal abortion in the

second "March for Women's Lives" called by the National Organization for Women.

Most of the women who defied the storm to make their bodies count in the women's rights battle seemed to be in the age group of those who remember when abortion was illegal in the United States—about 35 and up. But there were also numbers of young women, men, and small children carefully wrapped against the rain. Several braved the march route in wheelchairs.

"Rain or shine, my body is mine" and "Not with rain, not with thunder, women's rights will not go under" were two of the chants improvised on the spot and shouted throughout the mile-plus march.

The demonstration was a sea of white, gold and purple banners and clothing—the official march colors borrowed from the early women's voting rights movement—the suffragists. The banners carried the names of diverse regions, schools, and organizations, including a contingent of Alaskans who were cheered by each group they marched by.

The contingent whose spirit seemed least affected by the weather was that of the TWA flight attendants. The strikers were relieved of picket duty by men in the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union local 1-547 from Lawndale, Calif., who took over the picket line so the women could join the rights march.

Alongside the union sisters, Hormel workers carried a banner of solidarity with Local P-9 on strike in Austin, Minn., against the meatpacking company.

A wide banner that said, "In memory of those who died of illegal abortions," was a reminder that unless abortion is legal, women will die as hundreds of thousands have in the past from back-street abortions.

Marchers entered the park chanting "Not the church, not the state, women will decide our fate!" They were greeted by a thunderous rendition of "We are the World," sung in affirmation of women's determination to secure legal abortion and all women's rights.

Marchers stood in inches of mud and a continuing downpour to listen to short speeches by NOW President Ellie Smeal; Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley; actors Jane Fonda, Robert Foxworth, Morgan Fairchild, and Ed Asner; various elected officials; Coalition of Labor Union Women President Ruth Miller; and several others.

By SHIRLEY PASHOLK

WASHINGTON—Chants of "Our bodies, our lives, our right to decide" rang through the streets of the nation's capital as tens of thousands of demonstrators gathered for the March 9 "March for Women's Lives" called by the National Organization for Women (NOW). Over 500 buses brought protestors from as far away as Florida, Texas, and Missouri. By the time the day was over, NOW spokespersons estimated 120,000 had participated.

Rally organizers estimated that one-third of the crowd were students, many of them from East Coast and Midwest college campuses.

Many mothers came with their daughters. Rally organizers estimated that 50,000 NOW members participated and that 20 percent of the protestors were men. With the exception of contingents from the Coalition of Labor Union Women and UAW District 65, there was little visible labor participation.

Unfortunately, some large NOW chapters, including those in New York and Chicago, didn't fully participate in the march. The massive turnout from other cities and from small towns and rural areas in the East and Midwest, though, showed the potential for organizing around abortion rights.

The spirited marchers chanted "Right to Life, that's a lie, they don't care if women die" whenever they passed one of the fewer than 100 counter-demonstrators who stood at various points along the parade route. As the protestors passed by the White House, they chanted, "Ronald Reagan, hear our voice, all these people are for choice."

Many signs pointed to the Hyde Amendment and the attacks on poor women's right to abortion. A number also linked the attacks on women's rights to

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Huge D.C. rally for abortion rights

racist attacks and U.S. foreign policy. One slogan chanted on the march was "Money for contraception, not contra aid."

Representatives of the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights and the National Abortion Rights Action League joined politicians and entertainers on the speakers platform at the U.S. Capitol.

Many speakers pointed to the recent falls of Duvalier and Marcos and the struggle in South Africa. Bella Abzug blasted the "bloated Pentagon budget while women and children go hungry." Urging demonstrators to continue their efforts, she referred to the impact of the anti-Vietnam War and civil rights demonstrations.

Ellie Smeal, NOW President, was the major speaker. She echoed the sentiments of the crowd when she said:

"The numbers game is over. The silent majority will be silent no more...We knew the time had come for women to stand up and be counted for women's lives...Our message is simple: stop playing with our lives...It's about time we show our numbers...This is just the beginning. The women's movement is on the move."

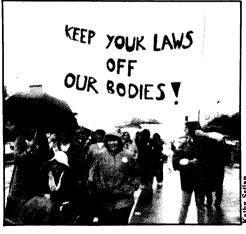
Smeal referred to the negative impact of U.S. foreign policy on women throughout the world. "Some say they march for lives, while their policies lead to death and destruction."

Smeal said NOW would not limit its concern to abortion rights but would "go on to all other dreams of human rights." She continued, "We will forget no people.

We won't trade off one right for another."

Smeal answered those who feel nothing can be achieved while Reagan is in office by challenging the demonstrators to build a movement so powerful it can't be ignored. To those who doubt the possibility of doing so, she explained that Reagan, when he was governor of California, was pressured into signing into law one of the best state abortion laws.

Smeal stated that legal abortion is a fundamental necessity for a quality of life worth living. Both veteran NOW members and high-school women on their first march left with a renewed commitment to continue the fight to assure all women access to safe, legal abortion.



Women march for abortion rights in Los Angeles. (Photo above) banner at Washington rally.

By MARK HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO—Thousands of people are expected to demonstrate here on April 19 for peace, jobs, and justice.

The stepped-up campaign by the Reagan administration to arm and finance the contra terrorists fighting against Nicaragua has given the protest, which is sponsored by the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice, an especially timely character. The mounting degree of support in the weeks leading up to April 19 is an indication of the rising concern over U.S. intervention in Central America.

The march is being organized around the following four demands:

- No U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean;
- End U.S. Support for South Africa Apartheid;
- · Jobs and Justice, Not War;
- Freeze and Reverse the Nuclear Arms Race.

The list of sponsors is impressive. It includes labor councils representing the counties of Alameda, Marin, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, San Francisco, and San Mateo. Some of the individual sponsors include Ed Asner, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, Nobel Laureate Dr. Owen Chamberlain, Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), and Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) All told, more than 200 organizations and individuals are backing the march and rally.

Some of those scheduled to speak at the rally include Richard Trumka, president of the United Mineworkers of America; John Henning, secretary-treasurer of the California Labor Federation; actor Richard Dreyfus; Dolores Huerta, vice-president of the United Farm Workers; and Jane Gruenebaum, national executive director of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. Singer Holly Near and others will provide entertainment.

Several events have been scheduled prior to the march and rally. These include an outreach meeting on March 26 with Martha

Broad support for April 19 antiwar protest in S.F.



California Labor Federation head John Henning at press conference

Cranshaw, a veteran leader of the Sandinista Warehouse Union Local 6; John George, Chagoya, director of Nicaragua Interfaith Committee for Action, and an evening of comedy and dancing on April 12 at Queen Ada Hall, 1340 Turk Street in San demonstration, the Mobilization and Francisco.

The Mobilization sponsored a press conference on March 12 to urge support for the demonstration and to call for an end to U.S. aid to the contras. Speakers included Sister Margaret Cafferty, congregational superior of the Sisters of the Presentation; Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council; Al Lannon, president of the International Longshore and

revolution and an FSLN official, and Janine Alameda Board of Supervisors; and Paul Boneberg, coordinator of the Mobilization Against Aids.

On April 18, the evening before the Athletes United for Peace are co-sponsoring a benefit reception in Oakland. Some of the honored guests include former San Francisco 49ers' quarterback Guy Benjamin, head of Athletes United for Peace; past and and Delvin Williams; Gene Upshaw, executive director, NFL Players Asso ciation; and U.S. pentathalon champion Marilyn King.

Also attending the reception will be Richard Trumka, president of the United Mineworkers of America, and Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, former chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and a Nobel Laureate in chemistry.

The press release issued by the Mobilization on March 12 accurately cap tured the potential that exists today for building a popular, broad-based peace movement that can effectively stay the hand of the warmakers in Washington.

"The gains of Americans—on our jobs and in our communities—are under massive attack. Many social programs are cut while others are continually threatened. Our government became an official union buster by breaking the air traffic controllers' strike. The arms race escalates and the threat of war is in the air. Bigotry is offered aid and comfort with a U.S. policy of 'constructive engagement' with murderous

'The winds of change are blowing again, however; change that puts people before profits, that asserts human rights ahead of corporate demands, that is back in the streets voicing our concerns for nonintervention and peace in our troubled

"Our coalition is firmly based in our unions, churches, and communities. We are part of a movement where all who strive for a peaceful world and a just society can work together in a broad mobilization for peace, jobs, and justice."

For more information on the April 19 present 49ers Randy Cross, R.C. Owens, rally or the benefit reception on April 18, contact the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice and Athletes United for Peace at 255 Ninth St., San Francisco, CA 94103, or call (415) 621-7326, 431-2572.

Boston rally blasts U.S. foreign policy

By JOE AUCIELLO

BOSTON—Some 2000 people rallied on the Boston Commons on March 22 to protest both the U.S. war drive in Central America and apartheid in South Africa. The demonstration culminated a series of forums, exhibits, films, slide shows, and concerts held throughout Massachusetts during "Central America Week" from March 16 to 24.

Speakers at the rally included Arnoldo Ramos of the FMLN-FDR in El Salvador; Noam Chomsky, a professor and outspoken critic of U.S. foreign policy; and Themba



A Mass Action Strategy for Peace, Jobs and Justice

This new pamphlet, by Carl Finamore, discusses the road to building a massive movement to stop the warmakers. 24pp., 75 cents (\$1.10 includes postage)

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Ntinga of the African National Congress (ANC).

Ramos told the crowd that 75,000 dem onstrators had taken to the streets of San Salvador on Feb. 21 to protest President Jose Napoleon Duarte's new economic austerity program. This was the largest demonstration in El Salvador since January 1980. It was organized by the newly formed National Unity of Salvadoran Workers, a coalition which includes some 100 labor organizations representing 300,000 work -

After his speech, Ramos told Socialist Action of the "desperate action by the military in Guazapa, where over a thousand farmers have been driven out of their homes, and at least 500 forcibly relocated by the army." He said the military has not captured, and cannot capture key FMLN positions in the country.

Noam Chomsky, who just returned from Nicaragua, told the crowd that the debate in Congress over aid to the contras has no relation to the reality of that country. "The truth is that we are attacking Nicaragua because it has violated a fundamental principal. Nicaragua is the one country that is devoting—or when we let it—is devoting substantial resources to the benefit of the poor."

Speaking in a calm, matter-of-fact tone, Chomsky, whose professional life has been devoted to the study of languages, criticized Reagan's accusation that the Sandinistas are a "cancer," a "malignancy," an "outlaw regime" that threatens our "vital security interests." Referring to the contras, Chomsky continued, "This is the cancer we have to excise."

Other speakers at the rally included Ellen Corsano of the National Organization for Women and the Reproductive Rights Task Force, David Stratman of the Hormel

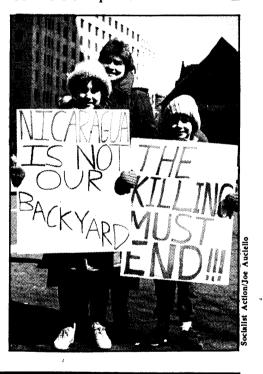
workers P-9 Support Committee, and Boston School Committee member Jean McGuire.

One purpose of the rally was to strengthen links between Central America activists, and groups—especially student committees-involved in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. Gov. Michael Dukakis proclaimed the week of March 16-24 as Central America Week, which coincided with the beginning of Southern Africa Week (March 21 to April

This effort was only partially successful. For a city like Boston, a march of 2000 indicates that the movement did not succeed in mobilizing beyond its usual core of supporters. Builders of the rally were far from disheartened, however, and will con-

tinue to organize even broader public support for peace in Central America and freedom in South Africa.

In the coming weeks, activists in the New England area will turn their attention toward two events: a tour by Vilma Soto, international representative of the El Salvador Teachers Union, and a studentsponsored rally against apartheid at Boston Commons on April 4.



N.Y. rallies hit U.S. policy

By PETER ATWOOD

NEW YORK—About 1000 people demonstrated on March 21 outside the Federal building in New York City against U.S. policy in Central America and apartheid in South Africa. The rally was sponsored by the American Committee on Africa, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), and the Central America Week Coalition.

Speakers included Carlos Rigby, a representative of the FSLN from Nicaragua's Atlantic coast, and representatives from the African National and the National Front for the Liberation of America testifies.

the Congo.

Another demonstration against apartheid in South Africa was held the following day, March 22, sponsored by the New York City AFL-CIO. About 300 people attended this event, which featured newly elected Labor Council head Thomas Van Arsdale.

Unfortunately, no effort was made to coordinate action between the two dem onstrations—even though both were called to oppose apartheid, and the recent AFL-CIO convention took a stand against a military solution in Central America. Despite the small turnout, the potential for large and effective protests against U.S. foreign policy is deepening, as the increased Congress in South Africa, the South West activity of many unions and others against African People's Organization in Namibia, apartheid and U.S. policy in Central

3

P-9 president explains issues in Hormel strike



P-9 President Jim Guyette

The following are excerpts from P-9 President Jim Guyette's speech to the San Francisco P-9 support rally.

The Hormel Company is the most profitable company in the meatpacking industry. Business Week calls the Hormel company "a healthy porkpacker-the envy of the industry because of its consistent profitability."

Eight years ago the company came to the union and said, "We want to build a new plant and we need concessions in order to get that plant built." We had to agree to help them build a new plant.

Each employee took between \$12,000 and \$14,000 out of their paychecks to help the company build a new plant. The company agreed that people would never make less money. But they now say that that was a long time ago.

When we went on strike, what were we asking for? We were simply asking for what we were making eight years ago. We were asking for the wage rate that the

company had promised us when we helped them build a new plant.

We were asking to have some dignity in the work place. We didn't want to have to raise our hand anymore to go to the bathroom. We didn't want to have to be subjected to lunch-box searches.

arbitration procedure, which has been totally frustrated up to this point.

We also wanted a safe place to work. The Austin plant, the newest, most modern in plant! the industry, also has the highest productivity in the industry.

Before we went out on strike, 38 percent to 40 percent of our people were off with a serious or major lost-time injury per year. In 1984, the total injury rate for the industrial sector of America was eight injuries per hundred workers. The average injury rate in meatpacking was 33 injuries per hundred workers.

But the total injury rate in the Austin plant in 1984 was 202 injuries per hundred workers. Something's wrong in our plant they had already used....

when management is allowed to use and exploit people in this way... We wanted to make this company deal with the injury rates in the Austin plant. Instead they came back with a contract that increased the safety problems in the plant and didn't do anything to address them.

