

U.S. seeks to topple Panama's government

BY ERNEST HARSCH

As part of its campaign of destabilization against the government of Panama, Washington has suspended all economic and military aid to that country.

The suspension was not formally announced, but administration officials revealed the cut-off to the *Washington Post*, which reported it July 23. According to these officials, the aid was halted in early July. Washington had previously pledged to provide Panama this year with \$6 million in military assistance and \$20 million in economic aid.

The same issue of the *Washington Post* reported other aspects of the U.S. drive to bring down the Panamanian government of Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega. "Informed sources said U.S. contingency planning has begun for facilitating the departure of Noriega," the *Post* reported, "including the question of where he might go into exile."

At least four meetings of a U.S. government "restricted interagency group" have been held in recent weeks to discuss U.S. options in Panama.

Conflict over canal

Washington's hostility toward Noriega stems from his government's declared aim of abiding by the 1977 Panama Canal treaties.

Those treaties stipulate that Washington will restore the Canal Zone to Panamanian sovereignty at the end of 1999. But some U.S. officials have raised the possibility of finding a way to renege on the treaties.

The canal itself is of strategic value to Washington. In addition, the Canal Zone serves as the headquarters of the U.S. Southern Command, the Pentagon's nerve center for directing the contra war against Nicaragua and the activities of all U.S. military forces throughout Central America.

The July 12 issue of the Panama City daily *La República* noted that the U.S. Congress passed a bill in 1979 seeking to maintain U.S. troops and bases in the Canal Zone after the zone is supposed to revert to Panamanian sovereignty. Noriega, however, has vowed that no U.S. troops will be allowed to remain after that date.

As a result, *La República* commented, "the U.S. State Department and the Pentagon initiated a gradual strategy to attain their goals; in other words, to find Panamanian allies willing to accept the Yankee imperialist intentions in Panama."

Rightist attacks

With open U.S. encouragement, rightist forces in Panama launched a campaign of demonstrations, strikes, and civil disobedience in early June. These subsided for a while, but resumed on July 27 — just a few days after the revelation of the U.S. aid cut-off — with a two-day protest strike.

The campaign for Noriega's ouster has been organized by an opposition coalition led by business organizations, capitalist political parties, and professional associations. It also includes some unions, such as that of the bank employees.

Besides street protests, there have also been some physical provocations. On July 10 a homemade bomb was thrown at the Nicaraguan embassy, causing some damage. The Nicaraguan government, among others, has condemned the U.S. campaign against Panama.

Opposition figures have openly appealed
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Haitian peasants slain by landlord's thugs

BY ART YOUNG

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — At least 100 poor peasants were massacred July 24 by armed thugs working for landlords in northwest Haiti. Some reports put the number slaughtered at 400.

The thugs ambushed the peasants in the mountains using machetes, pikes, and firearms. They then murdered the wounded. Arriving later at the town of Jean Rabel they tried to finish off the 54 survivors being treated there. An army guard at the hospital entrance prevented them from succeeding.

The Jean Rabel area has been the scene of sharp conflict between landless peasants and rich landlords ever since the overthrow of dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier in February 1986. Peasants have seized land and held it, defying violence by the landlords, including the murder of a number of peasants last year.

The massacred peasants belonged to the Jean Rabel United Association, which has 10,000 members in the area. It fights for land reform and other peasant demands.

Peasants in other parts of the country have also been seizing land, often reclaiming property that was stolen from them under the dictatorship.

Some 700-800 poor farmers were on a visit to show their solidarity with other peasants whose homes had been burned down by the landlords in an earlier attempt to intimidate the movement. They fell into

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Haitian peasants. Estimates of number of peasants slaughtered on July 24 in Jean Rabel area run as high as 400. Those killed were fighters for land reform and other demands in the interests of Haiti's impoverished small peasants.

Land decree debated in Philippines

BY FRED FELDMAN

An estimated 2,000 Filipino peasants marched to the presidential palace in Manila July 24 to denounce a new decree on land reform. They protested that the decree, issued July 22 by Philippine President Corazon Aquino, fails to meet their demands for thoroughgoing redistribution of the land.

Participants wore T-shirts proclaiming, "Farms, not arms," and warned against attempts to dispossess peasants who have occupied at least 50,000 acres of land.

At the Mendiola bridge, near the gates of Malacanang Palace, the peasants were blocked by truncheon-wielding police and barbed-wire barricades. Mendiola is where troops fired on a march by thousands of unarmed peasants January 22, killing 19.

The January march protested the refusal of Aquino to meet with their leaders about land reform.

Seventy percent of the people who live in the Philippines, an island archipelago with a population of 58 million people, are peasants. More than 70 percent of the rural population live in grinding poverty.

Many peasants work tiny plots of land as tenants, paying exorbitant rents or shares of the crop to the landlords. The average size of peasant plots has dropped at least 16 percent since 1971.

But millions of working people — more than 30 percent of the agricultural population, according to official figures — have been stripped of all land by the spread of sugar, coconut, and other plantations owned by big landlords or corporations. Many can find work only a few months a year as farm laborers at starvation wages. Without even a tiny plot on which to grow food, they and their families are ravaged by malnutrition and disease.

Tenants and farm laborers form the base of the New People's Army, the rebel movement now reported to number more than 20,000 troops and to have strong support in thousands of rural villages and urban barrios.

Under the land measure decreed by former dictator Ferdinand Marcos in 1972, corn and rice fields were to be distributed to tenants.

The law made no provision for providing needed land to the millions of farm laborers.

In fact, this land reform program was barely begun. About 93 percent of the

peasants supposed to get land under the measure have not yet received any.

Now the government asserts that the 1972 decree is to be fully implemented and the big sugar, coconut, and other plantations will also be subject to redistribution.

Aquino's decree sets aside \$2.5 billion to implement the program. The bulk is to be spent to compensate landlords at "fair market value" for the land. The peasants who have been working the land, on the other hand, will be required to pay the government at 6 percent interest for more than 30 years.

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Haiti: army murders protesters

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — Army troops suddenly opened fire on a peaceful demonstration here July 29, killing at least nine people and wounding an unknown number. In response, the Committee of 57, one of the march sponsors, called for a re-

In its next several issues, the Militant will carry firsthand coverage of developments in Haiti from reporters Harvey McArthur and Art Young.

newed general strike to begin the next day and to continue "until further notice" to demand the ouster of the ruling military junta.

The demonstration of 3,000 began in the Belair residential neighborhood and slowly wound its way downtown for a rally against the government.

March organizers had previously issued

an open letter to the police, informing them of plans for the demonstration. Army jeeps and pickups full of heavily armed troops drove up to the crowd several times during the first hour of the march, but there were no incidents then.

Trouble began when the demonstrators reached the downtown phone company building, where a squad of soldiers and policemen were stationed. The building, like most shops here today, was closed and shuttered.

This reporter was walking with the lead marchers when they passed the soldiers. They sang antijunta and anti-army songs, but did not attempt to physically harass or attack the soldiers.

Several marchers tried to walk along the sidewalk in front of the phone company and were roughly pushed away by one soldier. Seconds later, the same soldier leaped out between two parked cars, pointing his automatic rifle at some young protesters. The youth scattered, but the soldier turned
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LTV contract hits steelworkers, retirees

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

CHICAGO — Not content with the \$3.60-an-hour wage and benefit concessions forced through during the 1986 contract negotiations, LTV Corp., with the help of the banks, the courts, and the government, is demanding a new round of takebacks.

Only three months after that contract was ratified, LTV filed for reorganization under Chapter 11 of the federal bankruptcy law. That was followed by the announcement that retirees' health and life insurance benefits were canceled.

After walkouts by steelworkers at LTV's Indiana Harbor, Indiana, plant and protests by retirees around the country, the benefits were restored.

Last September, the company announced that the 1986 contract had been torn up and that new concessions were necessary.

On Jan. 13, 1987, after LTV had refused to meet its pension payments to the retirees, the Pension Benefit Guarantee Corp. (PBGC), a U.S. government pension fund bailout agency, took over the obligations.

As a result of this transfer, retirees had their \$400-a-month supplemental benefit payment cut off.

Negotiations between the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and LTV have been closely monitored by a bankruptcy judge and the PBGC.

In May and again in mid-June, a tentative agreement was rejected by USWA local presidents.

A third proposal, however, was approved by local presidents at the end of June and is being put to a vote of the membership. The results of the vote will be announced in early August.

It calls for eliminating 500 workers from the company payroll and for new job combinations. It will force retirees to pay \$28 a month to maintain their medical insurance.

Pension benefits will be reinstated but at a rate 25 percent below what they were when the bankruptcy proceedings were initiated. The PBGC opposed this in bankruptcy court, saying it was too generous.

Two meetings to discuss the contract were held in this area July 15.

There are 5,000 active LTV steelworkers and 5,000 retirees in the Chicago-Gary area, but only 350 showed up for the meetings. Those who did come spent the majority of the meeting shouting and jeering at the USWA officials on the stage.

When District 31 Director Jack Parton stated that he backed the proposed settlement, workers shouted, "Who do you work for, the company or the union?"

When Parton and Jim Smith, an assistant to USWA President Lynn Williams, said a contract rejection would lead to a strike, workers hollered, "Shut them down," "We've given enough," and "How do we know they won't tear up this agreement in a few months?"

Nelson González is a member of USWA Local 3387 in Chicago.



Walkouts at Indiana Harbor, Indiana, plant and protests by retirees around country greeted LTV's attempt to slash retirement benefits. Now LTV steelworkers are voting on another takeback contract.

Land decree debated in Philippines

Continued from front page

Aquino described the decree as also laying the basis for providing credit to the new titleholders.

She also promised that Hacienda Luisita, the 15,000-acre plantation owned by her family, will be included in the land distribution program. The plantation's 3,000 field workers are paid only \$1.85 per day — during the months when they have steady work.

Many peasants are particularly angry that Aquino left it to the newly elected congress to determine such decisive questions as the timetable of the reform and the maximum legal landholdings.

Many had voiced hope that Aquino would use her power to rule by decree to implement a land reform program before the congress — which is monopolized by representatives of the landlords and capitalists — opened July 27. Aquino warned, however, that a land reform program might still be implemented by decree if the congress deadlocked on the measure.

The Philippine ruling class has been divided over the land issue.

The main points of the present decree were first made public February 8 — coinciding with the end of the 60-day cease-fire the government had signed with the National Democratic Front (NDF), the political coalition backing the New People's Army (NPA). The NDF refused to renew the cease-fire, after military and other rightist attacks on workers and peasants, culminating in the Mendiola massacre.

Since then, the government has sought to take the offensive against the NPA, but has made little headway. "The Philippine military has remained incapable of deliver-

ing a decisive blow against the guerrillas, or even scoring a significant battlefield victory," reported the June 6 *Washington Post*. As a result, pressure has increased for moves to placate the land hunger of at least some peasants in order to undermine support for the guerrillas.

Sections of the landlords are mobilizing to combat Aquino's reform proposal. Some have threatened to use their private militias to resist peasant efforts to enforce

any new law. One group of landlords signed in blood a pledge to fight the decree.

In addition, the military has been forging a network of ultraright vigilante gangs to terrorize alleged supporters of the NPA in the villages and urban barrios. The formation of such paramilitary gangs got the endorsement of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz during a June 16 visit to Manila.

U.S. targets gov't of Panama

Continued from front page

to sectors of the Panamanian officer corps to overthrow Noriega. Eduardo Vallarino, chairman of the National Caucus of Private Enterprise, claimed in a column in the July 10 *Wall Street Journal*, "On occasions, we receive unverifiable messages supposedly from members of the military establishment, asking us to keep the pressure up until they can 'do their thing.'"

On July 27 Panamanian troops stormed the home of retired Col. Roberto Díaz Herrera, the former military chief of staff, who has played a key role in the rightist campaign. Following a firefight, they arrested him and a number of his armed followers.

'No to Yankee intervention!'

Opponents of this U.S.-backed drive have likewise been mobilizing. Thousands have demonstrated outside the U.S. embassy to protest Washington's intervention.

On July 8, some 15,000 trade unionists and others marched through Panama City. Supporting the action were 100 trade unions, peasant organizations, student associations, and other groups, including the 150,000-member National Council of Organized Workers (CONATO), Panama's largest union federation.