One of the things that happened before we went out on strike concerned a young lady who was working a band-saw job. The whole department was telling the manager that she couldn't keep up with the job because she was six months' pregnant. "Let's trade with her," her coworkers said.

Management said she couldn't trade. She cut her finger off a few days later. We wanted to address the grievance and Management said it was the lucrative workers' compensation system in Minn esota that was the ultimate reason why people get injured so much in the Austin

> But when they came back with our contract proposal, it eliminated pregnancy leave. That was their idea of dealing with the problem that I just outlined for you.

> Management wanted the right to assign overtime and to assign holiday pay. It wanted a two-tier wage system and all past practices eliminated. It wanted the right to dismiss people at any time for any reason....It wanted to hire temporary employees with no benefits and make workers pay back for insurance benefits that

(continued from page 1)

take over Local P-9. Allen Zack, a UFCW spokesman, announced that a hearing would be held April 7 in Bloomington, Minn., on placing Local P-9 in trusteeship for "refusing to comply with the parent union's direction to end the strike.'

Despite being attacked from without by the enemies of working people, and stabbed in the back from within by the top labor bureaucrats, P-9 strikers and their leaders have stood firm, displaying an amazing capacity to struggle. Moreover, the strikers' capability to shut down the plant—as they did on March 20—proves that they still have what it takes to win this strike.

The hesitation of the cops to carry out more arrests when the crowd of supporters moved in with locked arms points to their fear that they might not be able to maintain control of the situation. The cops and the bosses know that a confrontation, such as more strikers and supporters to reinforce the pickets and keep the plant indefinitely shut down.

UFCW Local P-9, in collaboration with the National Rank and File Against Concessions, has scheduled a "2nd National March and Rally to Shut Down Hormel" Minn. The leaflet issued under this sponsorship correctly states:

"The rights of American Labor are on trial today in Austin, Minn. Local P-9 has been on strike for over seven months. If the represented 600 workers from the recently Hormel Co. and the National Guard succeed

will have been set. We ask you not only on behalf of P-9 members, but for all those who cherish the rights of Organized Labor to be in Austin on April 12. Let us remember that date as one where labor turned the tide against givebacks."

In addition to this call, Local P-9 has sent out a letter to unionists across the country, urging them to come to Austin earlier that week. The letter states:

"We would further invite you to come to Austin on Thursday and Friday, April 10 and 11, to show support for our members on the picketlines. Those needing overnight accommodations should call the P-9 union hall (507-433-9320), where arrangements to spend these nights at a striker's home will be made."

We welcome this call to action. We urge P-9 supporters to go to Austin to help shut down the Hormel plant, and if Local P-9 decides, to keep it shut until a contract of the 1930s is outdated are making the acceptable to P-9 members is won.

Class-struggle methods

P-9's course is in sharp opposition to the strategy of the top leadership of the labor movement.

In a report adopted by the AFL-CIO in early 1985, "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions," the top labor officials build a case for public-relations campaigns, as opposed to the class-struggle methods that built American unions into the most powerful in the world.

The AFL-CIO report blames the decline of union power and the wave of setbacks on objective changes—the growing proportion of harder-to-organize service workers, in creasingly hostile government and labor legislation, etc.

All who argue that the fighting strategy Hormel company.—The Editors

same mistake. It is not the objective changes which have weakened the unions and led to wave after wave of concessions. The current labor retreat is the result of a union movement weakened by nearly 40 years of timid capitulation by the labor misleadership to injunctions and laws that violate the First Amendment constitutional rights of American workers.

The call to shut down the Hormel plant in Austin, Minn., restores the best traditions of the labor movement. This is the strategy that led to victory in the 1930s and that will lead to victory today.

We urge our readers and supporters to come to Austin and help P-9 members assert their First Amendment rights to carry out an effective picket line against the

P-9ers speak to Boston began to shape up, would inspire thousands rally, 4000 G.E. strikers

turned out at the hall of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 103 to support the Hormel strike.

for Saturday, April 12, 1986, in Austin, Boston Hormel Workers P-9 Support Attendants. Committee, which also organized a 10-day Boston tour for P-9 strikers.

> The rally was chaired by Brian Lang, chief steward of UFCW Local 616, which closed Colonial Provision Co. plant.

BOSTON—On March 9, 260 people PATCO Local 2 of Nashua, N.H., was the guest of honor. Local P-9 was represented by Terry Arens and Dale Francis.

A big ovation met Mark Finnerty of the The meeting was sponsored by the striking Independent Federation of Flight

Others who addressed the meeting were Charles Ruitter, executive board member of the International Union of Electrical Workers, which recently struck General Electric; Domenic Bozzotto, president of Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 26; Paul Cannon, former president of and Jim Moar, executive board member of

Teamsters Local 25.

The rally was endorsed by 24 unions. Over \$1600 was raised, and 26 union locals and community groups pledged monthly contributions to P-9 families. The Boston media covered the tour.

The Hormel strikers also addressed 4000 G.E. workers at the Riverworks plant in Lynn and held meetings at Harvard and Tufts universities and Cathedral High School.—DAVE WALSH

TWA, Hormel strikers united

NEW YORK-More than 1000 people rallied March 14 to support the Hormel strike at the headquarters of Local 65 of the United Auto Workers. P-9 President Jim Guyette was introduced by Jan Pierce, an International vice-president of the

The presence of some 75 striking flight countries that have a two-class system, the attendants was a rally highlight. Karen rich and the poor. I believe it is a very Lantz, vice-president of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA), told the crowd that her union stands with the Hormel workers.

Other speakers included Guillermina "We need to stop corporate America's Ramirez, a striking cannery worker from Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1202; Stanley Fischer, president of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-760 at the 3M plant in Freehold, N.J.; and Baldemar Velasquez, president of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee.

> The crowd gave a standing ovation to members of UFCW Local 431 from Ottumwa, Iowa, who were in attendance at the meeting.—PETER ATWOOD

P-9 veteran in Cinn. blasts 'unscrupulous' Hormel Co.

CINCINNATI—Enthusiastic support and call-in talk shows in the area. solidarity greeted Hormel striker Floyd Lenoch, an executive board member of Local P-9, on his recent 11-day tour of Cincinnati. The March 4-14 tour was organized and coordinated by Local 14340 of the United Steelworkers.

In Cincinnati, Lenoch addressed the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council. He also spoke to 18 executive board and local membership meetings of unions representing thousands of workers.

In addition to a press conference, Lenoch was interviewed by four newspapers and was a guest on two of the most popular

He spoke at a public meeting at the University of Cincinnati organized by three unions representing University employees and was a guest speaker at two Xavier University classes.

The message he brought was clear: Union concessions to the employers must stop. Solidarity of all laboring people is the foundation for a successful union movement in the United States.

Lenoch, 61 years old and a union man for 43 of those years, spent about four years in the Merchant Marine and 39 years at the Hormel company. During his time at Hormel he served his union in virtually every capacity, from griever to president.

He told the press, "I have traveled to all Communication Workers of America. parts of the world and have been to many degrading system. It is a system which we, as laboring people and citizens, must fight with all our might to prevent in our great

relentless drive to eliminate the union California; Harold Mendlowitz, president of movement and the standard of living we have worked so hard to attain," Lenoch

Lenoch then concluded, "We feel our cause is just and we will continue our fight to reach a fair and just settlement for the members of Local P-9....We also feel our situation will have a devastating effect on all union people should we lose our battle."—KATE CURRY

Hormel strikers inspire widespread labor support

By JOE RYAN

SAN FRANCISCO—"All labor must unite behind the P-9 strikers and show that in this country we cannot stand by and watch the National Guard negotiate our labor contracts with guns and bayonets."

With these words, Bill Daly, secretarytreasurer of Painters District Council 8, kicked off a rally of over 600 trade unionists, community activists, and others who came to hear Jim Guyette, president of United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) Local P-9.

The rally, sponsored by District Council Guard Out of Austin, Minn." and "Support P-9's Fight Against Concessions."

This display of solidarity by a wing of the Bay Area labor movement occured in spite of pressure brought to bear by UFCW International President William Wynn to boycott the event.

'We don't care what the local, International union, or AFL-CIO's politics are," stated Stan Smith, secretary-treasurer of the microphone to two workers from the San Francisco Building and Construction Ottumwa, Iowa, and Fremont, Neb., the National Guard to come in to break a strike," Smith said, "then it is time for all workers, regardless of affiliation, to come in this section.] to the support of those strikers.'

said, "and we back the people striking at be replaced than to lose my dignity by Hormel 100 percent!"

After informing the audience of the women, and 45 percent of them are single women supporting households. Like the Hormel strikers, the concession demands we face mean we won't be able to support our families—so we are drawing the line."

John Moran, business agent for District 115 of the International Association of Machinists, admonished those labor leaders who were absent from the rally for "forgetting where they came from." 8 and Local 4 of the Painters Union, was Referring to the recent meeting of the AFLorganized around two themes: "National CIO Executive Council in Bal Harbor, Fla., which refused to support P-9, Moran said, "Unions must stand up and support each other, otherwise every union in the United States will go under—because credit cards and better banking will not make a better union."

Jim Guyette was the next speaker [see excerpts of his speech in this section]. But before Guyette spoke, he gave the Trades Council. "When a governor orders Hormel plants who were fired for their refusal to cross P-9 picketlines. [See excerpts from speech by Ottumwa worker

Frank Vit, from Local 22 in Fremont, One of the warmest welcomes at the rally Neb., was one of the 48 fired Fremont was reserved for Anamarie France, head of workers. "I was raised from my youth to the striking TWA flight attendants in San believe a picketline is a picketline and you Francisco. "We are all in this together," she do not cross it!" he told the rally. "I'd rather

crossing a union picket."

A fund raising pitch by Bill Daly, who issues in the TWA strike, France explained chaired the rally, raised over \$2000. After that "85 percent of our membership are this, telegrams of solidarity from actor Ed Asner and United Farm Workers President Cesar Chavez were read.

Karen Schieve, an executive board member of UFCW Retail Clerks Local 1100, described her 10 days on the picketline in Austin. "Something different is happening there," she said. "I saw workers in 30-degree-below-zero weather on the picketline everyday. In daily meetings at the union hall, 500 to 600 Hormel workers would meet to discuss how to fight

Schieve outlined the lessons being learned and taught by P-9 members: "The Austin workers are showing all of labor the bankruptcy of the concessions policy and why it can't work. The more we give back to the company, the more they want to

Schieve concluded, "It is time for everyone to be on the side of the workers willing to fight. The TWA flight attendants and the Hormel workers, if we help them, can turn the labor movement around."

Esperanza Torres, a member of Teamsters Local 912 in Watsonville, Calif., could easily sympathize with the P-9 strikers. The Watsonville cannery workers have been on strike for over six months against concession demands. Like the Hormel workers, they too have been faced with court injunctions, police attacks on their picketlines, and lack of support from the International union.

"Our struggle is the same as yours," Torres told the Hormel workers who were at the rally. "Like you, our fight is not just against concessions, but for justice."

Ignacio De La Fuente, business manager of Molders Union Local 164, stated his case for the need to fight back. "It's very hard to win strikes these days," he said. "But it's better to fight even when you know you're going to lose than it is to roll over and play dead.'

The final speaker was Connie Peoples, president of the Oakland Education Association. "We were on strike for nearly four weeks against takebacks proposed by the Oakland Unified School District," Peoples said. "But like P-9, our rank and file stood fast on the picketline for 18 working days. By displaying our militancy we forced the school district to bring us up to parity with teachers in other parts of the state."

In addition to three songs performed earlier by Holly Near, the rally ended with the assembled throng singing "Solidarity Forever," affirming a deep commitment to help P-9 win.



Speakers at San Francisco P-9 support rally singing "Solidarity Forever." Behind lectern (proceeding left from Jim Guyette): Anamarie France, head of S.F. TWA flight attendants; Esperanza Torres, cannery workers; and Bill Daly, rally chair and president of Painters Local 4.



'Bear' Martsching: 'We won't crawl on our bellies'

The following are excerpts from Mike "Bear" Martsching's statement to the San Francisco P-9 support rally. Martsching is a fired Hormel worker from Ottumwa,

There are 505 of us in Ottumwa, Iowa, that were fired for honoring a legal, authorized picket line. What do we do? Do we roll over and play dead and say, 'Hey, we gotta cross that picket line for our jobs?' That's bull!

If we have to crawl on our bellies, we don't have jobs, we don't have our dignity. That's what this is all about—having our dignity and pride. I was brought up in a union household. My father fought for what I've got. And I believe it's my duty to fight for the next generation. We've got to.

I really feel that it is an honor to be part of this struggle, and it is a struggle. It's a very important struggle. It's for me. It's for you. It's for our kids. It's for your grandkids. And—I've never said this before—I want to thank Local P-9 for starting this and having enough guts to stand up for themselves.

Detroit UAW hall packed for P-9

DETROIT—On March 1, close to 600 people packed the hall of United Auto Workers Local 600 to support Local P-9. Unionists attended from throughout the Detroit area, including two busloads of workers from Toledo, Ohio, headed by members of UAW Local 14 from AP Parts.

Local 600 President Bob King introduced the heads of about 15 union locals in attendance. The rally was chaired by Marcia Mickens, Michigan leader of the National Rank and File Against Concessions, the prime sponsor of the event.

The crowd gave a standing ovation to P-9 President Jim Guyette, a delegation of P-9 strikers, and their families. "We're fighting for our community, our dreams, and our dignity," Guyette said.

Bill Cook, a member of Ottumwa, Iowa, UFCW Local 431, appealed for support. He pointed out that Hormel workers at Ottumwa received no strike benefits and no unemployment insurance after the company fired them for refusing to cross picket lines set up by Local P-9.

Maria Rosario Moreno, a member of Teamsters Local 912 in Watsonville, Calif., brought a solidarity message to the ants, and Ray Hoffman, a member of Hormel strikers from the striking cannery

Jim Coakley, president of UAW Local 1200 and Don Douglas, president of UAW Local 594, announced that their locals are P-9 striker Clarke Dehler said, "We can each adopting a P-9 family until the end of the strike. About \$10,000 was collected at the rally for the strikers.—HENRY **AUSTIN**

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Hormel strikers, appeal reaches Cleveland area

CLEVELAND—Following the Minne- CWA, flight attendants, Teamsters, UAW, sota National Guard attack on Local P-9, an and USWA, attended the rally. ad-hoc committee of CWA, Teamster, UAW, and USWA local officers formed to plan a support rally for Friday, March 14.

Before the rally three strikers, Carl Benson, Clarke Dehler, and Al Petersen, toured the Cleveland area. They spoke at meetings of USWA Local 2265, the Youngstown Workers Solidarity Club, UAW Local 122 retirees, and striking members of MESA Local 19. Almost \$2200 was raised at a plant-gate collection at the Chrysler Twinsburg plant. Cleveland media covered the tour.

Terry Wyrock, UAW Local 217 president, welcomed participants to his local's union hall. UAW Local 122 President Bill Bon chaired the rally.

Ed Parulis, president of MESA Local 19, on strike against National Acme, said, "It's a strange country we're living in today when our government applauds the Solidarity movement in Poland, but attacks organized labor in this country."

representative, responding to the UFCW Over 100 unionists, including members International's removal of its strike local is run by the rank and of the American Postal Workers Union, sanction, said, "To Local P-9: I want to tell file."—SHIRLEY PASHOLK

you—until you tell us that the strike's over-we're supporting you."

Pat Behn, Cleveland strike captain of the Independent Federation of Flight Attend -Teamsters Local 336 on strike against the Lawsons Dairy Co., explained the issues in their strikes and offered their support to P-

shut this country down and make the politicians listen. We need to mobilize the union power we've got. Total union membership figures may be down, but we still control what makes those rich people

The strikers gave their response to the UFCW International's demand that they remove the pickets from the Austin plant, take their roving pickets off the road, and Bob La Riccia, MESA international end the boycott: "Local P-9 started this strike and we'll say when it's over. This



"Let me assure you that I have international terrorism well in hand."

U.S. war moves

also noted that the Democrats, "who either believe in the aid or do not want to be most likely approve a modified version of Reagan's request on April 15, the date of the next contra aid vote in the House.

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega explained that the defeat of Reagan's request would not bring Nicaragua closer to peace.

Barricada, the official FSLN newspaper, in a pointed criticism of the House Demo crats, stated, "No one is talking of peace or self-determination." FSLN Commander Omar Cabezas [see interview page 7] went further: "The only thing they are debating in Washington is how and when to destroy us."

Provocation off Libyan coast

Understanding that more than lies, slan ders, and Reagan's direct appeal to the American people would be needed to attempt to shift public opinion in favor of the administration's policy in Nicaragua, gone along with concessions totaling 15 the U.S. ruling class decided to up the ante.

Shortly after the contra vote, Reagan announced that three U.S. aircraft carriers and 30 other warships would be conducting "war games" off the coast of Libya, allegedly "to assert the [U.S.] right to move through international waters and air space." By the time the two-day "games" were over, the U.S. Navy claimed it had sunk three Libyan patrol boats and destroyed a Libyan missile base.

White House spokesman Larry Speakes emphatically asserted that the firing by the Libyan government on the U.S. planes was "totally unprovoked." But as a Los Angeles Times article (March 28, 1986) noted, "Knowledgeable officials said [Secretary of State George] Shultz and [National Security Adviser John] Poindexter chose the maneuvers three months ago as a longsought chance to use American military

The Los Angeles Times article quotes one official who participated in the planning of the U.S. maneuvers: "We would have been disappointed if Qaddafi had sent nobody up to challenge us....It was a provocation, if you want to use that word."

The day after the contra aid was defeated in the House, a Washington Post/ABC poll revealed that 65 percent of the U.S. public, fearing a drift toward direct U.S. military involvement in Central America, opposed military and economic aid to the contras. After the White House struck the Libyan ships, 67 percent of those surveyed, under the impact of the sensationalist reporting in the press, indicated support of Reagan's attack on Libva.

Clearly, Reagan sought to "bully Libya" (as one Western European diplomat put it) in order to reassert U.S. military power around the world and regain the initiative lost by the contra vote.

Falsification on Honduras

Another falsification aimed at paving the way for greater U.S. intervention against Nicaragua is the claim by the Reagan administration that "Nicaragua invaded

(continued from page 1) Honduras" on March 25, and that "Nicara gua, as aggressor, cannot claim self-defense" in its war with the contras.

Honduras has been turned into a major branded as soft on Communism," will U.S. military outpost in the region. The contras, moreover, use Honduran territory as their base of operations to strike at Nicaragua. "The entire border region has become a war zone over which Honduras can no longer claim control," said Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega.

The border war did not begin last month. In their attempt to defend themselves against the U.S.-backed contras, the Sandinista forces have been compelled to chase

the aggressors back to their encampments. Last May, for instance, Nicaraguan troops struck at the main rebel base of Las Vegas, border battle with the contras, that attack law." was given almost no publicity by Amer ican or Honduran officials.

'What Nicaragua has done is to defend itself against attacks by the counterrevolution, which is based in Honduras," Ortega said. "This is a legitimate right which Nicaragua will continue to exercise."

Right to self-determination

The U.S. antiwar movement must oppose U.S. intervention in Central America and support Nicaragua's right to self-determination. The call for a negotiated settlement in the region proposed by the Contadora group of Latin American nations—and supported by the Democratic Party and several antiwar groups—is a violation of Nicaragua's right to selfdetermination. It is also a trap for opponents of U.S. intervention—to suck them into accepting a U.S. role in Nicaragua.

The Contadora group last October called for the FSLN to put down its arms and negotiate a peaceful settlement with the contras. The call for a dialogue with the contras has always been aimed at getting the Sandinista government to surrender its power to the very same forces that were overthrown by the Nicaraguan Revolution. The FSLN government has rejected this

Opposition to the U.S. war against Nicaragua runs deep among the American people. Speaking at a press conference on March 12 to urge support for the San and Martha Cranshaw, FSLN sec-Francisco April 19 antiwar demonstration retary of Region II of Nicaragua, [see page 3], Sister Margaret Cafferty of the at March 26 forum in San Fran-Sisters of the Presentation, expressed the cisco sponsored by Mobilization views of millions when she said:

"For us, aid to the contras represents a direct assault on the things we thought our nation stood for-principles like human inside Honduras. But unlike the recent rights, self-determination, and the rule of

> This antiwar sentiment must be organized into a visible and powerful mass movement in the streets which, like the anti-Vietnam war movement, can stay the hands of the U.S. imperialist warmakers. The potential exists for building such a movement. The time to build this move ment is right now!—The Editors



Janine Chagoya (left), director of Nicaragua Interfaith for Action, for Peace, Jobs and Justice.

.TWA strike

(continued from page 16)

percent. Non-union employees have had 15percent cuts imposed on them.

During the first days of the strike the IAM did honor the IFFA's picket lines, shutting down TWA's maintenance base in Kansas City. But management quickly appealed to a federal court for an injunction against the machinists, and a few hours later IAM members were back at work.

The flight attendants union also does not reject the idea of granting concessions and has offered the company a 15-percent cut. This would amount to about \$5000 from each worker in wages and benefits, and an extra 10 hours of flying time per month.

Carl Icahn says that his "reputation" is at stake in this strike, since he spent \$600 million to acquire TWA. He says it is very simple—the marketplace will determine how much the flight attendants are worth. Icahn would like to think this is just one more "deal" to be hashed out in figures and dollars.

Unions need solidarity

By themselves, the flight attendants face a difficult battle. Icahn has promised scabs permanent positions after the strike, which is a clear indication of his union-busting intention. But things are changing in the airline industry, whose unions have admittedly not been known for respecting each others' picket lines in past strikes.

Flight attendants and pilots from other



airlines have expressed their solidarity with United pilots during last year's strike. The the TWA flight attendants by joining the picketline as individuals. More important, United Airlines Council 57 of ALPA, which represents United pilots in Los Angeles, voted unanimously to condemn the decision by TWA pilots not to honor the IFFA's picket lines.

Flight attendants at United Airlines had refused to cross picket lines set up by Icahn—and all concessionary demands.

lessons of that experience, obviously, have not been forgotten by some.

This idea needs to be extended throughout the entire labor movement, beginning with the pilots and machinists at TWA, who owe it not only to the flight attendants but to themselves to join the strike. That is the way to defeat union busters like Carl

Drastic givebacks from USWA at LTV Steel

By MARIE WEIGAND

On March 16, the United Steelworkers of America and LTV Steel Corp. announced a tentative agreement that will be taken back to the membership for a mail vote.

Although this agreement contains serious concessions which will undoubtedly set the pattern for negotiations with other basic steel companies later this year, the USWA International is going on an all-out drive to sell it to steelworkers as a job-saving necessity.

A week before the agreement was approved by LTV local union presidents by a vote of 32-6, the International sent a letter to all steelworkers employed by LTV detailing what would happen to their pensions if LTV were to go bankrupt. The company convinced LTV local union presidents that it will probably file Chapter 11 if this agreement isn't approved.

The agreement eliminates the 45-centsper-hour "raise" due Feb. 1, which would have returned wages to the 1983 level. It provides for an additional \$1.14-per-hour average wage cut. Shift differentials (hourly payments for working non-day jobs) are reduced. Cost-of-living payments are eliminated.

Holidays are reduced from 10 to seven. All those entitled to two or more weeks vacation will lose one week; i.e., 10 years seniority will be needed for a two-week vacation.

Major medical deductibles are doubled. Vision care is eliminated. Sickness and accident benefits are reduced. The total cost for each steelworker is estimated at \$3.15 per hour. Union negotiators claim a profitsharing and stock-option plan can return this \$3.15 per hour.

To help sell the wage and benefit cuts, contract language has been improved in a number of areas. The contracting-out provision forbids LTV contracting out work which has in the past been done by LTV steelworkers and at times by contractors. Local union presidents say 200 people were returned to work while the negotiations were taking place and this new language should bring more laid-off steelworkers back to work.

Many plants and departments have been shut down for years with the company refusing to declare a permanent shutdown and pay out the benefits this would entail. Under the proposed agreement, employees from those areas will be offered special retirement programs or separation allowance payments.

It is estimated 10,000 steelworkers may benefit from these provisions. Employees from closed departments who've been transferred to other departments receive improved seniority rights under this agreement

Although most steelworkers reacted angrily to the proposed cuts, they were relieved that the cuts were not more extensive. They had been prepared to fear the worst by the company's propaganda barrage on its financial condition.

USWA International representatives will be traveling around the country in an effort to promote this agreement, while the company will continue to raise the spector of bankruptcy in an effort to scare workers into a "yes" vote.

International Outlook



APRIL 1986





Omar Cabezas

This issue of International Outlook, the theoretical quarterly of Socialist Action, is devoted to a discussion of the character of the Nicaraguan Revolution, with special focus on the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)'s strategic commitment to maintaining a "mixed economy" in that country.

Two articles in this section are by Etienne Hilaire, who has twice been to Nicaragua with the French solidarity brigades. Hilaire's basic positions are consistent with the resolution on Nicaragua adopted by Socialist Action at its first national convention [see October 1985 International Outlook, "The Stakes of the Discussion on Central America"]. Many of Hilaire's formulations, however, are not necessarily those of Socialist Action.

The first piece in this International Outlook is an interview by Socialist Action with FSLN Commander Omar Cabezas, Chief of Political Direction at the Ministry of the Interior of Nicaragua. He is also the author of the best-seller, "Fire from the Mountain." The interview was conducted by Jeff Mackler in San Francisco on Jan. 22, 1986.—The Editors

Socialist Action: There is a wide-ranging debate concerning the Sandinista government's commitment to preserving a "mixed economy" with sectors of the capitalist class and its strategy of maintaining political pluralism? Could you explain this strategy?

Omar Cabezas: These are extremely important and interesting questions. To answer them requires that I outline the strategy of the Sandinista Revolution.

The Nicaraguan Revolution triumphed 20 years after the Cuban Revolution. Cuba triumphed at a time when the relationship of forces on a world scale was very different than it is today; not only with respect to East-West relations, but also to the political process in Latin America and Western Europe.

The revolutionary movement, for example, was at a very low point in the rest of Latin America—or didn't even exist—in the late 1950s and early '60s. Nor did progressive ideas occupy much space then. The most that existed was one or another Communist Party of Stalinist inspiration. These parties were nothing more than bureaucratic apparatuses with little or no contact with the masses.

In this horrible political situation in Latin America, the Cubans—who were alone and didn't have to think about anyone else—could afford the luxury of taking the quickest possible path in the development of the revolutionary process and the transformation of the old socio-economic structures.

The Cubans at that moment had no immediate

Commander Omar Cabezas speaks:

'Our revolution will not be destroyed'

responsibilities toward other revolutionists in Latin America.

But some 20 years went by and the geo-political situation globally underwent sweeping changes. The revolutionary movement worldwide was also affected.

The United States under John Kennedy, immediately after the Cuban Revolution, launched the Alliance for Progress and a terrible anti-Communist campaign.

But the model of development proposed by the Alliance for Progress as an alternative to the Cuban Revolution soon entered into a deep crisis, both economically and politically. This gave rise to an upsurge of important revolutionary movements in all of Latin America.

These are heroic pages of our revolutionary history. But the people of the continent after the failures of the guerrilla movements of Che and others began seeking other options. The most important of these was Chile, where the movement used bourgeois legality to come to government—not to power.

The situation in Latin America continued to evolve. And Central America became one of the weakest links in the chain.

We in Nicaragua, because of a series of very peculiar

"The 'mixed' economy...can last whatever amount of time is necessary."

economic, political and historic circumstances, succeeded in the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship.

Now to get to your question, I think our revolution has survived because of our political maturity, because of our essentially correct political strategy and course.

We have needed to triumph, survive, and consolidate a revolutionary power—a popular power.

Chile was destroyed six years before our revolution. But we will not allow ourselves to be destroyed. If we allow ourselves to be destroyed after taking political power arms in hand—unlike Allende—we would permit the revolution to be postponed in the rest of Central America for as much as 50 years.

We are not going to let this occur—particularly at a time of bright perspectives for revolutionary developments in the rest of Central and South America.

So we began to develop a political project that would permit us to attain our strategic objectives without sacrificing the Central American and Latin American revolutionary movements. And this hasn't been easy—particularly given the current stage of development of our revolution.

When the Reagan administration came to power in the United States and began implementing its program, our revolution was barely a year and a half old. We didn't have a regular organized army that could defend the revolution. Our actions to defend the revolution and avert a U.S. invasion at that time had to be fundamentally political and diplomatic.