The protesters condemned the "political crisis in which the United States has a hand" and accused Washington of seeking to maintain a military presence in Panama after 1999.

A few days earlier, this same coalition issued a communiqué demanding the expulsion of U.S. Ambassador Arthur Davis, the suspension of all foreign debt payments and IMF-imposed austerity measures, the withdrawal of the U.S. Southern Command from the Canal Zone, and an end to joint U.S.-Panamanian military maneuvers.

"No to Yankee intervention in Panama!" the communiqué proclaimed.

Meeting to mark life of Julius Snipper

CLEVELAND — Julius Snipper, a longtime member of the Socialist Workers Party, died here July 25 of heart failure. He was 46.

A native of Los Angeles, he joined the SWP there in 1964 and was later active in several other cities.

He worked as a printer for many years, and more recently as a factory worker. At the time of his death he was a member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 105 in Toledo, from where he had just moved.

A meeting celebrating his life is scheduled to be held Sunday, August 2 at 4 p.m. at the SWP headquarters, 2521 Market Ave., Cleveland. For further information, phone (216) 861-6150.

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The *Militant* is written in the interests of workers and farmers. Every week it tells the truth about the war Washington and the employers are waging against working people at home and abroad. We provide first-hand coverage of events in other countries, such as Cuba, Burkina Faso, and the Philippines. In addition, regular on-the-scene reports come from our Nicaragua Bureau.

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Meeting backs antiwar sergeant

Cobos asks for conscientious objector discharge

OMAHA, Neb. — More than 100 people attended a meeting held here July 8 to support U.S. Air Force Sgt. Daniel Cobos. Cobos, a four-year veteran, is asking to be discharged from the air force as a conscientious objector. His action stems from opposition to operations aiding the contra war against Nicaragua. These were carried out at Offutt Air Force Base, a few miles south of here, where Cobos is stationed. He has asked to testify before a congressional committee about this.

A banner stretching across the front of the meeting room declared, "Support Sgt. Cobos — End the U.S. war on Nicaragua."

Antonio, a Salvadoran refugee, described how people like himself are forced to flee their homeland to escape government-sponsored violence. Other speakers

were Native American activist Anne Begay, Nebraskans for Peace coordinator Michael Carter, and a representative of the Omaha Anti-apartheid Coalition. Buddy Hogan, president of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, sent a telegram of support.

Offutt Air Force Base is the headquarters of the Strategic Air Command (SAC).

Cobos, a Chicano who is fluent in Spanish, was assigned to be a cryptologic linguist. There are indications that the SAC has regularly carried out spy flights over Nicaragua, and has required personnel like Cobos to translate information including Sandinista troop communications, which then appears to have been passed on illeg-

ally to the contras.

In November 1986 Cobos went to Citizen Soldier, a group that defends the rights of GIs and veterans, and asked for help in leaving the air force as a conscientious objector. Attorneys Todd Ensign and Luis Font are assisting him. They are also calling for congressional investigation of the military operations in Central America that are organized out of Offutt.

Pending a congressional hearing, Cobos has declined to answer specific questions about air force involvement in the war against Nicaragua. Cobos, along with Ensign and Font, spoke at the July 8 meeting.

More than \$3,000 was raised toward Cobos' legal expenses at the meeting.

Cobos, who was chosen as "Soldier of the Quarter" at Offutt last year, explained his stand at a news conference the next day. "I am a Mexican-American, and my descent has played a role in my thinking about what I was doing."

Cobos described becoming friends with Salvadoran refugees here. "When someone pulls off their shirt and shows you a chest covered with scars and tells you that a government or an organization that we're supporting was responsible for that, you can't walk away from that and not be changed. You can't run from that. I tried my best and I just couldn't do it."

Cobos said that he had also been moved by the poverty and oppression that he saw when he was stationed in Panama.

Cobos said that some of his colleagues at the base have expressed admiration for the stand he is taking and support for his rights. Others will not talk to him.

Military officials at Offutt have opened



Militant/Diane Shur

Air Force Sgt. Daniel Cobos opposes illegal spying for contras.

an "investigation" of Cobos. Other personnel at the base have been interviewed and some were told that Cobos was guilty of espionage and insubordination. Cobos' brother, who is also in the air force, was told that his future in the air force would be jeopardized by his brother's actions.

Two active duty, uniformed air force "reporters" videotaped the news conference.

After the July 8 rally, Cobos told the *Militant* about a conversation he had with a supporter who said it was odd that someone had to seek conscientious objector status in peacetime.

"I explained to her that it isn't peacetime," Cobos said. "There is a real war going on against the people of Nicaragua, and the United States is in that war."

Ben Linder's brother condemns death squad attack in L.A.

BY FRED FELDMAN

During his tour of Los Angeles, John Linder strongly denounced the recent kidnappings in the city of two Central American women, one of whom was brutally raped and tortured, and the death threats against many other opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America.

Among those boasting of responsibility for these crimes is the "Escuadrones de la Muerte," the death squads of El Salvador. The Salvadoran death squads have close ties to the Salvadoran military and other government figures.

Linder spoke to 600 people at a meeting at St. Augustine's by the Sea Church, sponsored by the Office of the Americas.

"The death squads in El Salvador are financed by the U.S. government," he said, comparing them to the contras who murdered his brother. "The war comes home to us. These attacks are aimed at all of us, and with unity we can beat these death squads."

Ben Linder, John's brother, was murdered in April by the U.S.-organized contras while he was helping to build power plants to provide electricity and running water to the peasant villages of northern Nicaragua.

Mercedes Salgado, a Salvadoran activist, told the meeting that dozens of people from Central America have taken refuge in safe houses to avoid being victimized by the death squads. "We feel like we are in San Salvador," she said. "They want to isolate the El Salvadoran community, to make us think that we're alone. But that's not true."

She urged participation in protests demanding that the U.S. government put a stop to the activities of the death squads.

Tamoras Santiago, one of nine high school students who had just returned from a trip to Nicaragua, also spoke. "We are not going to fight Nicaragua! We will march, demonstrate, do whatever we can," she said.

The meeting was chaired by actor and unionist Ed Asner. Commenting on what he called the "farce" of the recent congressional hearings on the Iran-contra arms deals, Asner charged, "Not one senator or congressman has had the guts to respond to the contra murders."

"Ben Linder would not like to be considered a hero," Asner said. "He was just like the thousands of others who have helped. People are just taking control over their own lives — that's what Ben Linder believed the Nicaraguan revolution was all about."

400 in Portland

"Ben Linder didn't die while he was building a hydropower generator. He died because he was building a hydropower generator," declared David Linder, father of the murdered volunteer worker. He was speaking to 400 people who had gathered at Lewis and Clark College in Portland July 18 to celebrate the eighth anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution.

Linder pointed out that the contras have targeted projects that better the lives of the Nicaraguan people.

At the meeting, plans for a Ben Linder

Construction Brigade were announced. The brigade is sponsored by the Portland-Corinto Sister Cities Association, which sponsored the anniversary celebration along with 11 other groups.

John Olmsted, an organizer of the brigade who recently returned from Nicaragua, said that the brigade would go to Corinto this fall to rebuild a hospital and health clinic. "You don't have to have a lot of money or be a skilled worker. All you have to do is have the desire to become part of the tremendous history they are making in Nicaragua."

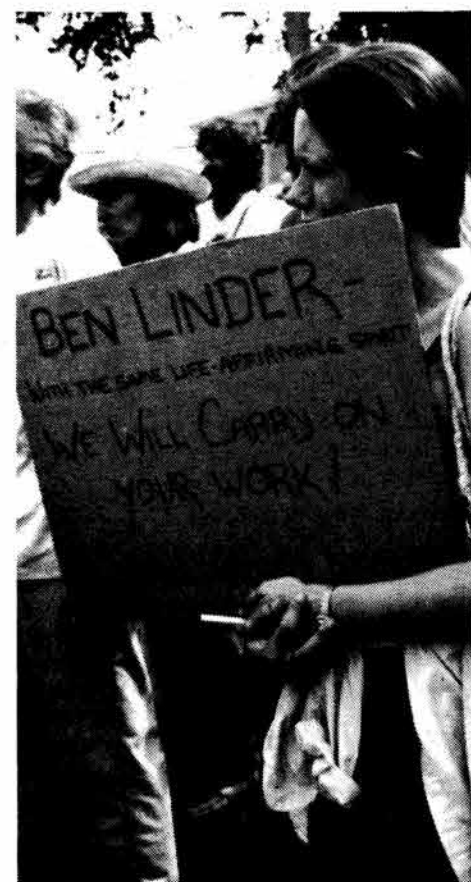
The audience responded by chanting in Spanish, "Ben Linder presente, presente, presente. (Ben Linder is with us.)"

On July 22 Elisabeth Linder, Ben Linder's mother, spoke at a rally in New Paltz, New York, sponsored by the Nicaraguan Support Project.

More than 200 people attended, contributing more than \$1,400 to the Ben Linder Memorial Fund, which is financing the completion of the hydroelectric plant and related projects that Ben Linder was working on in Nicaragua. More than \$500 was donated to the Nicaraguan Support Project's Ben Linder Scholarship Fund, which seeks to enable individuals from the United States to work and study in Nicaragua.

The Benjamin Linder Peace Tour, which is organizing Linder's family and coworkers to speak around the country, can be contacted at 2025 I Street NW, Suite 208A, Washington, D.C. 20006, (202) 331-7675.

This article is based on reporting by Andrés Pérez, Lisa Hickler, Gail Cohen, and Sam Chetta.



Militant/Roberto Kopec

Protest demonstration at U.S. embassy in Managua over murder of Ben Linder by contras.

Getting 'Militant' out around world will be theme of socialist rally

BY HARRY RING

A highlight of this year's Socialist Educational and Active Workers Conference in Oberlin, Ohio, will be a rally aimed at advancing the role of the *Militant* internationally, along with the work of Pathfinder, whose books and pamphlets are gaining increasing circulation in many countries.

Pathfinder is also the international distributor for *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory, and *Nouvelle Internationale*, its French-language counterpart. The promotion and use of both magazines will be a theme of the rally.

Another aspect of the rally will be the role of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language socialist monthly published in New York.

The conference, sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, will be held August 8-13. The rally, which will wind up the conference, will be held Thursday evening, August 13.

The featured speaker at the rally will be Malik Miah, circulation director of the *Militant* and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party. He will be joined on the platform by speakers from various countries where the *Militant* and Pathfinder publications are being increasingly used to advance struggles for national liberation and socialism.

Since it first started publishing nearly 60 years ago, an internationalist outlook has been key to the politics of the *Militant*.

With its analysis of developments in the labor movement in the United States and its firsthand reporting on struggles in many countries, the *Militant* has been gaining new readers in more and more parts of the world.

Embattled British coal miners, for example, who see the relevance of labor struggles in the United States to their own fight, have subscribed to the *Militant*. New readers have been signed up in the Caribbean, Australia, New Zealand, Iceland, and Canada.

Since the downfall of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines, there has been keen interest in publications of Pathfinder in that country, particularly the speeches of Cuban leader Fidel Castro and of Nicaragua's Sandinistas. Pathfinder/Pacific and

Asia, which is based in Sydney, Australia, has organized several book launchings of Pathfinder titles in the Philippines.

Pathfinder/London, has enjoyed notable success in promoting and selling copies of Pathfinder's *Fidel Castro: Nothing Can Stop the Course of History* throughout Britain and Ireland. Pathfinder in London and Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia also distribute the *Militant*.

Moreover, Pathfinder was able to participate in two important book festivals this summer — the First Caribbean Peoples International Bookfair and Bookfair Festival, sponsored by the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union in Trinidad and Tobago, and Nicaragua's First International Book Fair held in Managua.

The prospects and means for advancing these and many other international gains will be the theme of the publications rally.

The Oberlin conference will also feature an analysis of recent major political developments in Cuba by Mary-Alice Waters, an SWP leader who has made several recent visits to Havana as a correspondent for the *Militant*.

Waters' presentation will be followed by one by Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, on the dynamics of the world revolution and some of the implications of the Cuban developments on this process.

Another of the major presentations will be on "Land and Labor in the Philippines: the Challenges to Building a Communist Leadership."