So we started to maneuver in order to survive. We took account of the entire world and national political situation and realized that our desires and hopes were one

thing, but reality and what was objectively possible was quite another thing. We realized it was not enough to want to move ahead rapidly. Wanting to attain an objective doesn't mean being able to attain it.

So then we started to buy time and to give time to our brothers and sisters in the rest of Central America to deepen and advance their revolutionary movements.

And we have succeeded in this objective thanks to a correct tactical political line of internal and international class alliances that have served us as an umbrella against foreign intervention.

And, I repeat, this policy has worked. For instance, the United States before intervening has to think twice about the European Economic Community and the response of the Latin America governments, who support the Contadora process.

The U.S. government has differences with its allies. Even large numbers of the North American people don't support the Reagan administration's policies.

All of these are the elements of the umbrella that protected our revolution against U.S. intervention from 1980 to 1985. The U.S. imperialists have never lacked the desire to invade us. But they haven't been able to bring together the necessary internal and external conditions to do so.

The political relationship of forces which we consciously generated internally and externally have not permitted the United States to invade us.

This finally is what explains why we have carried out a policy of "mixed economy" and political pluralism. We have declared that we don't want to be Communists like the Soviets, nor capitalists like the United States. We want to be Sandinistas.

But the real power is in our hands. We decide when to go forward and when to retreat.

The transformations of the socio-economic structures go beyond the desires and wills of individuals. They are objective processes and are determined by objective laws of social development.

Our social development toward other economic structures passes through geo-politics and through the economic structures of the rest of Latin America. So political pluralism and the "mixed economy" is not a question of mere conjuncture. It obeys new laws determining how the transition toward new socio-economic structures will be attained in the future.

The most important, thing here is to preserve power so that those socio-economic structures can be overturned at an appropriate time in the future; at a time the objective and subjective conditions in Nicaragua and Central America are gathered.

The overturn of these socio-economic property relations and structures cannot be carried out by decree. It cannot be done as it was done in Cuba or Indochina.

This is particularly so when the socialist camp is not in the position of entering a Third World War on account of us. And when we don't have borders with other friendly countries.

So we have laid out a political project of "mixed economy" and political pluralism that can last whatever amount of time is necessary.

But as I said before the three fundamental conditions for the success of this project are the people, the people's army, and the FSLN.

S.A.: In our view, in every country where the economic power of the ruling class has been

(continued on page 11)

By ETIENNE HILAIRE

Over the past few years, the U.S. government has increased its offensive against the Nicaraguan Revolution, demonstrating its clear intention to overthrow the Sandinista government.

The Reagan administration, with the support of the Democratic Party, has placed an economic embargo on Nicaragua and is now seeking additional economic and military aid to the contras.

The contras, despite the enormous aid they receive from their supporters in the United States, have demonstrated their inability to seriously challenge the FSLN government. But the contra war is an essential component of U.S. imperialist policy.

The contra war is aimed at wearing down the revolution and undermining popular support for the government by forcing the FSLN to allocate 50 percent of the federal budget to defense; money which has been diverted from essential economic and social programs. The war has also caused serious material and human losses.

Through the contra war, the United States also hopes to force the Sandinistas to grant major concessions to the imperialists; concessions that would disfigure and ultimately divide a revolution that has been an example for working people everywhere.

At this point, the U.S. government has preferred support to the contras and other destabilization tactics to direct U.S. military intervention. It is fully aware that a U.S. invasion would be met with a massive mobilization of armed workers and peasants in Nicaragua and would lead to a prolonged war that would be extremely unpopular at home.

A U.S. invasion of Nicaragua would also lead to an explosive situation throughout Latin America, a region already devastated by the burden of foreign debt. The Latin American capitalists see a major confrontation in Central America as a threat to their own stability. This is why they support a negotiated settlement of the conflict through the Contadora process.

In addition, other pressures are now being exerted against the Nicaraguan Revolution. The U.S. government and the Soviet bureaucracy made it known that one point of their discussions and negotiations at the Geneva disarmament summit was Nicaragua.

The Nicaraguans have been forced to turn to the Eastern bloc countries for necessary military and economic aid. Twenty-five percent of their trade is with these countries. But by providing aid with an eyedropper, the Soviet bureaucracy is in a position to attempt to contain the Nicaraguan Revolution within the limits of its policy of peaceful coexistence.

Capitalists control economy

Despite all the efforts of the enemies of the Nicaraguan Revolution, the Sandinista government has not been toppled.

The revolution, led by the FSLN, has taken many important steps forward: The year after the overthrow of the dictatorship, the FSLN leadership broke with the capitalists at the governmental level, thereby establishing a workers' and farmers' government.

This government has armed the workers and peasants, begun the land reform, favored the organization of the masses, satisfied a basic democratic demand by organizing free elections, carried out a literacy campaign, and—after its initial mistakes—moved to resolve the Atlantic Coast problems by offering autonomy to the minority inhabitants of this region.

Yet, while the capitalists lost their political power, they retained the essential reins of the means of production and the economy. A highly contradictory situation had developed in Nicaragua.

Any serious study of Nicaragua must first examine the major problems related to the economy. The first factor to look at is the effects of the contra war and the burden of the U.S. blockade: Over 50 percent of the budget goes to defense, and the effects of an economic blockade on this dependent economy are very great.

But the deterioration of the economy is not due solely to these factors. Political choices have been made by the FSLN government that have contributed to this situation.

There is the issue of the foreign debt, for example, and the burden of its repayment. Somoza left behind a debt of \$1.2 billion. Since that time the total debt has climbed to \$3.9 billion.

In 1979, the capitalist coalition government [the Government of National Reconstruction] renegotiated payment of the debt under somewhat more "favorable" conditions. But even after the departure of the capitalists from the government, the FSLN pledged to honor this commitment to the imperialist banks and has religiously paid the interest on the debt.

In 1980 the interest payments represented 13.3 percent of the country's export earnings; in 1981 the figure climbed to 34.8 percent; in 1982 it was 47.3 percent, and in 1983 it was 49.6 percent. In 1984 and 1985, payment of the interest on the debt represented over double the

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value of export earnings. (Source: Jorge Buarque, Inprecor, No. 198.)

Maintaining Nicaragua in a state of dependency and bondage to the imperialist banks is without doubt one of the most powerful weapons in the arsenal of the U.S. government.

An unstable, contradictory situation

Indeed, two contradictory phenomena mark the evolution of the situation in Nicaragua.

One the one hand, there is a continuing anti-

"The Nicaraguan people are conscious of being at the forefront of the struggles in Latin America."

imperialist mobilization by the Nicaraguan masses.

Last July 19, over 500,000 people gathered at the Plaza de la Revolucion on the sixth anniversary of the revolution, one of the largest demonstrations ever. The youth are massively mobilized on the war front to drive back the contras. In 1985, the Sandinista Army was able to deal tremendous blows to the contras.

Despite the permanent war tensions and the tremendous sacrifices imposed by the war and the catastrophic economic conditions, the imperialist aggression has fueled exceptional anti-imperialist mobilizations. The Nicaraguan people are conscious of being at the forefront of the struggles in Latin America. This has given them the courage to endure and fight on.

But, on the other hand, a series of negative factors are accumulating under the impact of the war and the drastic economic situation.

Many of the material gains won by the workers and peasants during the first years of the revolution have been reversed. The average standard of living has declined considerably, and there has been a halt in the improvements in health and education.

Signs of fatigue and apathy have surfaced among layers of the population who had initially supported the revolution. This sector of the population does not support the contras but has taken a neutral stance toward the government and is searching for individual solutions to the economic crisis.

President Daniel Ortega stated his concern over the rising dissatisfaction with the conditions of life in Nicaragua in a statement quoted by *The New York Times* (March 16, 1985). Ortega noted the 328 percent inflation rate, the cutbacks in education and health care programs, and the "errors and deficiencies" of the government. "We are not doing too well," he concluded. "We are having problems."

Capitalist property relations

In order to confront the imperialist aggression, the revolution must reinforce its support among Nicaragua's workers and peasants, and for this it must carry out the

democratic tasks of the revolution: a thorough agrarian reform, national liberation, and the improvement in the standard of living of the population.

The commitment of the masses to the revolution has not been won once and for all. This commitment depends not on ideological preferences, but on the consolidation of tangible material gains.

The FSLN government has made a conscious strategic choice to maintain a "mixed economy," which means maintaining capitalist property relations in the principal means of production.

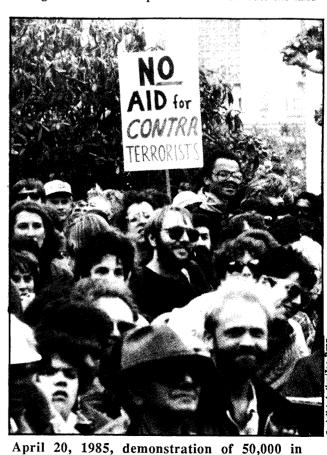
The Sandinista leaders have justified this choice on the grounds that both "national unity" and a "people's war" are necessary to confront the imperialist aggression. But these two goals are potentially contradictory: To carry out a "people's war" you must satisfy the needs of the people. To carry out a policy of "national unity" you must satisfy the medium and large capitalists.

Hence, the revolution cannot defend itself and advance if it does not overturn capitalist property relations.

The Agrarian Reform

During the first years of the revolution, the demands of the peasants for large-scale land distribution were deferred. The Agrarian Reform Law, which was adopted in October 1981, was implemented without affecting the large land holdings—except those of Somoza and his associates.

Unlike other land reform laws in Latin America (Chile, Peru, El Salvador—not to mention the two decrees enacted in Cuba), the 1981 law did not set a ceiling on land ownership. Nor did it distribute the land



San Francisco. The U.S. government knows that an invasion of Nicaragua would spark mass protests.

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The FSLN had sufficient maneuvering room to proceed in this slow manner for the following reasons: First, the population density in the rural areas was very low.

Second, the state was able to immediately control 20 percent of the lands, which had belonged to the Somoza family, without having to confiscate the lands of the non-Somoza landowners.

Third, the FSLN had earned tremendous moral authority among the masses. This enabled it to dissuade many peasants from occupying the lands of the large "productive" landowners and to hold off on breaking up the expropriated land into small, individual units.

Priority in the agrarian reform program was given to the state sector. After the insurrection, tens of thousands of hectares of land were immediately occupied by the peasants—not only the Somoza lands, but also those of the large landowners.

The decision was made to create the People's Property Sector (APP) on Somoza's lands and to persuade the peasants to return the other occupied lands.

In February 1980, a peasant march in Managua demanded the legalization of all lands occupied in defiance of Sandinista policy. In the confrontation that followed between the FSLN and the rural capitalists, the

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of the 'mixed economy,' we proclaim once more our respect for rural property ownership. The era of the large land confiscations came to an end with the expropriation of Somoza's lands."

The FSLN's agrarian policy, which has sought to preserve "national unity" with the big landlords while strengthening its support among the rural poor, has been fraught with contradictions. The best example of this is the peasant mobilization in Masaya in May-June 1985.

The case of Masaya

Masaya is a very impoverished department. Large numbers of rural dwellers, who can't make a living off the land, work in nearby Managua throughout the year in a number of commercial activities.

Masaya was a bastion of the FSLN during the last years of the anti-Somoza struggle. But already in 1980, in defiance of FSLN policy, the peasants were marching on Managua to demand the legalization of the non-Somoza lands they had occupied.

In 1982 and 1983, the people of Masaya stood out for their exemplary role in the militias and the reserve battalions of the Sandinista Army.

But the non-resolution of the historic demand of land to the peasants, coupled with the general deterioration of the standard of living, led to a sort of "political strike" by the people of Masaya. This included widespread refusal to serve in the army, extremely low participation at the FSLN meetings, and low voter support for the FSLN in the elections of November 1984 (the FSLN obtained only 55 percent of the vote, way below the national average).

Discontent in Masaya grew with the steep rise in the inflation rate resulting from the February 1985 economic program. This provoked new mobilizations in May 1985: Hundreds of peasants occupied the state-owned

abandoned and unused land, as well as the property of landlords openly collaborating with the contras.

Two principles of the FSLN's agrarian policy still guide the new decree: "Productive" lands of the big landlords will not be affected, and all confiscated lands will be compensated at declared value in the form of state bonds.

But, for the first time, the big capitalists who are using their land productively can also be affected under the law. A clause stipulates that "public necessity or the interests of society" can be grounds for taking over the land.

The new amendment permits the government to deepen the land reform and to modify the structure of property ownership in the countryside.

Industry: Impossibility of planning

Sixty-seven percent of industry in Nicaragua is still controlled by the private sector. The Nicaraguan capitalists waver between a policy of short-term survival (refusing to invest their capital for the medium or long term) and a policy of open sabotage of the economy (capital flight, speculation).

Paradoxically, the U.S. economic blockade has hurt the more developed sector of the Nicaraguan capitalist class the most. The export-oriented sector depends on U.S. machinery and spare parts.

Obviously the Reagan administration has consciously sought to push the Nicaraguan bosses who were willing to go along with the Sandinista "national unity" program into the arms of the contras. The blockade essentially prevents them from turning a profit, FSLN policy notwithstanding.

The mechanisms of industrial control and regulation implemented by the Sandinistas have proven ineffective: The notion that the state sector could reactivate the

"In Nicaragua a real debate is going on over the desirability of the policy of the 'mixed economy.""

FSLN acceded to the demands of the peasants. Nonetheless, the principle that would guide the 1981 Agrarian Reform law was that the cultivated land of the large estates not be touched.

From 1979 to 1981 only 1 percent of the lands were distributed to the peasants in individual plots, while the state sector grew from 20 percent to 23 percent of all cultivated land. (Source: *Envio*, No. 46-47, Instituto Historico Centroamericano, Managua, French edition, August/September 1985.)

The FSLN had postponed the distribution of the land to the small peasants, fearing this would lead to a shortage of labor power at harvest time in the agroexport industry. According to the Central American Historic Institute of Managua, the FSLN also feared that "the partition of the land would provoke a wave of land occupations that would have broken the contract with the private sector, which was indispensable to confront U.S. aggression." (Ibid.)

As of 1983, emphasis was placed on developing cooperative forms of agricultural production. Today cooperatives represent 10 percent of the cultivated lands.

But the cooperative sector is far from having gained the allegiance of the peasantry. This is primarily because the state has been unable to provide the necessary technical support for cooperative production. Seventyfive percent of the cooperatives have received no significant aid from the state.

In 1984, 22 percent of the peasant families had benefited from the cooperative or state sector. But after five years of revolution, only 17 percent of the land had gone to the poor peasants, either in collective or individual forms of tenancy. Moreover, nearly half the land distributed to the peasants had been taken from the state sector—not from the large capitalist estates.

Soon, however, the FSLN found itself having to respond to the immense demand for land that still remained largely unaddressed. This was all the more urgent, given that the contras had begun to find among the discontented peasants a favorable terrain for their propaganda and recruitment.

As of 1984, the FSLN accelerated the distribution of individual plots to the poor peasants. This began in the border zones where the contras were attacking. The goal was to benefit 50 percent of the rural population in one form or another by the end of 1985.

But the principle of not confiscating lands from the medium or large landowners remained unaltered.

On Oct. 21, 1984, FSLN Commander Victor Tirado told an assembly of middle peasants: "In the framework



Worker at nationalized textile factory (TEXNICSA) in Managua. Factory belonged to Somoza family. Sixty-seven percent of industry, however, is still owned by capitalists.

lands and the lands of three big private estates. They demanded that these lands be distributed to them.

The FSLN responded by turning over the state-owned lands to the peasants and by negotiating with the 18 landowners whose lands had been occupied. The state offered to buy their lands at full market value and to give them fertile state-owned lands in other regions of the country where peasant pressure for the land was not as strong.

Only one of the big landlords, Enrique Bolanos, president of the Supreme Council of the Private Sector (COSEP), refused this exchange and had his land expropriated. Bolanos then raised a hue and cry about the "collectivist threat." But he still owns 300 hectares of coffee-growing land in Masaya.

Before June 1985, 7400 rural families had not received any land in Masaya. After the FSLN measures of mid-1985, there were still 6100 families without land.

A real step forward

On Jan. 11, 1986, the Nicaraguan government amended the 1981 Agrarian Reform Law. The new legislation will make access to the land easier for the rural poor. It is a real step forward.

The first targets of the decree are the large tracts of

economy has proven to be illusory, given the weakness of the state sector. So long as the capitalists retain the essential reins of production and distribution, the laws of commodity production and exchange continuously regenerate the economic power of the capitalists.

All attempts at planning have proven impossible, to the point that the Ministry of Planning was actually disbanded in early 1985. Since the nationalization of the 168 Somoza-owned factories and the expropriation of the capitalists who left the country or openly "decapitalized" in 1980 and 1981, the structure of property ownership has not changed.

The state has not deepened its inroads into capitalist property, as has often been claimed. The laws of capitalist economics prevail and will continue to impose their will so long as the state does not control the principal means of producton.

Speculation and sabotage

The continued primacy of capitalist property relations has also made it impossible to carry out an effective struggle against the economic sabotage of the capitalists

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and the speculators. At the same time, it has made it impossible to orient the economy toward the defense of the gains of the revolution.

In an economy primarily oriented toward the production and export of agricultural commodities, control of the intermediate goods sector is key to providing necessary assistance to agricultural production. Nicaragua does not produce tractors—it imports them—but it produces fertilizers, insecticides, tools, and spare parts for buses. Yet, 73 percent of this strategic sector is in private hands.

Claes Brundenius put it this way in his comprehensive study, "Strategy of Industrial Development in Nicaragua from 1979 to 1984 (Instituto de Investigaciones Economicas y Sociales, Managua, January 1985):

"If the capitalists refuse to accept the rules of the game and their role as partners in the plans of national development as outlined in the ideological project of the Sandinista Revolution, and if, on the contrary, they continue to decapitalize and even send their capital abroad, there can only be one result: The increase of confiscations of their properties and the increased role of the state in the economy.

"This would surely create a more solid base for socialist planning, but it would also create a vicious circle, with the capitalists losing more and more confidence in the long-term objectives of the Sandinista Revolution. This would in turn lead to further confiscations, and so on."

Brundenius puts his finger on an important point: It is impossible for the FSLN to prevent sabotage and

At the same time, an informal capitalist sector is developing that is making super-profits from commercial speculation. These are the 300 large wholesalers who control 180,000 small businessmen and shopkeepers. (Source: William Robinson, *Panorama*, March 1985.)

This parallel market is a privileged terrain for all the hoarders, saboteurs, and other conscious agents of economic destablilization. This unproductive sector also attracts the money of the capitalists at the expense of productive investment.

The FSLN government, conscious of this danger, attempted to regulate prices and distribution by instituting the Consumer Defense Law in May 1984.

Basic staples were subsidized by the government, and a low fixed price was guaranteed to the consumer. The state, together with the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), took responsibility for part of the distribution system. The CDS's were also assigned to exercise forms of price controls and to turn the speculators over to the Ministry of Commerce.

In February 1985, however, this policy was abandoned and another approach taken. Price controls were removed. Subsidies for basic staples were removed. A tax on the super-profits of the wholesalers was established, and new measures to stimulate production in the private capitalist sector were adopted.

The consequences of this shift were immediately felt. Far from putting a brake on inflation, these measures sharply fueled an escalating inflationary spiral. From January to May 1985, the price of basic staples rose between 300 percent and 500 percent, while wages only increased between 120 percent and 180 percent (*Envio*, August/September 1985).

Those most hurt by these measures were the industrial and agricultural workers and the poor peasants, i.e., the

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Nicaragua's cities continue to be flooded by poor peasants in search of a better livelihood. Over 50 percent of the economically active population in Managua lives off of small commerce and street vending.

decapitalization and to effectively reactivate the economy without confronting the Nicaraguan capitalist class. But once this is done, it will inevitably set off a chain reaction among the capitalists. You cannot roast a live lamb on a low flame without the lamb realizing it is being roasted.

Moving effectively to control industrial development will necessitate a confrontation with the capitalists, and this confrontation must be prepared. This, however, has not been the policy of the Sandinistas to date.

The distribution system

The economic situation continues to worsen and to even take on a dramatic character: The war and the blockade have aggravated the shortages, but the measures of the government to halt speculation have proven ineffective.

In this context, a parallel or informal commercial sector of the economy has mushroomed—the street vendors or petty merchants. Managua has been flooded by poor peasants in search of a better livelihood. Even the workers in the productive sector have turned to small retail selling because it pays better.

Over 50 percent of the economically active population in Managua lives off of commerce, retail, and street vending—all non-productive labor.

social base of the revolution. The well-to-do capitalists, however, were able to take full advantage of the incentives and price deregulation.

Another consequence of these measures was that the CDS's had their control over prices and distribution removed. This didn't occur without provoking some discontent, however. The role of the CDS's was reduced to helping the municipal administrations resolve the problems of the neighborhood, such as vaccinations, water, electricity, and anti-alcohol campaigns.

The road to resolving the problems of prices and distribution does not lie in outlawing the small vendors or in removing them from the streets—as is done in many South American countries. It is necessary for the state to take charge of the commercialization system. This means making inroads into the large merchant capitalist class which owns all the transport vehicles.

February 1985: A shift

The economic measures of February 1985 were not accompanied by measures against the speculators. The new tax will provide the state with an additional source of revenue, but it does not attack the deeper underlying problem.

The February measures don't signify a change in the FSLN's policy of the "mixed economy." On the

contrary, they are designed to reactivate the economy through the capitalist sector, while buying "neutrality" from the middle class and demanding that all the sacrifices come from the popular sectors.

The majority of the state credits, for example, have gone to the private sector (53 percent on the average since 1979). And now, after February 1985, the state will provide the private sector with U.S. dollars to buy supplies and spare parts. It is hoped this will reactivate the economy. In fact, this is an incredible gift to the capitalists to further their speculation!

The contra war has devastated the economy. But the FSLN could have—and still can—make other policy choices. There is no alternative but to overturn the remaining power of the capitalist class—to transform the

"Six years after the victorious insurrection, the only road forward is the road Cuba took."

property relations.

Such a course would represent a major step forward in the defense of the revolution. It would reinforce the FSLN's social base and reactivate the mass organizations.

The example of Cuba

Six years after the victorious insurrection, the only road forward for the Nicaragua Revolution is the road Cuba took in 1960.

In January 1959 in Cuba, the offensive of the Castroists and a mass insurrection toppled the Batista dictatorship. The instruments of repression of the old regime were destroyed. In the fall of that year, the capitalists left the government. A workers' and farmers' government had come into being; a government that stimulated the mobilization of the workers and peasants.

Confronted with an imperialist blockade and direct threats against the revolution, this government armed the workers and peasants. It carried through to completion the anti-imperialist struggle by expropriating the property of imperialism as well as that of the Cuban capitalists.

This occurred in the fall of 1960. A workers' state arose based on central planning and the collective ownership of the means of production.

This is how the Cuban leadership, in the mid-1970s, explained the lessons of their own revolution:

"Yet, in the conditions of a country like Cuba, could the revolution limit itself simply to national liberation while maintaining a regime of capitalist exploitation? Or was it not necessary to move forward toward full social liberation as well?

"Imperialism could not even tolerate a revolution of national liberation in Cuba. From the time of the first Agrarian Reform Law, the United States began to organize a military operation against Cuba. They were even less disposed to tolerate socialism in our country.

"The simple idea that a victorious revolution in Cuba could provide an example for all Latin America, frightened the Yankee ruling circles. But the Cuban nation had no other alternative. The people could not be stopped.

"Our national and our social liberation were inextricably bound up. Moving forward became a historic necessity. Standing still would have been an act of treason and cowardice that would have transformed us once again into a Yankee colony and wage slaves." (Fidel Castro, Speech to the First Congress of the Cuban Communist Party, December 1975)

What the Cuban leadership did in 1960, the FSLN can and must do in Nicaragua today.

Many in the workers' movement say this is not possible, however. The Stalinist Communist parties, for example, explain that the objective conditions in all Latin America do not exist for a "socialist transformation." They say a "democratic stage" is necessary to develop the productive forces of society and to pave the road for later socialist transformations.

This well-known Stalinist argument has been used to justify one betrayal after another. It is a policy that justifies class collaborationism to preserve the status quo.

In Nicaragua itself, this thesis is put forward by the two Stalinist parties: the PSN and the PCN. They call for a policy of national unity with the right-wing parties in the parliament and have recently urged the FSLN to accept the new Contadora "peace" plan, which demands that the FSLN lay down its arms and negotiate with the contras.

In fact, PSN political commission member Domingo (continued on page 11)

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Sanchez has gone so far as to condemn the FSLN government for not freeing numerous ex-Somoza national guardsmen who had taken up arms against the revolution!

The Sandinistas in general have nothing but scorn for these Stalinist parties.

Likewise, Julio Lopez, director of international relations for the Sandinista government, has expressed the FSLN's concern over the Soviet bureaucracy's possible willingness to strike a deal with imperialism at the expense of Nicaragua. Speaking two days before the Reagan-Gorbachev summit talks in Geneva, he said, "Nicaragua will not allow its destiny to be determined by negotiations between the super-powers."

For the Social Democrats, on the other hand, the "mixed economy" is an original model—a third road between "savage capitalism" and "communist totalitarianism." They say explicitly that Nicaragua must avoid becoming another Cuba.

Debate over "mixed economy"

In Nicaragua a real debate is going on over the desirability of pursuing the policy of the "mixed economy."

Proof of this discussion is found in a declaration by Roberto Pizarro, an economic adviser to the Sandinista government, concerning the February 1985 economic measures:

"Thus, for certain people, a more appropriate course of action to resolve the distortion of our economy would have been to deal a blow to those who have benefited from these distortions and to favor a rapid transformation of the country—a 'radicalization' of the process.

"By this they mean a profound program of expropriations of land, industry, and commerce, which would place the totality of the material means of the economy in the hands of the state.

"This alternative, which is possible in the abstract and which is very real in other societies, would not only be naive but also deeply irresponsible in the case of Nicaragua. This is due to the regional geo-political situation and to the fact that the economic results would be disastrous in a country whose economic structure is marked by the important weight of agricultural production and by an atomization of property in the countryside, in industry, and in commerce" (quoted in *Inprecor* No. 185).

FSLN Minister of Defense Humberto Ortega defended the continued commitment to the "mixed economy" in a similar manner:

"We cannot resolve at the same time the problems of national liberation and those of social liberation. We must first complete the stage of national independence and national liberation" (quoted in F. Pisani, "Le Volcan Nicaraguayen").

One of the arguments often put forward to justify the FSLN's policy of a "mixed economy" is that a large period of time is needed to help advance the consciousness of the masses. But this argument incorrectly assesses the real mood and sentiments of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants.

For some of the leaders of the Nicaraguan Revolution who are conscious of the problems created by the "mixed economy," things are not so simple. Tomas Borge, for example, had this to say in an interview in July 1985 with the Nicaraguan magazine, *Pensamiento Propio*:

"The geo-political context [in which our revolution developed] compelled us, independently of our own will, to develop political pluralism and a mixed economy. This tactic became transformed into a strategy, and today the mixed economy is neither an operational choice nor a camouflage. It is a strategy...

"But this has rendered the role of revolutionary leadership among the masses more difficult. Political pluralism, the mixed economy, and the general traits of our revolution tend to sow confusion among the masses. There is not—nor could there be—an ideological project as clearly defined as the one that existed in Cuba.

"Our project is muddled and complicated, and muddled projects sow confusion among the masses."

Another argument used to justify the "mixed economy" is that the geopolitical context and the pressures of imperialism make it impossible to move forward toward a Cuban solution at this time.

Obviously, the objective of the U.S. government is to avoid another Cuba. But its goal is also to overthrow the current Sandinista government. U.S. imperialism cannot tolerate a government that arms the workers and peasants, refuses to share political power with the capitalists, and holds high the anti-imperialist banner of national liberation for the entire continent.

The U.S. government will continue to exert pressure on the Nicaraguan government with the aim of ultimately overthrowing it. Reagan has called it a "cancer" that must be removed.

Hence, the danger of U.S. intervention is just as great now as it would be if capitalist property relations were overturned. What holds the U.S. government back is the mobilization of an armed people in Nicaragua and a deep awareness that a military intervention would create an explosive situation throughout Latin America. It knows, too, that direct U.S. intervention would be strongly resisted by working people in the United States.

The concessions made to the capitalists through the "mixed economy" did provide the revolution with a certain room to maneuver in its relations with the Latin American ruling classes. But this policy has run its course.