There will also be talks by SWP leader Mac Warren on "Labor at the Crossroads" and by SWP National Organizational Secretary Craig Gannon, on "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party." The latter presentation will focus on the organizational challenges, achievements, and perspectives of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States today.

The conference will also include many classes on a wide range of topics, meetings of unionists, workshops, and panels.

There will also be a wide variety of entertainment and recreational activities.

If you are interested in attending the Socialist Educational and Active Workers Conference contact the branch of the Socialist Workers Party nearest you. (See directory on page 20.)

Leader of cannery fight addresses Calif. rights rally

BY FRED FELDMAN

The Political Rights Defense Fund hosted a public meeting July 11 at the headquarters of one of its most recent endorsers in San Jose, California — the Santa Clara County AFL-CIO Central Labor Council.

Since it was founded in 1973, the PRDF has helped raise funds for and publicized the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI and other government police agencies.

Since last August, when a federal judge ruled that the government's spying on and disruption of the socialists had been illegal, the PRDF has been backing the effort to gain an injunction barring the government from making any use of illegally obtained files.

The speakers, who described their support for the suit, also discussed struggles for democratic rights they are involved in.

Carlos Hernandez, a young leader of the 18-month strike by cannery workers in Watsonville, explained how they beat back a company drive to destroy Teamsters Local 912. Hernandez described the establishment of the Legal Defense Committee Watsonville 1000, which is helping defend several workers facing strike-related charges.

Jack Burrows, a teacher at San Jose State Community College, described the free speech fight taking place there. Right-wing Vietnamese exiles had threatened to shut down graduation ceremonies if Tom Hayden, a state assemblyman who was active in the anti-Vietnam War movement, spoke.

The college administration and city government responded by canceling Hayden's

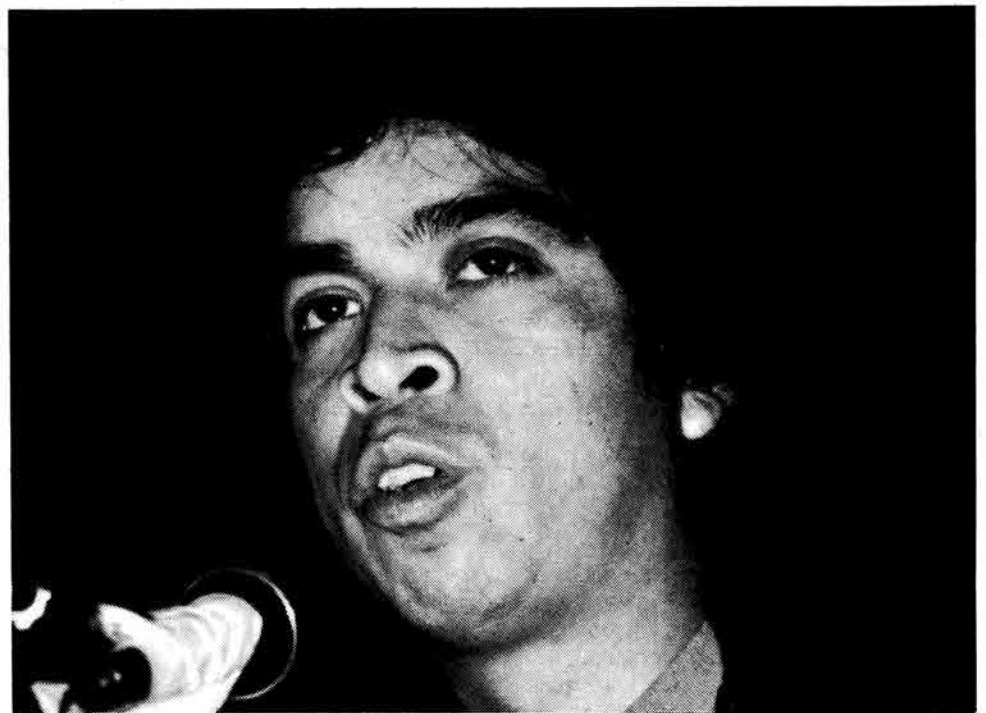
appearance. Hayden made an appearance at the ceremonies anyway, and Burrows said that an effort is under way to invite him in September, to reaffirm the right of free speech at the college.

David Wald, a leader of tecNICA, a group providing skilled volunteer workers for Nicaragua, denounced the FBI's efforts to question 15 volunteers associated with his organization as a way of discouraging travel to and help for Nicaragua. The 15, he said, refused to submit to interrogation.

Debby Tarnapol, another tecNICA activist, denounced the proposal adopted by the U.S. House of Representatives to restrict travel to Nicaragua.

At the rally in Greensboro, North Carolina, June 11, Ervin Brisbon, president of the Greensboro Residential Council, blasted the FBI's attacks on the struggle for Black rights.

He cited the case of five participants in a 1979 antiracist demonstration who were murdered by a gang of Klan and Nazi party members. The rightist gang had been infiltrated by the cops, who didn't lift a finger to stop the massacre.



Militant/Holbrook Mahn
Teamster Carlos Hernandez told San Jose rally about defense efforts for unionists facing charges stemming from victorious Watsonville frozen food strike.

"Ollie North isn't a hero," Brisbon said of the hearings on the Iran-contra scandal. "A hero is someone fighting in Nicaragua against the most evil and backward country in the world — the United States."

Another speaker was Larry Morse, a professor at Agricultural and Technical State University. Morse is cochair of the Greensboro Coalition for Unity and Justice, which organized a June 6 march here

against the Ku Klux Klan.

"It's irrelevant whether I believe in the ideas of the SWP," declared W.W. Fintator, who is a former member of the national board of the American Civil Liberties Union. "I'm here in this year of celebration of the Constitution to uphold the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and to defend them [the SWP] — their right to pursue their cause and to win others to it."

NOW activists sponsor rights lawsuit

BY PRISCILLA SCHENK

PHILADELPHIA — The Political Rights Defense Fund won 61 new supporters at the National Organization for Women (NOW) convention July 17-20.

Along with the federal court decision in the lawsuit, PRDF supporters at the convention also distributed a statement by Lois Galgay Reckitt, NOW's outgoing execu-

tive vice-president. Galgay Reckitt, a longtime PRDF supporter, applauded the "courage and tenacity" of the SWP in "their suit to stop government spying — a suit waged for all of us who believe in the fundamental right of citizens to peaceful political protest."

Joining Galgay Reckitt and NOW's new executive vice-president, Patricia Ireland, as a PRDF sponsor was Sheri O'Dell, newly elected action vice-president.

Elizabeth Volz, a high school student from Glassboro, New Jersey, signed a sponsor card. She described the experience she and other students at her school had when they organized a protest against a visit by President Ronald Reagan. FBI agents began tailing her and threatened her and her classmates.

Among other sponsors were NOW leaders Brenda Adrian, Vermont state coordinator; Debra Anderson, vice-president in Bennington, Vermont; Mindy McNichols, a vice-president in Dade County, Florida;

Judith Bauman, Portland state representative; and Yancey MacIver, Corvallis, Oregon, chapter president.

NOW members active in other organizations as well also joined as PRDF sponsors. They include Lynn Thorp, Pledge of Resistance, in Washington, D.C.; Cynthia Johnson, Women Strike for Peace; Karen O'Donnell, Waltham, Massachusetts, Coalition of Labor Union Women; Mary Rivera, Women of Color Caucus and New Alliance Party, in the Bronx, New York; Beth Rudin, Northampton, Massachusetts, Traprock Peace Center; Faith Robinson, Detroit Communications Workers of America; and Terry Wright, National Lawyers Guild.

Several PRDF supporters introduced a resolution calling on NOW to "add its name to the growing list of endorsers of the Political Rights Defense Fund." The statement was approved by an issues hearing. It will now be taken up by NOW's executive board for its discussion and action.

New sponsors contributed \$50 to the PRDF at the convention.

Political Rights Defense Fund \$90,000 Fund Scoreboard

(as of July 29, 1987)

Region	Goal	Received	%	Region	Goal	Received	%
Pennsylvania	2,200	2,959	135	Oregon	1,200	910	76
Texas	3,500	4,611	132	Northern California	7,000	5,208	74
Wisconsin	1,200	1,360	113	Alabama	1,200	859	72
Washington state	2,000	2,148	107	Minnesota-N. Dakota	2,750	1,846	67
Iowa	750	791	106	Utah	1,950	1,278	66
Illinois-Indiana	2,500	2,402	96	Georgia	1,500	969	65
New Jersey	5,000	4,786	96	N. Carolina	1,000	517	52
Southern California	11,200	10,760	96	Mid-Atlantic	3,025	1,453	48
Florida	1,020	892	88	Arizona-New Mex.	1,010	377	37
New York	9,100	7,944	87	Louisiana	1,000	368	37
Ohio	2,810	2,371	84	Colorado	1,200	430	36
Michigan	2,000	1,533	77	Nebraska-S. Dakota	750	196	26
Missouri-Kansas	3,550	2,748	77	New England	3,020	755	25
W. Virginia-Kentucky	2,200	1,692	77	Other	15,000	10,961	73
				Total	90,635	73,124	81

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

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- ☐ Enclosed is my tax-deductible contribution of: \$500 _____ \$100 _____ \$10 _____ other \$ _____
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- ☐ Send me _____ copies of the federal judge's decision against FBI spying and harassment (\$1 each).
- ☐ Send me _____ copies of an 8-page tabloid containing the Justice Department's attack on the decision. Reprints government agencies' statements claiming "right" to spy.

Send to: Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003

Minn. Indians force tribal officials to call convention

BY RAMONA OLSON

CASS LAKE, Minn. — Members of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribes won a victory here June 22 when tribal officials agreed to call a constitutional convention within 18 months. The Tribal Executive Committee (TEC) was forced to drop a proposed amendment to the tribal constitution that would have given sole power on the six Chippewa reservations to itself. The TEC is made up of two members from each of the six Minnesota Chippewa reservations. Tribal members also won the right to hold primary elections as part of the electoral process on the reservations.

Some 300 tribal members and supporters from all of the reservations and the Twin Cities attended the June 22 meeting where this was decided. Even holding this meeting was a victory, because up to now the tribal officials had allowed no discussion on the proposed amendment. Tribal members, led by Anishinabe Akeeng (The Peoples' Land, the organization of White Earth band members who led the fight against the White Earth Land Settlement Act last year) had attempted to discuss the proposed amendment with the TEC for several months without success.

At the June 22 meeting, tribal members

attempted to have Darrell "Chip" Wadena removed as president of the TEC and chairman of the White Earth Tribal Council for his support of the 1986 passage of the land settlement act.

This act is an attempt by the U.S. government to legalize the theft of most of the White Earth Reservation. Currently, only 6 percent of the reservation is in Indian hands. The remaining 94 percent has been removed from Indian control through various illegal means over the past century and is in the hands of federal, state, and county governments, as well as other non-Indian landholders, such as farmers and resort owners.

During the five-year fight of White Earth residents and supporters against this act, the tribal council, led by Wadena, first supported the act and then opposed it under pressure from tribal members. Then they reversed their position again; Wadena sent a letter to Minnesota Congressman Bruce Vento expressing full support and encouragement for the passage of the bill.

Attempts at the June 22 meeting to remove Wadena were squashed when the TEC adjourned the meeting after a limited amount of discussion, saying it could not discuss the charges because it had never heard of them before.

U.S. paid British commandos to hit Managua

1985 terrorist raid was supposed to be passed off as contra action

BY HARRY RING

On the night of March 6, 1985, explosions rocked an ammunition dump and military base in downtown Managua, capital of Nicaragua. Fire broke out in an adjoining military hospital, forcing its evacuation.

Among the hospital's patients were wounded Nicaraguan soldiers and some civilians, including women and infants in a maternity ward.

One U.S. reporter said he saw several patients and a doctor limping out of or being carried from the hospital. He said they suffered burns and cuts from flying glass.

It was not reported if the blast was an accident or the work of saboteurs.

Now, two years later, some of the facts about the incident have emerged at the Iran-contra hearings.

It was sabotage, committed by right-wing British mercenaries tapped for the job by Oliver North.

Exposure stalled

Initially, when a member of Congress' Iran-contra committee tried to question North about this, committee chairperson Daniel Inouye gavelled him down, declaring the matter was classified.

Later, Inouye announced that the White House had declassified the information, and North was questioned briefly about it.

North's response to questions, a memo obtained by the committee, a leak by a U.S. diplomat, and news accounts combine to provide a sketchy outline of the matter.

The saboteurs were employees of an outfit known as KMS — short for Keeny Meeny Services. Keeny Meeny is said to be Swahili for slithering snake.

The company's registered headquarters is in the Channel Islands, a British possession in the English Channel. KMS is reported to be comprised of ex-commandos from the British Special Air Service. Its founder, David Walker, was a major in the Special Air Service.

George Foulkes, a Labour Party member of the British Parliament, charges KMS is a private arm of the British intelligence service and, that it is a vehicle for promoting British complicity with the U.S. war in Nicaragua. This would be one important reason why Washington wanted to keep the lid on the KMS operation.

KMS operates in a dozen "trouble spots" around the world. Among others, it is involved with UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), the Angolan counterrevolutionary force, which is cosponsored by Washington and the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Employees of KMS have been reported functioning in Sri Lanka, training the government's Special Task Force, which is used in the savage repression of Sri Lanka's Tamils, an oppressed minority in that country.

For its role inside Nicaragua, the initial plan was that the commando outfit would undertake to destroy Nicaraguan helicopters on the ground. There have been no reports that they succeeded in this.

It was then decided that KMS would

carry out the sabotage explosion at the Managua military base.

Contras couldn't do it

The purpose behind this, North told the Iran-contra committee, was to promote the notion that the contras could strike at will anywhere in Nicaragua, including inside the capital.

The commando operation was timed to influence the reopened congressional debate on aid to the contras.

The contras could not do the sabotage job themselves, North explained, because they lacked the training and operational capacity.

They would, however, take credit for KMS' work. Earlier, Washington had the contras take credit for the 1984 mining of the Port of Corinto. That job, it was soon disclosed, was the work of Salvadorans and other CIA hirelings.

But after the Managua explosion, it was decided the contras would not take credit, since the fire at the hospital would only worsen their already odious reputation.

Now we learn that right-wing British mercenaries were acting as proxies for U.S. proxies.

What and when did Congress know?

BY HARRY RING

What did he know and when did he know it?

This question about President Reagan seems to fascinate the congressional investigators of the Iran-contra arms scandal.

An equally pertinent question would be: What did Congress know and when did it know it?

Information available for the price of a newspaper makes clear that members of Congress were aware of the secret White House operation that illegally funneled dollars, guns, and military direction to the contras.

When information about this became public a full two years ago, several congressional committees did ask some questions. In response they were given patent lies.

They shrugged, accepted the lies and chose to do nothing about it. For all practical purposes, congress was party to the cover-up.

On Aug. 8, 1985, the front page of the *New York Times* featured an account of Lt. Col. Oliver North's White House basement operation.

The paper's source? "Senior administration officials and members of Congress."

The article reported, "Rebels fighting to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government have been receiving direct military advice from White House officials on the National Security Council. . . ."

"The operation," the *Times* added, "has been run by a military officer who is a member of the National Security Council. Officials said the officer . . . meets frequently with rebel leaders in Washington and on trips to Central America and briefs President Reagan."



Sen. Daniel Inouye (second from left), chair of congressional committee investigating Iran-contra deals, and other members and staff. Inouye's hostility to Nicaraguan revolution led him to stall exposure of truth about Washington's role in attack on Managua ammunition dump and hospital.

"He also gives frequent speeches and lectures on the subject of Nicaragua and, when asked advises people on how they might donate money to the rebel cause."

The only thing missing was the international fund-raising effort and the name of the energetic officer in charge. (The White House requested that his name be withheld and the *Times* complied — a matter of "safety.")

Initial congressional reaction was philosophical.

"If the President wants to use the N.S.C. to operate a war in Nicaragua, I don't think there's any way we can control it," said Rep. George Brown (D.-Calif.), a member of the House Select Committee on Intelligence.

He and other members of the committee had discussed the operation, Brown added, "but we haven't taken any formal action."

But that obviously wasn't going to fly. So, in the weeks that followed, the House subcommittee on Western Hemisphere affairs and both the Senate and House committees on intelligence directed inquiries to Robert McFarlane, then director of the NSC.

In replies — drafted by North — McFarlane brazenly lied to the congressional committees. In a letter to the House committee, he assured: "I can state with deep personal conviction, that at no time did I or any member of the National Security Council staff violate the letter or the spirit

of the law."

At a meeting with members of the Senate intelligence committee, McFarlane was questioned.

His responses included the following: "Lt. Col. North did not use his influence to facilitate the movement of supplies to the resistance."

"The allegations that Lieutenant Colonel North offered the resistance tactical advice and direction is . . . patently untrue."

Members of the committee later indicated to reporters that they were skeptical of McFarlane's answers and let it go at that. The chairman of the committee, David Durenberger (R-Minn.) said he saw no need for hearings on the matter and no one on the committee dissented.

Why did members of Congress join in the cover-up? Because they either support Reagan's war against Nicaragua or, even if dubious about its tactical wisdom, are sufficiently hostile to the Sandinista government that they will not seriously challenge Reagan's course.

The congressional complicity in the cover-up is apparent in the very hearings now being conducted. To the maximum that they are able, the committee members focus on the Iran arms deal, the deception of Congress, on everything except the dirty, illegal war against Nicaragua.

Is it really any wonder that the members of the committee stood up to Colonel North like so many wet noodles?

Steel local resists takebacks

BY CLEMENS BAK

ATLANTA — "I'm tired of working under the threat of losing my job year in and year out," a worker at Atlantic Steel here said. "They've already decided if and when they're going to shut this place down, they just want a pay cut to pay for their move," he added.

This response was typical of members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 2401 to Atlantic Steel's latest takeback demands. Six months after signing a contract, Local 2401 members voted nearly unanimously in early July to reject an ultimatum to reopen the contract or face layoffs.

Atlantic management wanted us to give up \$3 an hour in wages and benefits, as well as cost-of-living allowance payments. The company claims it needs lower labor costs to help it compete with nonunion minimills in the South.

The work force at Atlantic Steel is half what it was two decades ago. Many workers point out that concessions have not

stopped the company from closing "unprofitable" sections of the mill.

It has been nine years since workers have had a raise in the hourly pay scale, except for cost-of-living increases.

In 1983 negotiations, the company forced through a 5 percent pay cut and a reduction in paid vacation time. Last December, a contract was signed that included a two-tier provision in which new workers would be paid \$3 an hour less than the other steelworkers at the plant.

That was combined with an increase in the number of temporary workers, who have no benefits.

The vote against reopening the contract boosted workers' morale, pride, and confidence.

"They know we're together on this," one steelworker said. "The ball is in the company's court now, but they know, even if they shut the mill down, they can't wipe their feet on our backs on the way out."

Clemens Bak is a member of USWA Local 2401 at Atlantic Steel

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Oberlin College, Kulas Hall, 10:30 p.m., August 10

Socialists discuss new resistance to employer's attacks

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW YORK — The national committee of the Socialist Workers Party held a five-day meeting here June 10-14 to discuss the current international and domestic political situation and what it means for building a party of communist workers in the United States as part of the worldwide revolutionary movement.

One day of the national committee meeting was devoted to the "rectification process" being carried out by the leadership of the Cuban Communist Party.

Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*, gave a report on Cuba from the party's Political Committee.

The latest issue of *New Internationalist* has two speeches by Cuban President Fidel Castro on the political revolution taking place in Cuba, along with an introductory essay by Waters.

The recent U.S. military moves in the Persian Gulf and their relation to the U.S. government's crisis were also discussed at the meeting. (See article in June 12 *Militant* titled "Persian Gulf events: what they show about U.S. gov't crisis.")

U.S.-run war against Nicaragua

The prospects for Washington's war against Nicaragua were analyzed in reports on the political situation by Mac Warren, organizer of the SWP's Iowa District; and SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes.

The fate of the contra war remains unresolved. While much of the U.S. ruling class has been forced to concede its ineffectiveness in achieving the goal of overthrowing the Sandinista government, no credible alternative is being put forward by any wing of either the Democrats or Republicans.

Legislators from both parties accept the basic premise that Washington should continue to do something to try to get rid of or alter the Nicaraguan government. Whether Congress continues funding the contras, however, remains an open question. Meanwhile, the contras continue their campaign of terror against the Nicaraguan people.

Barnes explained that the imperialist-backed war against Nicaragua and the drive toward increased direct U.S. military intervention in the region bears down on working people in Nicaragua and in the United States. It creates intense pressure on all supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution, especially as the battle goes on for years and nothing is "resolved." And the situation is not going to be "resolved" in the short term.

In this context, the national speaking tour of family members and coworkers of Ben Linder is very important. The meeting heard a special report on plans for the Benjamin Linder Peace Tour.

Linder's murder at the hands of the contras while he was working on building a dam to bring electrification to a rural area

in northern Nicaragua has deepened opposition to the contra war among the people of the United States.

Thousands of workers, farmers, and youth are willing to give serious consideration to emulating Linder's example by going to Nicaragua themselves and continuing his work.

Moreover, a big, successful speaking tour will put some weight in the scales on the side of ending aid to the contras.

Increased combativity of working class

Both in the report by Warren and in a presentation on the U.S. labor movement by John Gaige, convener of the SWP's trade union bureau, the national committee took special note of some new examples in the past year of how U.S. workers have resisted attacks on wages and working conditions by the employers, as well as reactionary moves by the government.

From 1980-86, the working class suffered a rout as employers demanded concessions, claiming that such givebacks were the only way to restore company profitability and thereby save jobs and eventually raise wages.

Increased profits are being paid for with the blood of thousands of workers, as on-the-job injuries soar among meat-packers, coal miners, farm workers, and others, sometimes resulting in chronic medical problems, maimings, or death.

Warren emphasized that the reason for the rout "was not because the ruling class defeated the working class in battles. Rather, the conclusion of most workers hit by the offensive was that if you made some concessions, if you bargained with the bosses, collaborated — the blows would stop. Things would return to normal."

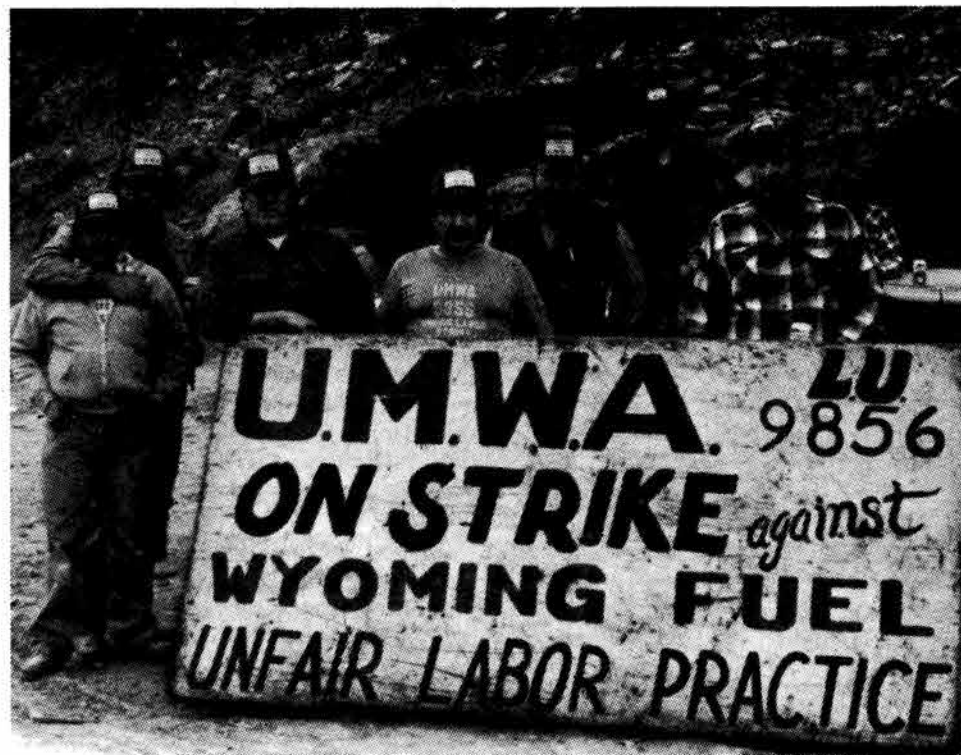
What began changing in the past year is that many workers learned, through their own experiences and those of others, that accepting two-tier wage scales, lump-sum bonuses instead of wage increases, outright wage cuts, speedup, less rights on the job, and less control over working conditions did not save jobs.