The Contadora "peace process" has proven to be a failure. It has been incapable of formulating an independent policy. Under pressure from U.S. imperialism, the Contadora nations modified their proposal to now demand that the FSLN disarm and negotiate with the contras. The FSLN has rejected this proposal.

The Sandinistas have everything to gain from the consolidation and deepening of the revolution and its extension to Central and South America. There is no stabilization possible, in the backyard of U.S. imperialism, for the Nicaraguan workers' and farmers' government.

The Sandinista Revolution, moreover, has everything to gain from repudiating the \$3.9 billion foreign debt to the imperialist banks.

Some say that credits from Western Europe would be suspended if Nicaragua were to cancel the debt. But much more is to be gained from breaking the debt noose around the revolution than is currently gained from the Western European loans, which are progressively drying up.

A repudiation of the foreign debt, which has more than tripled in the last five years, would represent a tremendous step forward for the entire Latin American workers' movement. It would provide a magnificent example throughout the continent and demonstrate that a consistent fight against imperialism—a consistent fight for national liberation—requires that the chains of dependency be severed.

Nicaragua must follow the Cuban road and establish a workers' state, the second free territory in the Americas! ■

...Cabezas

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maintained—as was the case in Chile under Allende or Guatemala under Arbenz—the revolutionary struggle is led to defeat. Experience has demonstrated that when the revolutionary movements try to share economic power—not to mention the political power—with the capitalists, defeat is sure to follow.

Cabezas: But Allende was a petty-bourgeois careerist. He was an opportunist.

S.A.: Yet virtually everyone in the workers' movement at the time told us to have confidence in Allende.

Cabezas: We never had confidence in Allende, never. I was in Chile in 1972 and I spoke to Allende. I was only 22 years old. I said, "Mr. President, they are going to overthrow your government." I said this to Corvalan [leader of the Chilean Communist Party] and to the people of MAPU [Movement of the United People.]

Those who understood things more clearly and who had read Lenin knew that Chile couldn't last more than two years in this situation. Only the most ignorant—or corrupt—thought that Allende was the road to power. We never thought this.

S.A.: But the Communist and Socialist parties,

which represented 90 percent of the workers' movement, supported Allende, didn't they?

Cabezas: Yes, because it appeared to be an option, a step forward, at that moment. You have to support everything that is a step forward.

S.A.: Do the Nicaraguan people understand the policies of the Sandinistas when a sector of those who oppressed and exploited them in the past—the so-called national capitalists—still have a significant amount of the wealth, the land, and the means of production? What is their attitude? Do they question it?

Cabezas: We couldn't have done what we've done in Nicaragua if the people hadn't understood our policies every step of the way.

The Nicaraguan Revolution is a giant collective conspiracy, shared by everyone there—except for the contras. We couldn't have gone forward without the people.

Lenin, in 1917, said that politics was an art. But we in Nicaragua have had to use more than art to move ahead. We have had to use magic, and by that I mean the ability to do the impossible in the most difficult conditions with audacity and imagination.

S.A.: We understand the difficulties faced by the revolution and the power of the imperialists to crush it. We ask these questions in order to better support the revolution. We know that in the long and the short run, the power of the revolution comes from the support of the people. But in Nicaragua, can a peasant understand these issues if the non-Somoza capitalists still have large portions of the land.

Cabezas: The peasant doesn't understand this. And that is why we have distributed 2 million hectares of land and why we are going to distribute 1 million hectares more this year.

Our alliance with the workers and peasants is not hesitant. We have given out 2 million hectares of land and 400,000 rifles. We did both. This is the difference between us and Grenada.

If the United States invades Nicaragua, it will not be fighting against the army alone. If the Marines land in Nicaragua, they are not going to defeat us in eight days. The people will defend the gains of the revolution; they will defend the land that has been distributed to them—land that never belonged to them before.



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Nicaragua's state of emergency: A closer look

By ETIENNE HILAIRE

On Oct. 15, 1985, the Sandinista government reinstated the state of emergency in Nicaragua.

This was not the first time such a measure was taken. The first emergency decree was issued soon after the overthrow of Somoza and lasted until April 28, 1980. The second time, the state of emergency lasted from March 1982 until June 1984, when the presidential election campaign was opened.

It is important to understand the context in which this emergency was declared.

On Oct. 14, Vice Minister of Defense Joaquim Cuadra announced that the Sandinista Army had pushed back a massive contra invasion in the region of Esteli, 100 miles from the capital of Managua. Over 2500 contra mercenaries had set up bases at Las Vegas and Arenales, under the protection of Honduran troops.

Acts of economic sabotage had also escalated that month. Preparations to blow up supermarkets and bus terminals in Managua—even the main airport—were discovered, and contra agents were arrested with cases of explosives.

The U.S. contra war against the Nicaraguan Revolution has led to the death of 10,000 Nicaraguans and has caused millions of dollars in material damage. Food silos, schools, hospitals, government buildings, and harbors have all been targets of the U.S.-backed contras.

The official FSLN communique of Oct. 15 explained the state of emergency in these terms:

"The state of national emergency, which had been interrupted in 1984 during the electoral campaign, has been reinstated. This restriction of civil and political rights...is being taken to protect the welfare of the Nicaraguan people and to preserve the stability of the revolutionary government and the proper functioning of its institutions; gains which have been won with much sacrfice and blood.

"The state of emergency is a response to the new wave of aggression—military, political and economic—developed by a powerful nation that has not hidden its interventionist purpose, as has widely been recognized throughout the world.

"Nicaragua, which is the victim of serious physical and psychological pressures that kill and maim our citizens daily, has the legitimate right to self-defense."

What is the state of emergency?

First of all, it is important to understand the state of emergency for what it really is.

The Reagan administration and the great bulk of the Western news media have portrayed the Oct. 15 decree as proof of the FSLN's "totalitarianism." An intense imperialist misinformation campaign has been unleashed by those who would like to drown the revolution in blood. This imperialist propaganda must be exposed.

The state of emergency suspends for one year a limited number of rights. These include the right to habeas corpus (protection against detention without charge), but the suspension is restricted to crimes against the security of the state.

Also suspended is the right to free circulation in the war or military zones (a government pass is required) and the right to assemble, hold public meetings, and strike without government authorization. Censorship of the press is maintained.

So as can be seen, these restrictions have nothing in common with the states of siege that have been imposed throughout Latin America with the blessing of the imperialist powers.

Nicaragua is at war, yet there is no death penalty and no court martial for prisoners of war. On the contrary, a broad amnesty exists for those contras who put down their arms. They can return to their homes and jobs and even be welcomed back with full honors, as has been the case with dozens of peasants in the Northern region.

The opposition press, despite the censorship, appears daily. Freedom of speech has not been abolished. The opposition parties in the assembly continue to meet to discuss the draft of the proposed constitution. The opposition parties can continue to meet, criticize the government, and circulate their ideas—as long as they do not advocate armed rebellion against the FSLN government.

A news editor of one of the opposition radio stations explained the curbs in this manner: "We are able to broadcast just about anything, even saying that the Sandinistas are terrible administrators or that there needs to be more freedom in the country." But the editor warned, "There are two important taboos. We can only report official information about the war and we can't put anyone on the air who advocates dialogue between the government and the armed rebels."

The revolution has the right and the obligation to defend itself against its enemies. The counterrevolution and the CIA have countless resources at their disposal to attempt to undermine and destroy the revolution from within.

When the Catholic hierarchy puts out its bimonthly magazine openly calling on the youth to boycott the military service—claiming it is a "sin to take up arms



Sandinistas find a victim of the contras.

against your fellow man"—the FSLN has the right to ban such propaganda.

When Miguel Cardinal Obando y Bravo, who is the political voice of the contras in Nicaragua, organizes public rallies throughout the country to denounce the military service and to openly support the contras, again the FSLN has the right to ban such meetings.

The right to strike

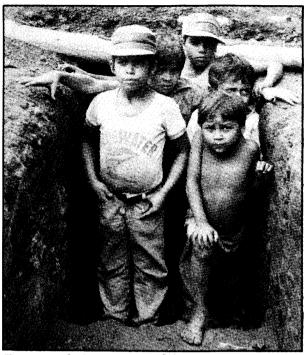
The FSLN government's restriction on the right to strike, however, does not fit into the same category of legitimate defense of the revolution.

While it is true that provocateurs or even U.S.-financed agents will want to sow dissension inside the labor movement—as they did in Chile under Allende by fomenting the truckers' strike—the response by the FSLN leadership should not be a broad-sweeping measure that outlaws strikes against the capitalists.

Sixty-seven percent of industry in Nicaragua is still owned by the capitalists. Despite generous government credits and laws aimed at encouraging the Nicaraguan capitalists to invest productively to reactivate the economy [see article on the mixed economy in this section], the capitalists have demonstrated their total unwillingness to participate in the national campaign for production.

The FSLN has the authority to explain to the workers its opposition to strikes. But it is wrong to deprive the urban and rural workers from using their major weapon to defend their own interests against the internal enemies of the revolution—the capitalist class.

It is important to note that in September 1985, one



Targets of the contras: Nicaragua's future.

month before the decree was enacted, the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) had held its national congress, during which it strongly criticized the government's February 1985 economic package. The CST had solidarized with the workers who complained that their standard of living was dropping—and it was they who must make all the sacrifices—while the speculators went unpunished.

In fact, only a few days before the emergency measures were decreed, demonstrations and strikes for wage increases had taken place in many of Managua's factories.

Three days after the state of emergency was decreed, Barricada, the official newspaper of the FSLN, published a statement signed by six major trade-union federations, including the CST, in support of the emergency measures. It stated, "We consider the state of national emergency to be extremely positive...in that it is aimed at stopping the internal and external counterrevolutionary activity of our enemies."

The FSLN had been able to use its genuine political authority to gain support from the unions for the emergency law, including the ban on the right to strike.

Defense of mixed economy

The right of the revolution to defend itself against internal and external aggression is totally legitimate. But it is quite another thing to justify the emergency measures on the grounds of the defense of the "mixed economy," as Daniel Ortega did in his speech to the United Nations.

Ortega stated, "These measures are essentially aimed at defending the project of political pluralism, mixed economy, and non-alignment." Ortega also put on the same plane those who sabotage the economy and aid the contras, and those "ultra-left groups which encourage strikes and labor indiscipline that affect production and therefore the national economy and the model of the mixed economy." This equation is wrong.

There are certainly those in the Nicaraguan labor movement who do not have the best interests of the revolution in mind when they engage in workplace actions. This is the case of the Stalinist-led General Workers Federation (CGT) and of its leader, Alejandro Solorzano, who carried out a three-day hunger strike last October to demand an additional month's bonus pay for the workers.

The Stalinists in Nicaragua have urged the government to free many detained contra terrorists and to accept the new Contadora proposal, which calls for negotiations with the contras.

But workers' grievances, which are manipulated by some currents, cannot be resolved by a governmental decree that bans strikes. The material roots of this discontent—the economic crisis, due in large part to the preservation of the "mixed economy"—must be addressed and resolved.

The reactionary forces in Nicaragua are seeking to exploit the popular discontent over the economic situation in order to create a broad internal opposition front. To defeat this reactionary offensive, however, requires radical economic measures that will undermine the basis for its support. It requires the expropriation of capitalist property and its management by the workers themselves through their own democratic organizations.

It is the capitalists who, from within, are creating economic chaos through sabotage and speculation.

It is wrong to think that first the war against the contras must be won, and only then can the "social transformations" occur. Both must go hand in hand.

The war against the enemies of the revolution cannot be decisively won without breaking with the strategy of the "mixed economy" and establishing in Nicaragua a workers' state based on the collective ownership of the means of production.

Consumer awareness with Ferdinand and Imelda

By MARK HARRIS

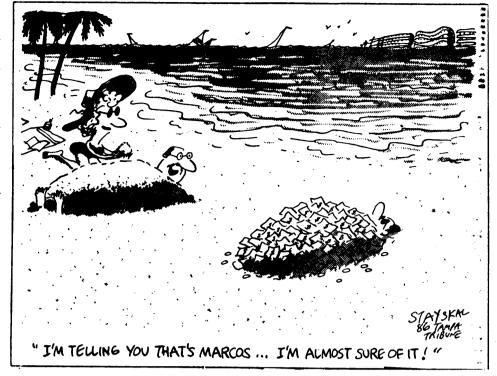
He tortured critics, murdered enemies, and stole an election. He lied about his war record, collected Manhattan skyscrapers, and had his likeness carved on the face of a

Yes, it's none other than Ferdinand Marcos—friend of every American president for every hour he was in office—until that final one when word came from the Great Communicator that it was time to take the money and run. And that's what he did, fleeing the scene of the crime, courtesy of the U.S. Air Force.

Drunk with power, Ferdinand and his wife Imelda looted a nation in an all-night binge that appeared to have no end. But end it did, thanks to millions of Filipinos who made it clear that the party was over.

Don't worry about the deposed despot suffering any symptoms of post-tyrant depression. He brought along a little bit of home to take care of that problem. Specifically, 22 crates of freshly printed pesos, jewels, furs, French impressionist paintings, Chinese antiques, and other treasures crammed into not one but two Air Force planes. And should the cash on hand run out, well...The sun never sets on the Marcos millions.

All told, the devouring duo managed in their day to pick the pockets of an entire nation, not to mention Uncle Sam, amass ing an incredible \$10 billion fortune. Not bad for a man who earned \$4700 a year as president of the Philippines.



Still, Marcos couldn't even manage to pay for his own flight into exile and lodging in Hawaii. U.S. taxpayers got stuck with that bill, to the tune of \$450,000.

Conspicuous consumers that they are, the Marcos entourage was running up a \$12,000 "charge" at the Air Force base on Guam only hours into their flight from the wrath of millions. And even more has been charged in Hawaii, leaving the Air Force cash and jewels. And it must have been

wondering if and when the bill will be paid. You would think updating their wardrobes would be the last thing on their minds at a time like that, but then again, these are people conditioned by years of serious shopping.

Of course, to give Ferdinand and Imelda the benefit of the doubt, perhaps they only had room for the shirts on their backs. since their suitcases were all crammed with

easy to forget a few things with so much to do in those final frenzied hours. Favors to be taken care of, bribes to be paid, promotions to be made, state of emergency decrees to be considered, all littered his desk as he planned his great escape.