In fact, the more workers have given up, the harder the employers have pressed to get still further concessions.

Based on these experiences, tens of thousands of workers are fighting rather than submitting, even if the chances of winning at this time seem relatively slim.

A good example of this new spirit can be seen among meat-packers. For several years, their wages have been slashed, dangerous working conditions have worsened, and locals have been busted by the packinghouse bosses.

Beginning with the strike against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota, which began in August 1985, not a week has gone by without a strike or organizing drive somewhere in North America by packinghouse workers who simply are unwilling to take it any-



Militant/Nancy Burton

Miners during strike at underground Wyoming Fuel mine in Colorado. The successful job actions by western coal miners earlier this year are an encouragement to other workers to resist bosses' demands for concessions.

more.

The recent wave of successful strikes by western coal miners organized by the United Mine Workers of America, and the victorious strike by Teamster-organized cannery workers in Watsonville, California, show that it is possible to push the employers back, even though the general trend is still for the bosses, not the workers, to be on the winning side.

Miners set example

Gaige reviewed the place of the mine workers union in the labor movement since World War II.

The rout that hit the rest of the labor movement in the 1980s struck the miners in the 1950s and 1960s, as the bosses modernized their operations and threw more than 250,000 thousand miners out of work. The UMWA was saddled with a corrupt, slavishly procompany bureaucracy, which went along with this devastation of the miners and their communities.

Out of battles to protect miners' health and safety, the Miners For Democracy movement was born. It carried out a virtual revolution in that union in the 1960s and early 1970s, sweeping the bureaucrats aside and giving the union back to the ranks. This made the UMWA a far more effective instrument for resisting the bosses and winning improvements in contracts and black lung legislation.

The strength of the miners' union since the early 1970s is what has prevented the coal bosses from wringing concessions out of miners similar to what the auto barons, packing bosses, rail carriers, and others have done to their work forces.

This gives the miners a special role within the working class. Other workers can learn important lessons from the miners about how to better equip their unions to fight the employers.

In his report, Warren emphasized that while it's important to see the signs pointing to a break in the rout, this process is just in its very initial stages.

The contract imposed on the workers at the Steelworkers-organized Tenneco shipyard in Newport News, Virginia, in June is still the norm of what's happening to the working class today, he noted. Organized in 1979 through a militant 18-week strike, the union there just approved a 46-month contract that freezes wages and cuts health benefits.

'Our victory is your victory'

Warren pointed out that there are, however, signs of a small but important increase in the degree of sensitivity among working-class fighters to political attacks carried out by the government. There's a layer of workers who are thinking a little bit more about politics and, in some cases, acting on their views.

The most noticeable and important example of this is the willingness of undocumented and other oppressed workers to stand up for their rights, in spite of government efforts to terrify and break them.

The cannery workers in Watsonville who won their 18-month strike to defend their wages and working conditions were predominantly female and Mexican. In

scoring that victory, they set an example for the entire labor movement, an example all the more significant because these are people who are supposed to have few rights.

These workers were able to reach out and win broad support in the labor movement and among unorganized working people who saw the striking Teamsters as fellow workers who were fighting to defend the little bit that they had. And the triumphant Watsonville workers helped educate others with their understanding that "our victory is your victory."

Farm workers

The same political factors are present in the struggle of the predominantly Mexican field workers in the Yakima Valley in Washington State, who are trying to organize a union and win some contracts, explained Gaige. The meeting discussed the significance of the new activity among farm workers for the labor movement and the entire working class.

The struggle of farm labor is not only an economic fight, limited to issues of wages and hours. It's linked to broader aspects of production and politics right from the beginning — the struggle over who uses the land; the fight for equal rights for undocumented workers; fights for the rights of women, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Asian-Americans; and battles to improve the quality of life of the lowest-paid sectors of the working class, from raising wages to improving housing, education, and social services.

Farm workers have great economic leverage because of the importance of farming and agricultural products to the U.S. economy, Gaige pointed out.

At the same time, they are an especially vulnerable group of workers because a high proportion of them are immigrants and because of the inherent difficulties in organizing migrant laborers who work outside in enormous fields and often live in company-owned housing. This vulnerability means that farm workers are especially in need of victories in other sections of the labor movement to help sustain their struggle.

Liberalism in crisis

With the general shift to the right of capitalist politics in the past decade, liberalism in this country has entered the greatest crisis in its history.

The government crisis that exploded with the revelations about sales of arms to Iran and diversion of funds to the contras reaffirmed the degree to which foreign policy has become bipartisan. The liberals have put forward no coherent alternative to the actions of the White House in the Persian Gulf or in Central America and the Caribbean.

But the only thing new here is the degree to which the Democrats and Republicans speak with one voice; the truth is U.S. foreign policy has been substantially bipartisan since World War II.

What's new is the extent of bipartisan unity on domestic policy. There has been a dividing line historically between Democrats and Republicans over how much the government should intervene in the normal workings of the capitalist system.

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Farrell Dobbs, one of the central leaders of the Teamsters' organizing drive and leader of the Socialist Workers Party until his death in 1983, tells how they did it.

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Striking members of United Farm Workers of Washington State. Sign reads, "Brother and sister farm workers: your participation is the victory of the struggle because the union is for the benefit of everyone and the betterment of the people."

Militant/Matt Herroshoff

Liberals have tended to favor a certain amount of government funding for social services and some legal measures to protect the rights of workers and the oppressed as the best way to maintain the capitalist system. Conservatives have tended to oppose these things.

While much of what the liberals promised was demagogic, the demagoguery did reflect that some concessions could be granted to working people.

But with the economic crisis the capitalist system finds itself in today, the ruling class has lost its capacity to grant costly concessions to the working class — even of the modest kind granted by President Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" program in the 1960s.

This inability to deliver erodes the liberals' very basis of existence. The government isn't solving — or even pretending it can solve — the big problems facing workers and farmers. But the liberals aren't either.

On the other hand, no leadership has come forward yet in the labor movement or any broader social protest struggles that clearly understands the class character of the government and the need to mobilize working people and their allies to fight for

their most fundamental needs and interests.

There's an enormous gap between the growing anger and willingness to take on attacks by the employers and the employers' government and the development of a political program of struggle that can do that effectively.

Thus, many reactionary moves by the rulers go unanswered. The employers still have the offensive. The workers and farmers continue to suffer many more setbacks than victories. The war of nerves — at home and abroad — between the exploiters and the exploited continues.

Importance of industrial base

SWP Organization Secretary Craig Gannon reported on how the SWP has been expanding and deepening its roots in the industrial working class and industrial unions.

Gannon outlined steps the party has taken in the past 10 months to integrate itself more deeply in the industrial working class, including: setting up a national fraction of meat-packers who are members of the United Food and Commercial Workers; setting up three new SWP branches in the Midwest, linked together as an Iowa district; strengthening party branches in coal

mining regions; increasing the readership of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* among workers; increasing contacts with industrial workers in other countries; and holding a series of regional conferences over the spring to discuss the political situation and the party's response.

The main decision that came out of these conferences, said Gannon, was to reinstitute regular, weekly distribution of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* outside of worksites by every member of the party. This is key to strengthening the party's

NOW backs Linder Peace Tour

BY HOLLY HARKNESS

PHILADELPHIA — The national conference of the National Organization for Women, which took place here July 17-19, voted to go on record as a sponsor of the Benjamin Linder Peace Tour.

After the National NOW Board voted unanimously at its July 16 meeting to become a tour sponsor, NOW activists quickly gathered over 300 signatures from conference participants to insure that a tour support resolution was presented to the assembled delegates. Despite the fact that the conference was running behind schedule, outgoing President Eleanor Smeal asked the delegates to grant several minutes speaking time to Dr. Ann Lifflander who had worked with Linder in Nicaragua before he was murdered by U.S.-backed contras.

The conference also voted to "mobilize major resources and the membership" to build the October 11 March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights.

And NOW leaders announced plans to hold abortion rights picket lines at the Vatican diplomatic mission in Washington, D.C., in September when the pope is scheduled to visit the United States. In those cities included on the papal tour, foes of abortion rights have vowed to shut down women's health centers that perform abortions.

The title of NOW's conference this year was "We the Women," a reference to the "We the People" celebrations of the bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution taking place in this city. On July 18 the 2,000 conference participants marched to Independence Hall to protest the fact that women have been denied equal rights under the law.

But the conference's central political theme was not organizing action, but gearing up for the 1988 presidential and congressional elections. This was done under the slogan "The feminization of power." "We started out in 1970 to correct a tragic error in equality towards women. Today we must do more. We must change the direction of our country and our world," said Smeal in her keynote speech.

Smeal will be conducting a nationwide tour to urge women to "flood the ticket" in 1988 to dramatically increase the number of women in public office.

Smeal also urged NOW members to hold "Save the Court" rallies in August to block the confirmation of Judge Robert Bork to

presence in the 10 industrial unions in which its membership is active and allowing all party members to directly participate in bringing industrial workers to the communist movement.

Young Socialist Alliance

In his report on the political situation and the tasks of the party leadership, Barnes discussed the new opportunities to build the Young Socialist Alliance.

One sign that there are some new openings is that the YSA experienced a net growth in the last year for the first time in a decade.

This important gain for the revolutionary movement was registered at the national convention of the YSA, which was held in Chicago in May. It showed the fresh, young forces that are being attracted to the revolutionary movement. Convention delegates elected a new national committee, two-thirds of which had never served on the national leadership body before.

The meeting voted to prioritize the party's political collaboration with the youth leadership. This includes branches visiting campuses in the area to give socialist forums and classes and to sell subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, and party members having political discussions with and winning YSA members and prospective members to revolutionary Marxism.

New union-busting move by Eastern

BY ERNEST MAILHOT

MIAMI — Eastern Airlines is stepping up its union-busting attacks. Management announced in June that some 94 cleaners and ramp workers at the Ft. Lauderdale Airport would be separated from Eastern and would go to work for a new company called Airport Ground Services (AGS). Ramp workers include baggage and freight handlers and fuelers.

Under Eastern's plan, all of the 5,000 unionized cleaners and ramp workers would then be transferred to the new company by September 28. AGS could then claim that the contract the International Association of Machinists (IAM) has with Eastern is invalid.

On July 2 the IAM won a restraining order blocking the transfers. A judge said Eastern was trying to illegally force a change in work rules and deny workers the right to strike.

Another victory was scored July 15 when the airline was ordered to halt the contracting out of maintenance work.

As part of their stepped-up attacks, Eastern management here has been victimizing not only IAM members but flight attendants and pilots as well:

- A ramp worker was given five days off for taking one second longer than the time allowed to place a passenger walkway next to a plane.

- A baggage handler was given 20 days off because a long scratch was found on a plane he had been the last person to work on.

- A mechanic was fired for supposedly eating the leftover food on a plane.

- Flight attendants have been subjected to frequent "appearance checks" and much forced overtime. Some have been fired for

a "discrepancy" as small as \$2 in liquor sales on flights.

Eastern is refusing to hire people to replace workers who have been fired or those who have retired. This has jeopardized air safety.

The June 30 *Miami Herald* described an Eastern flight that had been delayed 12 and a half hours. Mechanics had told management the plane was unsafe but the company eventually sent the flight out anyway.

It has become increasingly clear that the company is preparing for a major confrontation with the IAM in January when the current contract expires.

Eastern President Philip Bakes sent a letter to pilots asking for negotiations. "We are confident," he said, "that a new pilot agreement can be separated to protect pilot interests if the IAM and the TWU (flight attendants) reject a negotiated or voluntary revamping of their labor costs."

Airline Pilot Association spokesperson Ron Coles said Eastern's attempt to divide the pilots from the other unions had been rejected.

Although IAM members have been heartened by the two court decisions, many feel more needs to be done to prepare for the upcoming contract negotiations. A recent lunchtime demonstration outside Eastern's corporate headquarters here drew 3,000. Most were IAM members.