Ferdinand and Imelda may have lived in high style, but they were low lifes at heart. The images flash by: Imelda slinking through art museums in the dark of night, stealing paintings for her private collection; Ferdinand watching on closed-circuit tele vision his own personally directed soap opera called the "Benigno Aquino Murder Trial;" the whole Marcos den of thieves singing "We are the world" in the midst of their country's impoverishment.

Imelda has been called the Iron Butterfly, but Ferdinand hardly proved to be the Man of Steel. He built his regime on tyranny, greed, and kowtowing respect for his great benefactor in Washington. It was a house built on a rotten foundation, and it could not withstand the battering storm of protest from the Filipino people that grew steady and strong over the last two years.

The big-business media and politicians have been quick to take a "with friends like this, who needs enemies" approach toward Marcos now that he has become one more washed-up pro-American dictator.

But Marcos was hardly an avaricious aberration on the stage of U.S. foreign policy. If he was, he was an aberration worth \$2.5 billion in U.S. aid since 1962. No. Marcos was a bona fide, 100 percent U.S.-approved ally, right up there with the cream of the dictator crop.

Where will he go now? To Panama to occupy the ex-shah's estate in exile? To Chicago to run for alderman? To Holly wood and a guest shot on "Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous?" His estate alone should keep that show on the air for many years to come.

. Philippines

(continued from page 1)

prices, she could only express a strong wish that businesses pass savings along to consumers.

"We don't know if Cory will participate in land reform," Miguel Caliwag, president of the central Luzon Farmers Alliance, told the Washington Post. Other rural workers pointed out that Aquino's family owns large sugar tracts in the area. "I'm not against Cory," said one farmworker, "But I want to see if she'll help the poor."

"We don't want to be seen as favoring the capitalist and neglecting the farmer, the poor," insists newly appointed Finance Minister Jaime Ongpin, a former president of the Benguet Mining Corp. Ongpin bases his agriculture policy on hopes that the United States and Japan will provide funds to private investors for long-term development projects.

But continued economic dependence on the United States will whittle away the high expectations that many people have for the new government. The country is already staggering under a drastic program of reduced social services, which Marcos imposed to pay back the country's \$26 billion debt to the foreign banks.

Minister of Agriculture Ramon Mitra admits that the new regime "will enjoy a honeymoon, maybe another six months.

or else people will be out on the streets struggles. again" (San Francisco Examiner, March 3, 1986).

Communists urged to surrender

President Aquino has stated her willingness to undertake a new military campaign against the Communist-led New People's Army (NPA) if the rebels refuse to surrender their arms. On March 19, military commanders in Luzon announced that they rebels. They ordered "search and destroy" missions in five provinces.

forces have turned in their arms to the government in response to promises of negotiate a cease-fire "on a nationwide 1984). scale." But they emphasize they will not surrender their weapons.

call for armed revolution are still intact."

It has gained support in the slums of the achieved." cities as well.

But guerrilla warfare can hardly attract the active participation of the masses of urban workers. A resumption of guerrilla warfare former participants in the boycott of the as the axis of CPP and NPA strategy would

But within that time we'll have to deliver isolate them from involvement in the mass

CPP and NPA leaders have mentioned the possibility of a reconciliation with the government-provided that Aquino "reform" the military and dismantle the "fascist structure." Aquino and other moderates are thus portrayed as "good" capitalists as opposed to the "bad" army officers and cronies of Marcos.

This simplistic analysis is embodied in the CPP's basic program of struggle—a had abandoned their cease-fire with the carry-over of the program of Stalinism. The CPP calls for a "people's democratic revolution as the transitional stage toward A few scattered units among the rebel socialism." According to CPP founder Jose Maria Sison, the revolutionary struggle would bring about a "mixed-economy" so amnesty. Communist Party (CPP) and that "the local forces of capitalism can be NPA leaders state they are prepared to liberated" (Intercontinental Press, Nov. 12,

But the CPP's stress on a limited 'democratic revolution" presents its cadre CPP leader Andreas del Fierro stressed in with a potential dilemma. As one CCP an interview in The New York Times that Central Committee member pointed out to "the social realities which necessitated the the San Francisco Examiner, if Aquino is able to implement some reforms, "people The NPA controls about 20 percent of may begin to believe the things we have the Philippines, mainly in the countryside. been fighting for have already been

"Critical collaboration"

Some forces on the left-including Aquino-Marcos election—have taken this logic further. They now advocate "critical collaboration" with Aquino in order to "push her to the left."

Leandro Alejandro, secretary-general of the nationalist coalition Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN), thus states that "There's a great potential for the Aquino government to evolve into a more representative government. She's no nationalist, but she's a sincere liberal and will stand up for what she's said already" (San Francisco Examiner, March 3, 1986).

No matter how "sincere" Aquino may appear in her pronouncements, she presides over a capitalist government that will block any opportunities for a change in the social order.

The Aquino government cannot "evolve" toward guaranteeing real democracy and lasting improvement in the lives of the masses of workers and peasants. Significant social change can only come about through action independent of the capitalist forces.



The Filipino masses didn't mobilize by the millions against Marcos just to have the same policies carried out with a "human face." Aquino's call for an appointed "constitutional commission" is hardly democratic. Free and universal elections to a Constituent Assembly are needed to permit the majority to determine their own

In the countryside, a thorough agrarian revolution is necessary to satisfy the deep aspiration of rural workers for the land. Finally, no genuine improvement in the standard of living of the masses can come about if the \$26-billion debt is repaid to the imperialist banks. The debt must be canceled, and the U.S. bases—symbols of imperialist domination—removed.

Important sectors of the Filipino mass movement boycotted the last elec tions—refusing to support Aquino—be cause she failed to respond to the basic demands of the people for land and national independence.

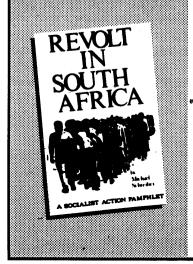
The boycott movement, however, failed to take advantage of the electoral opening to offer a clear political alternative to Aquino. As a result, the movement was caught off guard by the mass upsurge that swept away the old dictatorship.

An important debate will inevitably open up in the Filipino revolutionary movement over the course to follow in the months ahead. Those boycott forces loyal to a consistent anti-imperialist program must champion the struggles of the workers and farmers and demand that the Aquino government provide solutions to their

Such a course will soon expose Aquino's commitment to the ruling rich and, in turn,

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encourage the workers and farmers to organize themselves into genuine forms of "people's power."

Forerunner of Solidarnosc chronicled in Lipski book

By DAN LABOTZ

KOR: A History of the Workers Defense Committee in Poland, 1976-81, by Jan Josef Lipski, translated by Olga Amsterdamska and Gene M. Moore, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1985, \$39.95.

Solidarnosc, the Polish trade-union movement born in the strikes by millions of workers in the summer of 1980 and continuing underground today, is, like the revolution in Nicaragua and the struggle of Black South Africans, one of the great and inspiring social movements of our time.

It is naturally of particular interest to Poles, but it has universal importance as a struggle against oppression, with lessons for others around the world, including those of us here in the United States.

The most important forerunner of Solidarnosc was the KOR, the Workers Defense Committee. Jan Josef Lipski, one of the leaders of KOR, has given us a book which is a remarkable record of its activities and ideas.

It is more a chronicle than a history, as Lipski says himself, and its many lists of people, activities, and particularly of acts of repression—firings, beatings, and murders—are depressing, tiring, and tedious. But despite the rather tedious style, Lipski has written a book which allows us to get a glimpse of the Polish opposition that is very different from the picture presented by the reactionaries of either Moscow or Washington.

Origins of KOR

The Workers Defense Committee (KOR) had its origins in the strikes of 1976 when thousands struck against food-price in creases and then marched on Communist Party headquarters and burned them to the ground. There are no exact records, but in the repression that followed between 10,000 and 20,000 workers were fired, 2500 were arrested, and 500 were found guilty of more severe crimes and either sent to prison or fined.

Those who came to form KOR had come from a number of resistance movements in Poland. They brought with them various ideologies, but they were primarily from "left and liberal" circles, as Lipski puts it. At the intellectual and political center of this movement was Jacek Kuron, an opponent of the bureaucracy and defender of democratic rights.

Most of KOR's work was of two sorts: relief work, helping the victims of state repression, and publicity, exposing the "lawlessness" of the Polish state.

Above all, KOR, and Solidarnosc in particular, came to be a struggle of the working class against the bureaucracy, a struggle for socialism in a so-called communist society.

On the issue of nationalism, Linski writes, "Nationalist attitudes were rare among the activists of KOR, and where they did occur they were rather moderate. Thus, anti-Russian feelings were rarer than

than an ally for a member of KOR; to a large degree he was almost one of us."

Lipski argues that KOR members were patriotic without being nationalistic; that is they took pride in their country without being chauvinistic. In fact, KOR was imbued with a spirit of internationalism. The intellectuals and workers in KOR and later in Solidarnosc saw themselves as struggling against the "Soviet Empire" together with the people of other "com munist" nations. But they also saw them selves struggling against repression with people around the world and expressed their soldarity with the disappeared in Argentina and Chile.

Lipski—a socialist

Perhaps the most interesting part of Lipski's book deals with worker organ izing, because it was that work which later gave rise to Solidarnosc. And it is fascinating because it so closely parallels

elsewhere. A Russian dissident was more the work of revolutionary socialists of the late 19th and early 20th century. For example, KOR's newspaper Robotnik (The Worker) was named after a similar paper put out by the Polish Socialist Party between 1884 and 1906.

> "Robotnik was meant to be read by workers...to organize workers," writes Lipski. And though the paper was largely concerned with the specific problems of workers, "it was remembered that these interests were and should be broader than just factory, wages, prices, work safety and health conditions and that the worker was also a citizen who wanted to know about issues of concern to the nation, society, and the state, and in the future to influence these matters, to be a participant."

Lipski ends his book by writing, "I would like to add one more word here—socialism, and I would not be alone among the KOR activists in this."

It is clear from Lipski's book that KOR was neither a "bunch of counterrev -



olutionary hoodlums," as is so often claimed by the Polish and Russian Communist parties, nor a group of people fighting to become part of the so-called "Free World," as claimed by Ronald

It was a movement of intellectuals and workers aiming for a genuine democratic socialism. And if the movement has been stopped and forced underground for the moment, it has not been destroyed, and Lipski shows us the great resources of courage and idealism which have allowed it to survive and may one day lead it to prevail.

The complete version of this review first appeared in The Free Press (Jan. 9 1986), a community newspaper published in Chicago. It is reprinted with the permission of the author.



Alice Walker

Controversy shades 'The Color Purple'

By MILLIE GONZALEZ

In last month's issue of Socialist Action, Zakiya Somburu reviewed "The Color Purple," a novel by Alice Walker and a film of the same name by Steven Spielberg. Walker's work has unleashed a great amount of debate and controversy. Reflecting this discussion, we are printing below another view of "The Color Purple."—The Editors

"In me there is a rage to defy the order of the stars despite their pretty patterns" (Alice Walker, "Revolutionary Petunias").

"The Color Purple" by Alice Walker won the Pulitzer Prize in 1982 and was recently made into a movie by Steven Spielberg. Very few films stand up to the richness of the novels which they're based on. "The Color Purple" is no exception to this.

What's good, however, is that perhaps movie-goers will be enticed to enjoy the richness of Walker's novels.

Few Black women artists have generated Color Purple" is only the latest episode in this controversy.

In her review of "The Color Purple" in the March 1986 issue of Socialist Action, Zakiya Somburu joins other critics in the Black and feminist communities who charge that Walker portrays the Black man negatively. "The reasons for this negativity are not made clear," Somburu complains. Other critics charge that Walker wrote the book for a white audience.

Walkers' novels have always gone against the grain in one form or another since her first novel in 1970, "The Third Life of Grange Copeland." The essential theme that recurs in each of her novels is struggle, pain, and rebirth.

In each of her novels, Walker shows how racism is capable of distorting analysis within one's own community. In this manner, the hatred and powerlessness that Grange Copeland feels toward the racist sharecropper system of the South is misdirected in a violent manner toward his own family. In the novel "The Color Purple," the same theme is reiterated and shown in the relationship between Mister and Celie.

Walker's writings involve a complexity of vision focusing on three main themes, racism, sexism, and poverty and how these affect the Black community-her com munity. Her novels are rooted in history. She is able to relate the qualities of her characters' relationships with the larger sweep of history.

And by critizing her community she also takes reponsibility for it. In her latest book, "Black Feminist Criticism," Barbara Christian writes, "Walkers' insistence on locating the motivation for struggle within the self led her to examine the definition of nigger, that oft used word in the literature of the late sixties.

"Her [Walker's] definition is not gene ralized but precise: A nigger is a Black person who believes he or she is incapable of being responsible for his or her actions, who claims that the white folks are to blame for everything, including his or her

So the charge that Black men are portrayed negatively, I believe, is due to the failure of these critics to see the positive rebirth that Walkers' men go through. Until Grange Copeland learns to love and respect himself, only then is he capable of transferring this love to his granddaughter, Ruth Copeland.

Ruth, in turn, learns to love and in the process extends this love and coming into consciousness toward the emerging civil rights movement of the 1960s. Until Mister confronts himself and his past relationship with Celie—and only until then—is he able to respect himself, Celie, and Celie's relationship with Shug and

Walker isn't too different from some of as much controversy as Alice Walker. "The her characters. She, too, comes from a sharecropper's family in the rural south and was active in the civil rights movement. Obtaining a scholarship to Sarah Lawrence College got her on the road to developing her writing.

> Walker writes about what she knows because it has been a part of her. Walker does a very good job in weaving her own experience into the larger picture with clarity and poetry in her writing.

Some readers are critical of the fact that Walkers' novels have positive endings all the time. These readers miss the point. Walker's writings center on a process of unfolding pain and struggle. It is this process of change which is central to the positive transformations that Walkers' characters go through.

One can see a fierce love and commitment in all of Walker's novels. Barbara Christian summed it up best at last springs' women writers' conference at San Francisco State University when she said, "The most important political message in Walker's novels is the insistence on happiness, survival and life."

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A healthy society makes a healthy mind

By STEVE ZIPPIN

I always seemed to get a cold as soon as my last college final exam was over. I could feel my head getting stuffy as I went home. This was my first experience with the link between state of mind and health; as soon as I saw my tasks completed, the stress of the past weeks overwhelmed me.

Hardly a scientific study, but this anecdote does raise the link between stress, emotions, and disease—a growing debate in medicine today.

A June 13, 1985, editorial in The New England Journal of Medicine summed up one side of the question: "It is time to acknowledge that our belief in disease as a direct reflection of mental state is largely folklore."

The editorial appeared in the same issue as an article by Barrie Cassileth and others which found that attitude toward ones' condition had no measureable effect on the progression of advanced cancer.

Altogether, a seemingly neat package; the study and the editorial reaffirm traditional U.S. medical practice. The patient's ailment is treated directly and in isolation from all other factors in the patient's file.

Daniel Goleman reviewed this question in The New York Times (October 22 and 29, 1985) and presented the growing body of medical evidence that links emotional state and disease. A recent study in the British medical journal Lancet is particularly interesting: Women who showed "fighting spirit" had a much better chance of surviving 10 years after breast cancer surgery than those who accepted their condition. All of the women in this study were in an early stage of the disease.

The emotional state of the patients was measured immediately after diagnosis and after surgery. The women were then followed for 10 years. Seventy percent of the women who believed they could beat the disease were alive after 10 years compared to only about 25 percent who felt hopeless or accepted their condition.

Another study cited found that genital herpes sufferers showed lower levels of immune system T-cells and increased outbreaks of the disease when they were depressed. Skin cancer patients showed slower tumor cell division and more immune system lymphocytes to battle the tumor if they were openly angry at their condition compared to those who showed less emotion.

More and more, the patient's mental state is seen as an important part of the treatment of serious illness. Niel Fiore of the University of California, Berkeley, said, "Giving patients some sense of more active participation in treatment seems to have a positive effect on their body's ability to combat disease."

However, most of the focus is on the individual apart from social context. You can improve your chances of beating cancer if you learn to relax and maintain a positive mental attitude. Having a stressful or dangerous

job and worries about family or finances are external and controllable in this approach.

The role of society in providing the conditions for recovery, both medical and psychological is ignored. Life under capitalism, with its carcinogens and stress, is not surprisingly left out of the treatment equation.

Work satisfaction and happiness were found to predict longevity better than any health or physical activity factor," according to a study cited by Cassileth. Unfortunately, work satisfaction is a limited resource under capitalism. Meaningless, demoralizing work abounds.

And the author of the editorial quoted above, Marcia Angell, points out that assigning responsibility for treatment success to the patient comes dangerously close to blaming the victim of the disease if treatment fails.

Healthy people do develop cancer or other serious illnesses and many die from them. The blame belongs to a social system which makes a meaningful existence difficult to attain, not to the victims of that society.

Coal-rich lands spur effort to 'relocate' Dineh nation

By ADAM WOOD

On July 7, 1986, 10,000 to 14,000 Dineh (Navajo) people will be relocated by the National Guard from their traditional homes at Big Mountain Reservation in Arizona. There is no plan for an alternative reservation site, and most of the Dineh people are to be stranded with no urban skills in small towns bordering the reservation.

The Navajo Hopi Relocation Act, passed in 1974, calls for this removal as well as for opening up the coalrich land to Standard Oil and to Peabody Coal for strip mining. The act also provides for encouraging "voluntary removal."

Methods of "encouragement" include poisoning the water supplies, confiscating livestock, and dividing the Dineh sheep-grazing range with wire fences. All of these tactics have been employed at various times by Bureau of Indian Affairs (B.I.A.) officials since the bill was passed.

The relocation act was passed under the pretense of settling disputes between the Dineh and Hopi tribal councils, which were appointed by the Department of the Interior as a result of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act. The Hopi Council's attorney, John Boyden, began suing the Dineh Council for mineral rights to Big Mountain in the late 1960s. Boyden, significantly, was also the attorney for Peabody Coal.

The traditional Hopi leadership has refused to recognize this council and has repeatedly expressed solidarity with the Dineh against relocation.

The U.S. government has been successful so far in keeping its relocation actions from the public eye. Aside from brief "objective" updates on this situation in Time and Newsweek magazines, the only mainstream media coverage devoted to Big Mountain was a recent installment of ABC's "World News Tonight."

In the ABC report, Peter Jennings labeled the American Indian Movement (AIM), which has been assisting in the resistance, "Libyan-trained terrorists." This attempt to link AIM with "global terrorism" ties in with the U.S. government's current slander campaign against revolutionary movements around the world.

The majority of Americans must be alerted to the crimes being committed so close to home. Unfortunately, most of the organized educational activities concerning the relocation have been small. Most organized protest activity has been centered on writing letters to government officials.

This type of action is limited in its effectiveness. Depending on the officials who represent the stripminers-rather than the American people-has allowed the government to pigeon-hole the entire affair and let loose its own jingoistic slogans.

Surely, with such a blatant violation of the Dineh people's democratic, civil, and human rights, the prospects for building an action-oriented coalition with labor and community organizations are quite favorable. These united forces could bring thousands into the streets in solidarity with the Dineh people and severely cripple any government attempts to make an undercover removal. Hopefully, the Dineh leadership will look into these possibilities before time runs out.

By attacking the Dineh people's rights, the government puts everyone's rights into question. The American people cannot afford to ignore the criminal relocation taking place right now. To quote a member of the American Indian Movement, "July 7 is next week."

Our readers speak out

An objection

Dear editor,

Concerning "Ladies Against Women" (Comedy review, March 1986 Socialist Action), opinion is divided. The view can be entertained that the brand of humor is dubious at best and objectionable at worst; but cer- and rally, as your author light-

tainly counterproductive. I, for one, find the appearance in the socialist press of the diddy, "Who me? I'm no queer," to be insulting and objectionable. I've run into too much of this rubbish in everyday life to find it funny in 1986. More is said in jest!

Were LAW to stage a protest appearance at a pro-choice march

mindedly suggests, that would only serve to prove the point the form of humor indulged in is misplaced.

Socialist Action needs all the consciousness raising it can get. not consciousness lowering.

> Maurice Flood, San Francisco

Swabeck

Dear editor,

We have just learned that Arne Swabeck, a long-time leader of American Trotskyism, died in Los Angeles March 13, 1986, of a stroke. He was 95 and had been ill for a number of years.

Swabeck migrated to the United States from Denmark in 1917. After a short stint in the U.S. Army, he joined the Socialist Party. In 1919, he became a founding member of the American Communist Party and in 1929 of the Communist League of America (Trotskyist).

In 1958, he adopted a pro-Maoist position on China and in the mid-sixties he was expelled from the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party for a violation of discipline.

In the early 1930s, he held the post of SWP national secretary and was also editor of the party's newspaper, The Militant.

I will write a more detailed account of his activity for the next issue of Socialist Action.

> Milton Alvin, Los Angeles

Dow Jones

Dear editor.

Many of your readers might ask: What is behind the three-anda-half-year climb in the Dow Jones? Since August 1982, this index of stock prices has more than doubled, rising from a low of 777 to over 1700. On March 11 alone, it jumped 43 points, breaking more records.

Changes in stock prices tend to reflect changes in capitalists' expectations of profits. And profits are inversely related to wages, the one climbing when the other falls. This points us to what is, in fact, the fundamental factor behind the Dow Jones' leap: the decline in production workers' wages in recent years.

The price upswing in the stock market began after the breaking of the PATCO strike. Two-tier wage scales and "givebacks," such as those being resisted today by Hormel and TWA workers, have sharply cut into the wages

of unionized workers. Millions of others are being replaced by unorganized workers who labor at half the wages and less.

Also fueling expectations of higher profits are the conciliatory signals emanating from the workers' states. These include steps toward capitalist restoration in China and the "tilt" toward greater efforts for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism and for implementation of "Hun garian-style reforms" by the new Soviet leadership.

Workers internationally are seeing their wages and standard of living drop. More than ever, the way out calls for workers to join forces internationally. In the face of such working-class unity, capitalist profits—and the stock markets—would finally and irrevocably go "out of sight."

> W.I. Mohareb, New Haven, Conn.

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In our last issue, Socialist Action inadvertently left out two photo credits.

The photo (page 15) of the Plutonium players in "Ladies Against Women" is by Donna Marchand. The photo (page 4) of women marching for abortion rights is by Joe Ryan.—The Editors



TWA flight attendants:

'We are breadwinners'

By DAVID COOPER and MARK **HARRIS**

"A career in the sky is like none on earth." That's the pitch Trans World Airlines is using to lure potential strike breakers for use against its flight atten dants, who have been on strike since March 7. The 6000 striking members of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA), however, know better.

The airline industry is already mired knee deep in employee concessions. But airline newcomer Carl Icahn, the corporate raider who recently took over TWA, wants to go a step further. He is demanding a whopping 45-percent reduction in wages, benefits, and work-rule changes for flight attendants.

Before the strike, flight attendants spent an average of 240 hours a month away from home, and 70 hours in the air. Icahn is demanding changes that would force flight attendants to spend 320 hours away from home, and 83 hours in the air.

All told, management is asking for a minimum of \$88 million out of the flight attendants' pockets.

Flight attendants have been particularly angered by the fact that their union, which is 85 percent women, has been singled out for even more drastic concessions than those imposed on the pilots, mechanics, and other ground personnel.

The reason? Women are not "bread winners," according to Icahn, so they can supposedly afford deeper cuts in their "fluff" money. "We are only in the position of a strike because of the sexist view of Carl Icahn," says Vickie Frankovich, president of the union.

Safety violation

1500 scabs, but in reality less than 700 of these recruits have flown as flight atten dants. The union learned at the strike's



initial flight service as an extra with IFFA members have crossed the line. "experienced cabin crews."

The airline claims to have recruited some ment that new hires must perform their utilize its hired strikebreakers. Only 112

The new-hire strikebreakers must pay The FAA ordered TWA on March 11 to TWA \$2500 for a three-week training outset that TWA was violating a Federal cease violating this regulation, which has course. The scabs, who earn \$1007 a Aviation Administration (FAA) require - put a damper on the airline's ability to month, are also expected to pay \$800 for

uniforms. After these deductions, the strike breakers reportedly were paid a grand total of \$211 for their first two weeks of work. The IFFA reports that about 90 of the newhires have broken ranks with management and joined the strike.

Management has also been using some reservation agents as flight attendants, turn ing their jobs over to prisoners in the California Youth Authority, which has contracted with TWA.

Still, the airline is only operating at about half its normal capacity, despite claims to the contrary. And these flights are only about 30 percent full. One local news program ran film footage showing a full passenger load and full cabin team. This deceptive attempt to portray the "limited impact" of the strike was exposed when members of the crew saw themselves on TV from strike headquarters! What had been shown was a seven-year-old training

Icahn: A white knight?

When TWA, which lost \$193.1 million in 1985, was put on the takeover block last year, the Air Line Pilots Assoication (ALPA) and the Interational Association of Machinists (IAM) actually sought to lure Icahn to TWA with a promise of concessions. Icahn was dubbed a "white knight" by union leaders, who, they hoped, would save the airline from the clutches of Frank Lorenzo, the Texas Air chief with a notorious reputation as the union buster at Continental Airlines.

An IAM adviser had described the union's options during the takeover dealings as "a question of lesser evils." IFFA President Frankovich more accurately described the choice between Lorenzo and Icahn as one of "running from the frying pan into the fire."

Not surprisingly, since taking over TWA Icahn has turned up the heat, threatening to close or break up TWA if he doesn't get what he wants. He claims he can't operate without the demanded concessions, despite the fact that TWA has somehow found \$250 million with which to buy Ozark

The pilots union, as part of its deal with Icahn, agreed in January to wage- and workrule concessions totaling 26 percent for the airline's 5000 pilots. ALPA also agreed to a no-strike pledge, and has continued to work during the strike. The IAM has also (continued on page 6)



By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

Violence increased sharply in South Africa last month despite President P.W. Botha's show of rolling back his "state of emergency." Government statistics admit rule. that, on an average, three to four people die each day in politically related incidents. Most of the more than 300 people killed since the beginning of the year died in unprovoked police attacks.

liberation struggle. On March 21, demon strations took place throughout the country to commemorate the anniversaries of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre and last year's

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Blacks in S. Africa unite against terror the government administration boards. Instead, the comrades collect fees, conscript troops for their campaigns, decide when

obs. The cities of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage were left practically deserted. The alliance of the left," Cooper said. one-day general strike was the first largescale political action called by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), a non-racial federation formed at the end of last year.

In Langa, about 50,000 joined a memorial rally at a sports stadium. In Johannesburg and Durban, Black demon strators braved police attacks as they marched into the white city centers. Young people sang and danced the "toyi-toyi," a war dance symbolizing resistance to white

Speakers at the commemorative events struggle. Curnick Ndlovu, chairman of the United Democratic Front (UDF), told the Langa rally, "The apartheid system is and Duncan Village (in the Eastern Cape). But repression has only fueled the trying to keep us divided and quarrelsome not the Pretoria regime."

police massacre in Langa township, near a coalition that includes community, filled the vacuum of public administration

Capetown, that killed 29 funeral marchers. socialist, and Black Consciousness-oriented About 600,000 Black workers in the groups—invited the UDF to a congress in Eastern Cape region marked the an - Durban to coordinate the campaign against deemed to be assisting the white admin niversaries by staying away from their the government. "The time has come for all istration." resistance groups to seriously consider an

The March 21 commemorations were a prototype of the coordinated national ac tions that anti-apartheid leaders hope will soon become more commonplace. As we go to press, anti-apartheid leaders are meeting to determine whether to resume their mass boycott of white businesses in the Eastern Cape. A nationwide consumer boycott may also be in the offing.

While they expand their ability to orchestrate events throughout the country, anti-apartheid leaders also hope to tighten their organizations in areas where they have control. Networks of street committees emphasized the need for unity in the have already been formed in key Black townships such as Alexandra (outside Johannesburg), Mamelodi (near Pretoria),

The Wall Street Journal likens the street so that we end up fighting each other and committees to "Bolshevik block committees before the Russian Revolution." Earlier in the month, Saths Coop - These units, staffed mainly by young er—who is a leader of the National Forum, people known as "the comrades," have

left after the former municipal councilors fled.

The London Observer reports that in Alexandra: "Residents no longer pay rent to the government administration boards. strikes and boycotts should be called, take over the funerals of unrest victims-turn ing them into political rallies—and set up people's courts to try and punish anyone

What is the ultimate goal?" The Observer asked. A young committee member pointed to the industrial buildings on the outskirts of Johannesburg: "When we have conscientized them all, then at a word from us we can stop all these factories with a strike or cripple the shops with a consumer boycott. That is how the struggle is going to be fought."