Sporadic demonstrations have also taken place in other cities. Ramp workers and cleaners in Washington, D.C., protested the company's refusal to fill open job slots, by turning down overtime work.

Ernest Mailhot is a baggage handler and member of IAM Local Lodge 702 in Miami.

the U.S. Supreme Court.

The only politician invited to address the conference was Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.), who is considering a bid for the Democratic presidential nomination. Schroeder was greeted by enthusiastic cheers of "Run, Pat, run!"

Schroeder said she thought the country was ready for a female president. "I think America is at least as progressive as the Philippines, Israel, India, Britain, and Norway," she said, naming countries that have had women presidents or prime ministers. More than \$350,000 in campaign pledges was raised after Schroeder's speech.

Conference workshops discussed issues such as AIDS, pay equity, women in the unions, and sexual harassment.

Panelists at a workshop on surrogate motherhood were united in their opposition to the New Jersey court decision in the "Baby M" case, but differed in their opinions on the practice of surrogacy itself.

Molly Yard was elected to succeed Smeal as NOW president.

Socialist literature gets good response

PHILADELPHIA — Are women more politically progressive than men? How can sexism be eliminated? What are the origins of women's oppression?

These were some of the questions on the minds of women and men at the NOW conference who stopped at the Pathfinder literature table. The selection of books and pamphlets included titles on Cuba, South Africa, Central America, and the trade unions. The most popular items were those that dealt with socialist views on women's liberation.

Pamphlets such as *Is Biology Women's Destiny?* and *Women and the Marxist Movement* sold well. Twelve copies of the book *Cosmetics, Fashion, and the Exploitation of Women* were sold. Over all, participants bought \$300 worth of literature. In addition, 40 copies of the *Militant* were sold and several women attended a socialist open house at the conference. — H.H.

Airline workers thank 'Militant' for coverage

The *Militant* received the following letter from a *Militant* supporter who is a Northwest Airline worker in Detroit. It is about the response by his coworkers to the article "Northwest Airline workers protest firings," which appeared in the July 17 issue.

When the story came out we sold 11 copies of the *Militant* at the airport. Word got around about

workers, and for the ticket agents as well. I took some around to the other airlines too. Various copies were also put inside the bins of planes and sent to many connecting cities, such as Albany, New York; Birmingham, Alabama; and Toronto.

A committeeman for the mechanics asked me about the paper — how much it cost and whether the union could buy a couple hundred copies to give to

suggested we work on a draft and get other folks to look at it and sign it. I have enclosed this letter, a product of 19 of the workers.

Workers can be fired for publicly speaking out against the company under a Northwest rule of conduct, commonly known as the gag rule. This puts a damper on workers' willingness to talk to the press about what is happening. As a result, many workers initialed the letter rather than listing their names. Here is their letter.

* * *

Thank you for your article on the fight of our union, International Association of Machinists Local Lodge 141, against Northwest's attempts to cripple us.

It was by far the best coverage we have received so far. We reproduced it and posted it throughout the work areas.

Since then, we have had another demonstration of ground service personnel, and this one was widely covered by the local TV, radio, and newspapers. This ac-

tion helped us explain to the public that the problems at the airport with delays are due to a labor dispute.

Yet management has stepped up its harassment and firings of union members. An entire crew in Memphis, Tennessee — about half a dozen workers — was fired for being safety conscious. They were loading a plane carefully after hearing about a sister unionist in Detroit who was fired for dropping a piece of baggage.

Here in Detroit our safety-first campaign continues, with workers still refusing the voluntary overtime. In a serious escalation, on July 14 a union steward for the mechanics was fired for supposedly threatening another employee who was consistently working overtime.

We are determined to win the parity we are fighting for. That is, the equalization of wages between the former Republic Airlines workers and the Northwest workers who do the same job but for considerably higher pay. We will

not submit to management's demands for part-time workers, cross-utilization of classifications (mechanics doing ramp work, etc.), and giant wage gaps.

After all, Northwest workers just voted in the Machinists union because we wanted the strongest possible union.

Northwest has also just escalated its attacks on the flight attendants, represented by the Teamsters union. They have been threatened with big wage cuts, reduced vacations, watered-down grievance procedures, supervisors allowed to do flight attendants' work, and the elimination of the Republic pension plan.

Northwest pilots, flight attendants, ramp service workers, mechanics, and ticket agents are not alone. Eastern Airlines workers are on the front lines, too, against Frank Lorenzo's union-busting. At our last union meeting, we voted to support them and their July 29 demonstration in Miami and hope to send a delegation there.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

the article. When I showed it to some mechanics, they wanted to xerox it. They made about 20 copies.

Then I took a copy, added a subscription offer to it, and gave some to coworkers to circulate. More than 150 have been duplicated! Workers put them up in virtually all the break rooms for the Northwest mechanics and ramp

workers. I suggested it might be more realistic now for him to make copies and get it around, which he is doing.

He asked me how we could get another article into the paper about the latest developments and the firing of a militant union steward for the mechanics. I told him he could write a letter and the paper would probably print it. So he

Liberians condemn U.S. backing for Doe regime

BY ERNEST HARSCH

NEWARK, N.J. — The U.S. government's support for the repressive regime of Samuel Doe in the West African country of Liberia is strongly rejected by many Liberians living in the United States.

That was evident in the repeated denunciations of Washington's backing for Doe made during a national conference of the Union of Liberian Associations in the Americas (ULAA) held here July 4. Formed in 1974, the ULAA has some 50,000 members, based primarily in the eastern states.

The provision of U.S. military and economic assistance to Doe, declared Liberian opposition figure George Kieh, is heightening "the consciousness of the Liberian people, because they identify the U.S. as a collaborator of the Doe regime that is responsible for their plight." A former president of the Liberian Union of Students and political prisoner under the Doe regime, Kieh now teaches at Northwestern University, in Illinois.

He responded to statements by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker claiming that electoral fraud is to be expected in countries like Liberia, because of their "cultures." Kieh termed this a racist view.

"There is nothing in African culture that is inherently inimical to democratic ideals," Kieh declared. "It is the repressive regimes that the U.S. finances and supports that make democracy difficult in Africa." The nearly 100 delegates and observers at the conference applauded loudly.

A similar response greeted comments by James Hickey, a U.S. Catholic priest who was expelled from Liberia in April because



U.S. Special Forces adviser training Liberian troops. Since Doe's 1980 coup, U.S. military aid to his repressive regime has risen sharply.

of his criticisms of human rights violations there.

"A clear signal must be sent to the U.S. government," Hickey affirmed. "It must express utter rejection of the supportive role they are playing, particularly in the area of military assistance."

Hickey added that it is necessary to "denounce the proxy role being played by the

Israelis in the specialized training being provided for selective members and units of the [Liberian] defense forces."

Elombe Brath, chairperson of the New York-based Patrice Lumumba Coalition, also condemned the Doe regime's ties with Israel in his greetings to the conference. Brath noted that the previous Liberian regime of William Tolbert, who was overthrown by Doe in 1980, had likewise estab-

lished contacts with the apartheid authorities of South Africa.

The ouster of the corrupt, U.S.-backed Tolbert regime in Doe's 1980 coup was originally welcomed by many Liberians, both within Liberia and in the United States. The ULAA at that time campaigned for recognition of Doe's government, in face of some hostility from Washington.

But Doe very soon reestablished close relations with Washington. He followed U.S. foreign policy dictates (such as the resumption of diplomatic and military ties with Israel) and purged radical figures from his government. Repression mounted against students, workers, professionals, and virtually any political critic or opponent of Doe's policies.

Many of the speakers at the ULAA conference touched on different aspects of this repression, as well as the corruption and economic mismanagement that have increased in recent years.

Kieh, whose presentation provided an overview of U.S. policy toward Liberia since that state was founded in 1847, gave the most detailed account of Washington's responsibility for the dictatorial policies of the Doe regime.

Total U.S. aid to Liberia in the seven years of the Doe regime has reached nearly \$500 million, Kieh pointed out, compared to \$400 million for the entire period from 1847 until Doe's coup. U.S. military aid in particular has risen from \$2.7 million a year to \$12.8 million a year since the coup.

"What has Doe been using this military aid for?" Kieh asked. "All he has done is to use it for repression."

USX nets high profits, 10-fold rise in income

The USX Corp., which succeeded in imposing a takeback contract on workers at its steel plants this January, has reported a sharp rise in its overall income.

During the second quarter of 1987, the company reported, its net income rose to \$149 million, or 10 times the net income for the same quarter the previous year. In part, company officials said, this was because of gradual increases in crude oil prices (USX owns Marathon Oil and Texas Oil and Gas).

But, USX Chairman David Roderick bragged, the increase was also thanks to the "benefits of a competitive labor agreement" in its steel unit. The contract it imposed on the United Steelworkers of America in January reduced wages and benefits by about \$2.45 an hour and cut more than 1,300 jobs. Although the steel unit posted a \$59-million operating loss last year, this year, it had an operating income of \$37 million.



'Militant' offices reorganized



Militant photos by Salm Kolis
During our one-week break in July, *Militant* offices were reorganized and cleaned. The building we share with Pathfinder publishing house was also fixed up. Al Budka (left), head of Pathfinder's promotional department, paints stairwell. *Militant* staff members Norton Sandler (left) and Margaret Jayko work with business manager Jim White on reorganizing photo files.

Introduction

We are reprinting on the next page a summary of a speech given by Cuban President Fidel Castro at a closing session of a plenary meeting of the National Council of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions [CTC].

The session was held January 14 at Havana's Lázaro Peña Theater, and this report on Castro's speech is taken from the February 1 issue of *Granma Weekly Review*. It was compiled by Cuban journalists Héctor Hernández Pardo, José Antonio de la Osa, Joaquín Oramas, and Juan Marrero. The subheadings and footnotes are the *Militant's*.

This speech is one of many that Castro and other Cuban leaders have given over the past year and a half as part of a historic turn in the Cuban revolution.

Castro has explained that the rectification process, as it is known in Cuba, aims to correct a mistaken course that the revolution had begun to follow, one that threatened to lead to the discouragement, depoliticization, and demoralization of the Cuban working masses.

Castro has pointed out that an erroneous notion had developed that the automatic functioning of certain mechanisms — such as the Economic Planning and Management System or People's Power — could provide the motor force for the advance toward socialism.

Instead, over the course of the last decade, growing social and economic inequalities have developed in Cuba. A social layer of administrators and functionaries has emerged, bureaucrats who are little concerned with the problems of "the modest worker," Castro says. They have sought support within the better-off layers of the working class who became accustomed to, and some of them corrupted by, unearned bonuses and privileges, as well as a few private farmers and "middlemen" who managed to chalk up windfall profits on the sale of scarce food items and other consumer goods.

The rectification process is a battle to reverse this trend. It seeks to inspire, educate, and mobilize the working masses to take more and more control over the administration and leadership of their state and to involve them more consciously in determining the course of the Cuban economy. Only a broad political and social awareness, that is, deepening communist understanding, Castro has stressed, can advance society toward the construction of socialism. To lead this requires a communist party and leadership that keeps advancing its working-class composition.

The rectification process has developed rapidly since the Third Congress of the Cuban Communist Party, which took place in two parts. The first session was held in February 1986, and a second, "deferred," session in December of last year. (Two of Castro's speeches to those congress sessions are available in the most recent issue of *New Internationalist*; see ad on page 15.)

Since April 1986, Castro has explained the central themes of the process before gatherings of various mass organizations. (For Castro's speech to the Union of Young Communists, see the May 29 *Militant*. And for an interview with him that originally appeared in the French Communist Party newspaper *l'Humanité*, see the July 3 *Militant*.)

In this particular speech to leaders of Cuba's trade union federation, Castro draws special attention to some of the problems of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Cuban society, Castro notes, is still not able to "go beyond the narrow framework of bourgeois law." By this he means that some workers earn more than others, since they are able to work harder and longer. In contrast, Castro observes, "the ultimate objective of the founders of scientific socialism was the construction of a society in which each would contribute according to his ability and receive according to his needs."

Although inequalities of income are unavoidable in Cuba today, they cannot be allowed to grow to extremes, Castro stresses. "There can't be egalitarianism, for we are not in the era of communism," Castro said, "but that doesn't mean we can resign ourselves to having some people earn 85 pesos and others 850."

Fidel Castro addresses Cuban unionists

'Material incentives are secondary to revolutionary work in the construction of socialism'



Fidel Castro

Gianfranco Gorgoni

To reduce the effects of such inequalities in income, Castro points to the importance of strengthening social services — such as health care, education, and housing — which benefit all Cubans, no matter what they earn, and raising the wages of the lowest-paid workers. Under communist leadership, regardless of the starting point, inequalities will be reduced over time, as opposed to being accepted as permanent, let alone allowed to increase.

Castro points out that many of these social gains were accomplished through volunteer labor. But this had atrophied and must now be renewed, he says. One area in which the volunteer spirit continued to remain strong, however, was internationally. Cuba has sent hundreds of thousands of volunteer medical workers, engineers, students, teachers, etc. to other countries.

As Castro observes, some of these same questions were taken up by the founders of scientific socialism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. In his 1875 *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx wrote that communist society does not develop on its own foundations, but "emerges from capitalist society." It is thus "in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges. Accordingly the individual producer receives back from society — after the deductions have been made — exactly what he gives to it," that is, according to his or her work.

This is a big advance over the distribution of income under capitalism — where those with the highest incomes do not contribute any labor to society.

Moreover, Marx pointed out, in a society where working people have expropriated the capitalist owners of industry, banks, and land, part of the total social product is deducted "for the communal satisfaction of needs, such as schools, health services, etc. From the outset this part is considerably increased in comparison with present-day society and it increases in proportion as the new society develops."

In addition, part of the social product will go for "funds for those unable to work, etc., in short what is included under so-called poor relief today."

In spite of these advances, Marx went on, "equal right is still stigmatized by a bourgeois limitation. The right of the producers is proportional to the labour they supply; the equality consists in the fact that measurement is made with an equal standard, labour."

These defects, Marx stated, "are inevitable in the first phase of communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth pangs from capitalist society."

Law, he pointed out, "can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development thereby determined."

"In a higher phase of communist society," Marx continued, "after the enslaving subordination of individuals under division of labour, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has ceased to be a means of life and has become itself the primary necessity of life; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly — only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be fully left behind and society inscribe on its banners: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

It is precisely this process — of overcoming the limitations inherited from capitalist society and advancing toward a communist society where everybody receives according to their needs — that the Cubans are concretely grappling with today.

Today, the Cubans through their rectification process, are striving to establish that working people are really paid according to the work they do instead of on the basis of arbitrary and subjective criteria, which were leading to increasing inequalities.

At the same time, through the extension of social benefits, volunteer labor, and wage reforms, the Cubans are taking important steps toward increasing the communist consciousness of the working people of the country.

* * *

Fidel Castro

"I think this is a very important moment for the revolution, very important indeed," said President Fidel Castro at the 53rd plenum.

Fidel had indicated that although he had only just learned from Comrade Machado Ventura that the meeting was taking place — and in spite of the fact that he had other commitments — he decided to attend "if only for a little while" because of the importance of the event and "the enormously important role played by the unions and the workers in this process of rectification."

After saying he wasn't going to talk about things which had already been covered, such as union structure, emulation and others, for which the corresponding documents had been approved following long debate, Fidel recalled that at the congress of the Federation of University Students he had told delegates that in his opinion this was a moment of historic turn and historic strides.

He explained that he spoke of a historic turn "in the sense that we are shifting course since we were becoming disoriented, sailing off course, we were going to run into major obstacles and the direction is being changed."

It isn't a 180-degree shift, he said, but an important change of direction, rectification, so we can sail better and avoid serious problems in the construction of socialism and politically serious problems, because we were weakening the revolution.

Thus, he went on, it is a moment of a historic turn and of historic strides, strides in quality. "More than historic strides, there are strides in the quality of revolutionary work."

A historic turn

Continuing on the same subject, he said it wasn't a case of finding a phrase or a word with which to characterize or define a situation, for it would be meaningless to say this was a time of a historic turn and for this to become a mere slogan. "It is a time of a historic turn if we understand the problem and work consistently in that new direction and manage to keep on course."

He added that if in six months, a year, two years or three years we forget everything and are again changing course, then there won't be any historic turnaround.

He explained that a key element in the effort being made is "the idea of serious work and continuity."

He mentioned a conversation held with Robert Veiga, general secretary of the CTC, in which the latter said that "some people feel this is something which will only last two, three, four, or five months and when other problems

come up we will devote ourselves to them and forget these."

He said there are tricky administrators who take the easy way out by setting limits on the surpassing of production goals: or those who conceal large improper payments made by distributing it little by little rather than in lump sums; or they report more hours worked than is actually the case.

He noted that these problems had been discussed at the [CTC] National Council meeting with clear examples and Fidel stressed that such tricks "can no longer be considered deviations. I think they are acts of disloyalty, those are acts of scoundrels. They aren't errors; they are antisocial, criminal activities, because who are they really fooling with all this?"

He explained that at certain times the revolution has

“Among the prevailing mistaken ideas the most absurd, ridiculous, and reactionary one held that the construction of socialism was a matter of mechanisms . . .”

had to stress certain things. He put forth defense as an example, for in this sector the revolution has made a major effort in recent years. "Ever since this arrogant and aggressive administration took office in the United States, we were faced with a serious danger and we had to multiply efforts related to national defense."

"The main thing, the number one thing in this period was to assure the security and survival of the revolution, the defense of the revolution, and of course I think this was the most important of the activities we could undertake."

"If we don't have a country and don't have a revolution, we can't rectify any errors," he insisted.

Defense will continue getting the attention it needs, he went on, and if now we can dedicate ourselves to correcting wrongdoing and the struggle against negative tendencies, it is thanks to this great effort made by the people to strengthen the revolution and assure its security that we have the opportunity to work on the process of rectification.

Fidel stressed the importance of assuring the physical security of the revolution and at the same time the importance of safeguarding its political security and moral and ideological integrity.

He said that in regard to the problems now being criticized, "we had ideas and indications, some things seemed a bit strange, but we weren't immediately aware of developing problems."

Expanding on this point, Fidel said that in all this there was a certain degree of deception. "Figures and data were analyzed and it seemed like there were difficulties inherent to the introduction of new methods and mechanisms which would gradually be overcome, one way or another. But it was proven with time that rather than being overcome, problems were getting worse and it wasn't just a case of mistakes but conceptual problems, that there were some ideological problems involved in all of this and some reactionary views."

He observed that many people viewed money as the basis for solving all these problems and the political aspect was losing ground and voluntary work was becoming a thing completely of the past, attitudes of solidarity and mobilizing the masses to solve problems were being left behind, while a bureaucratic style was being imposed. In his opinion there were certain frankly reactionary and even counterrevolutionary concepts associated with all this, "without the individuals involved realizing that they were really upholding counterrevolutionary ideas."

These concepts were diverting the revolution from its path, Fidel said, indicating that among the prevailing mistaken ideas the most absurd, ridiculous, and reactionary one held that the construction of socialism was a matter of mechanisms which functioned efficiently, and not that making a revolution and building socialism, overcoming underdevelopment and building a prosperous and developed economy was a key task for the party.

This idea involved the negation of the Party's role in the leadership of the revolution and the construction of socialism, he stressed.

He recalled that one day Political Bureau member Machado Ventura told him about a discussion he had held with one of these "theoreticians" in which he said, "Well, if all that will be solved in such a way, what does the party do?"

He said that the debates at this meeting and the problems pointed out by the participants in the National Council session demonstrate the need for the active participation of the party, the unions, and the mass organiza-

tions, in addition to the administrators, which, of course, must also play a role.

Administrators must be communists

Then Fidel stressed the need for our administrators to have a communist attitude and frame of mind and a socialist concept of administration. Administrators must be communists with a truly socialist concept of the economy, he said, so that there can never be any contradiction between the interests of a factory and those of the whole country.

There should never be any contradiction between the interests of a collective and those of society, for this can only happen under capitalism, where there is a contradiction between the system of ownership and the collective, the workers, he pointed out.

Outlining ideas about genuinely socialist concepts, Fidel said that neither can workers function like a cooperative, like a group of collective owners of a factory. "The workers own all the factories in the country and it is in the interests of all workers to have all factories, schools, and services functioning well."

He added that it is in the interest of the workers not only that their factory functions well, but also that the economy as a whole shows a profit and is efficient, that income increases not just for the collective of a factory, but as much as possible for all workers, that there is a really just system of distribution based on the socialist principle we have agreed upon and which we are trying to apply, under which each contributes according to his ability and receives according to his work. But that principle must actually prevail and there mustn't be privileges for anybody.

He rejected the sector-oriented thinking typical of capitalism, under which workers had no alternative but to seek higher wages at all cost. He explained that in capitalist societies workers are obliged to advance their individual or group interests, but "such conduct is out of the question in a socialist society."

Getting back to the subject of the type of administrators needed by the revolution in enterprises and work centers, he reiterated that they must have a revolutionary, socialist concept and a communist attitude, "and we mustn't rest until this is achieved."

This doesn't mean the administrator will replace the party, whose important role he emphasized along with that of the mass organizations in political work and organization.

On this key question, he said that while capitalism is a society based on the blind laws of competition and supply and demand, socialism is a rational society which must be planned and built and is never subject to blind laws. "There are laws of socialist construction but they are not blind laws which by themselves create and organize a society; they are laws which must be interpreted by human beings and applied by human beings. Socialist construction is inconceivable without planning, without direction, without the conscientious work of human beings, without a vanguard and a leadership that assumes the historic responsibility of carrying forward the revolutionary process and building a new society."

He explained that this was why he has repeatedly said that economic mechanisms and material incentives are

“The workers own all the factories in the country and it is in the interests of all workers to have all factories, schools, and services functioning well . . .”

secondary to political, ideological, and revolutionary work in the construction of socialism.

He insisted that political work is increasingly important. "It is enormously important in the construction of socialism because, as Marx said, socialism is still far from being a totally perfect and totally just society."

He said socialism and the socialist formula do not go beyond the narrow framework of bourgeois law, given that some men are more capable than others, some stronger than others, with more endurance than others, some have less needs than others, "and the ultimate objective of the founders of scientific socialism was the construction of a society in which each would contribute according to his ability and receive according to his needs."

In the same vein, he cited the example of a weakling with less energy and strength than another who is stronger. If they are cutting cane the latter would earn more than the former because he would cut more. The fact that he earns more has to do with his output: he contributes more and is making it possible for all citizens to receive a little more. "If everybody produced like

For further reading:

Lenin's Unfinished Fight. A collection of V.I. Lenin's last writings, between December 1922 and March 1923. Lenin discusses the need to increase the role of workers and peasants as organizers of the Soviet economy and state in order to counter the growing social forces that placed material privilege, bureaucratic power, administrative mechanisms, and Russian nationalism above the interests of the working class and peasantry. (Publication date: fall 1987.) 200 pages, \$8.95.

Critique of the Gotha Programme, by Karl Marx. Includes some of Marx's views on the problems of the transition from capitalism to socialism. With appendices by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. 116 pages, \$1.25.

The Revolution Betrayed, by Leon Trotsky. An analysis by one of the central leaders of the Russian revolution of the consolidation of power in the Soviet Union by a bureaucratic caste. It outlines what is necessary for communist workers to lead a fight to advance the USSR toward socialism. 314 pages, \$7.95.

Socialism and Man, by Che Guevara. On the forging of a new man and woman in the struggle for socialism, and the important role of the communist vanguard party in advancing the struggle from capitalism to socialism. It draws on the experiences of the early years of the Cuban revolution. 22 pages, \$.65.

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 20. Or order by mail (adding 75 cents for postage and handling) from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. These books can also be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 47, The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England; or Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 37, Leichhardt, Sydney, NSW 2040, Australia.



Prensa Latina

Exemplary sugarcane cutters. Those who cut more earn more, but they also contribute more to society.

Reinaldo Castro [canecutter and National Hero of Labor], they would contribute much more to society."

Wages and services

However, he clarified that not all recompense comes in the form of wages. "A large portion of man's social labor is distributed in the form of vital services, because all the educational services, 1.7 billion pesos, [1 Cuban peso = US\$1.25] in our country, who pays for them? The worker does. And although a worker receives wages three times higher because he produces three times as much, he or she is contributing like three workers to the country's education system, contributing three times as much."

After that graphic explanation, Fidel said that this worker wasn't simply getting three times more than others, for the services in question are paid for with sugar and other sources of wealth, they are paid for with earnings of different kinds, and therefore there are many people getting more than that worker out of the school system and hospital care, both them and their families.

He mentioned the cases of those who undergo costly operations that would cost 10,000, 20,000 or 30,000 pesos under capitalism, or those who need heart transplants. These people receive much more than the man who earned three times as much because in economic terms they get services valued at 100,000, 10,000 or 20,000 pesos.

Then he cited the example of a worker who receives housing. Society gives him housing virtually at cost and he becomes its owner with minimum payments and extremely low interest rates. Suddenly he receives something valued at 7,000 or 8,000 pesos which under capitalism would be worth 25,000 or 30,000. "How much did that worker get?" he asked.

He said the worker received housing thanks to the work of all and especially thanks to the work of the most productive, the vanguard workers and the heroes of labor.

So that those who get paid three times more are not necessarily receiving three times more in social terms.

"He is getting three times more pay than others, but he contributed three times as much to the defense of the country, to the expenditures in the country's defense, internal order, research, and economic development. He contributed three times as much to the construction of the nuclear power plant, the refinery, agricultural development, the cost of the dams. That worker has contributed three times as much and has not simply received three times more of what is produced. He did get three times more in terms of salary, but he didn't receive the total value of the effort he made," explained Fidel.

Afterwards he gave other examples showing that, notwithstanding the need for it in this stage of the development of society, the socialist formula of distribution is not fully just, is not one of complete solidarity, is not a communist system. He cited the case of a woman with three children whose level of training only makes it possible for her to work as an aide rather than a senior high school teacher, university professor, doctor, or other relatively high-income job. That is why there is the social welfare system which provides help to many thousands of people in the country, he said.

In this sense our society isn't yet fully just. What is just

is the system of redistribution when viewed in the light of the current stage of the process of revolutionary development.

Development of consciousness

Fidel continued by noting that in order to arrive at the communist man one day, the man who can think in terms of solidarity and contribute according to his ability and receive according to his needs, "the only way I see that can ever be achieved is through the development of consciousness and of lofty moral concepts, lofty humane concepts, lofty concepts of solidarity and lofty political

"Each contributes according to his ability and each receives according to his work . . ."

concepts, in addition to the maximum development of productive forces."

He said he didn't think the socialist formula by itself would lead to communism. "The socialist formula can lead to selfishness and individualism as well. If all the person has heard talked about is that he will earn for what he is doing and for his effort."

Fidel stressed, "The very idea of a communist program, the very idea of a communist society as defined by Marx, Engels, and Lenin require tremendous political work, the need for profound political education, the need for the creation and development of new human values and the need for a vanguard party to lead society along those paths."

He emphasized that socialism and communism can't be built without political work, ideological work, and the education of new generations; otherwise we would have to conclude that communism will never be built. "We could admit the possibility that socialism was being built, and, in fact, we are building socialism, not only are we building it, but we have made notable progress."

He recalled his recent comment to the effect that "Now we are really going to build socialism," explaining that obviously this didn't mean we weren't building it before, "only that we were not building it correctly."

"We have traveled an important stretch in the construction of socialism but we were departing from the path of socialist construction; we were compromising the political and ideological future of our revolutionary process and were becoming weaker."

He said in the phrase, "Now we are really going to build socialism" reflects the conviction that in this way we will build socialism correctly and faster.

He recalled that when he used that phrase he was harking back to another phrase in 1956 after *Alegría de Pío*,¹ when seven men with seven rifles came together and he said "Now we really will win the war!" This was repeated

1. On Dec. 5, 1956, shortly after Fidel Castro and some 80 other guerrillas landed in Cuba aboard the *Granma*, troops of the Batista dictatorship attacked them in *Alegría de Pío*. Most of the rebels were killed, with the dozen survivors regrouping to form the core of the Rebel Army.

later when, after climbing a height they saw Caracas Mountain and its forests. "I meant, 'Now I am still more confident that we will win, but I had always been certain we would win, even when there were only three men with two rifles.'"

Without departing from the subject, Fidel explained that in those days at the start of the struggle in the Sierra Maestra he realized that mistakes had been made which led the incipient Rebel Army into a difficult situation, but he was always sure that "our ideas were correct, our premises were valid."

He added that history demonstrated this later, although as he made clear he has always felt that history is not al-

"Socialism is a rational society which must be planned and built and is never subject to blind laws . . ."

ways the supreme judge of a policy, in terms of whether it was right or wrong. He explained that sometimes a policy may be correct and yet fail; sometimes people can have very correct ideas and die before they are implemented, "that is, before they are transformed into ideas embraced by the masses, through which every correct idea triumphs, sooner or later."

He explained that there are imponderable factors which determine whether or not a just idea will be successful quickly or later on. He cited the case of Martí, who was unable to witness Cuban independence; and Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, who didn't live to see his struggle reach fruition.² "But success can't be the way of measuring the just nature of their ideas," he insisted.

Giving examples from our own history, Fidel mentioned that independence was not obtained in spite of the revolutionary efforts of the 1895 war, we fell short of total victory and became a U.S. neocolony. In 1902 we didn't obtain the independent republic which Martí wanted but that didn't give anybody in 1910, 1920, or 1930 the right to say that the ideas of our mambi fighters,³ the ideas of José Martí and the other liberators were mistaken or their path was mistaken. "They were just ideas which would become reality sooner or later."

He said that in the same way it cannot be said that Mella's ideas were mistaken.⁴ We can't sit in judgment on them because they were not implemented until 30 years after his death.

Thus, success is not the yardstick to determine the rightness of a cause although it may serve to confirm — often quite quickly — that the path is indeed correct.

"Thus, after we were left without troops, I was convinced our course was correct and the major setback didn't lead me to change my views. We remained confident."

Getting back to the present, Fidel said that everybody is confident that we will build socialism, we have never lost confidence and we know we are building socialism.

"I say now that we are much more convinced and certain, much more certain that we will build socialism, that's what I mean, much more certain than ever and more certain of the type of socialism that we will be building," said Fidel amidst the applause of the delegates.

'We were creating all sorts of rich people'

He said he was sure the free peasant market,⁵ the hustling, deviations of resources, people working for themselves and sometimes stealing parts and other things to do their private jobs, workers who wouldn't meet their obligations on the job in order to moonlight and earn more money, the street vendors, all these things wouldn't lead to socialism.

We were creating all sorts of rich people, he added, and the consequences are evident everywhere: people buying homes for 40,000, 70,000 or 80,000 pesos; buying this, buying that. We became convinced that socialism couldn't be built that way with free peasant markets and all the other extravagances.

He pointed out that the parallel market raises funds for the people and the money obtained is used to finance day-care centers or give some people slightly higher wages.

Continued on next page

2. Carlos Manuel de Céspedes was a leader in the revolution of 1895 and the Spanish-American War. He was provisional president of Cuba in August-September 1933.

3. A term used to describe Cuba's independence fighters in the struggle against Spanish rule.

4. Julio Antonio Mella was a founding leader of the Communist Party of Cuba in 1925; he was assassinated in Mexico in 1929.

5. The free farmers' markets were introduced in 1980, providing individual producers and cooperatives with places to sell their surplus produce. The markets were eliminated in 1986.

Continued from previous page

He explained that in a country where there are still many thousands of peasants with 15, 20, 30, 40, or 60, hectares [one hectare = 2.47 acres] we were creating rich people, with all the consequences derived from this, creating inequalities of all kinds with all their consequences and millionaires with all their consequences.

"That's the truth!" he said.

He added that free peasant markets existed in other countries but with smaller plots of land. With even a tenth of a hectare and with wheat, corn, and products from farms and cooperatives you can raise 10,000 hens

"If the workers act in a solid, compact front against all errors and negative tendencies, it is a battle won before we start . . ."

on such a small bit of land and then say how wonderful the free market is, because a man raised 10,000 hens or however many hens.

"If you use the resources that come from collective lands," he went on, "you can do lots of things on a little bit of land. On a little plot of land like that you can't raise much more than 30 or 50 hens if you must also produce the corn and wheat needed to feed them."

He clearly stated that "I am completely against" the free peasant market, saying that it doesn't square with a modern socialist concept for our country, or at least "not in my concept."

He went on: "I respect all those with such a view, with absolute respect, I don't interfere or criticize, but I realized that in Cuba the famous free peasant market was obstructing the cooperative movement in our country, which has little land, less than 0.6 hectares per inhabitant, and which must produce millions of tons of foodstuffs for other countries in the form of sugar, citrus fruit, and other products, as well as food for itself on those 0.6 hectares per capita."

He clarified that now it is probably less than 0.6 hectares because the population is now 10 million and we don't have six million hectares of agricultural land. It is probably about half a hectare, he said, and with that we must produce millions of tons of sugar and other agricultural products because that is the task which history set for us.

Fidel explained that the revolution came to power in an agricultural, not an industrial country and you can't go from being an agricultural country to being an industrial country in just a few years, although he recognized that there has been great progress towards industrialization and the creation of the necessary conditions.

He then said that what this country needs are large farms, collective farms where planes, for instance, can be used on our rice plantations, plus powerful plowing and planting machines, extensive irrigation systems, harvesters, and a high productivity per man and per hectare.

Also needed are sugarcane plantations with a high technical level, applied well, and top productivity per man and per hectare, he went on.

Then he observed that such development can't be achieved with small farms and this he had seen himself when it was proposed to introduce a large irrigation program "and we kept bumping into 50 houses along the way and we had to plan the course over and over again because a canal can't simply have a curve here and a curve there; it must be built in a straight line and this can only be done practically on large land holdings. Nor can we plow, fertilize, or fumigate on a large scale on small farms."

He said that fortunately we now have the big land holdings belonging to our state agricultural enterprises and the relatively large extensions of land in the hands of the cooperatives.

Cooperative movement hampered

Continuing with these ideas, Fidel pointed out that the cooperative movement has been advancing but as long as it is still possible for an individual owning one hectare of land to earn 20,000 pesos growing garlic or some of the things that get scarce, or else selling at very high prices, taking advantage of certain inefficiencies that still exist in agricultural production, the development of the cooperative movement is hampered.

A man whose 15 hectares of land net him 50,000 pesos won't join a cooperative, he said.

He admitted that some peasants with great revolutionary awareness have given up their large incomes and joined cooperatives. Yet as a general rule, he remarked, such individuals began to build big houses for themselves on those small pieces of land.

And he went on: "There was nothing that meant anything to him: listen, if you move to a cooperative you'll have electricity and get a good house — this man always managed to buy the materials he needed, there were plenty of materials around. If he made 50,000 pesos a



Farm workers gathering sugarcane harvest. Sugar exports provide a major source of revenue to the Cuban economy.

year, he always found the cement he needed one way or another — by bribing a person at a state farm who had cement, or bribing a warehouse worker who had cement, or bribing a truck driver carrying cement, or bribing the watchman of a construction project, where there was cement, or bribing anyone else, or buying the cement from a thief who stole it, and paying any price for it and then building a big house for himself.

"Let's see which one of you," he said pointing to the union leaders present, "after that man has finished building his big house, can convince him to move into a cooperative."

He went on to say, "We came to the realization that this process involving the free peasant market was standing in our way and creating great inequalities." And that had to be rectified, he added.

Concerning the tolerance that existed with the street vendors who produced anything in any way they could, he observed that our bureaucrats weren't moved to make an effort to meet those needs in a correct way, as we are now doing. He pointed out that many more hangers and other items are being produced now, only the hangers being produced are not enough. He explained that street vendors were making a few of them and you saw hangers or something resembling them around because they went for one, two pesos or even more; just like the case of the loafers buying chocolate bars in Lenin Park and then reselling them at a much higher price.

You can't fight this simply by raising chocolate prices, Fidel said, because we can't constantly set prices depending on the action of lumpen and antisocial elements and loafers.

Simply, what has to be done is ban private trading activities because trade is the domain of the socialist state, he underscored. Trade is a prerogative, an undeniable province of the socialist state; and any profits in trade must be profits for the people instead of for individuals.

Staying on the subject, Fidel said that while the owner of one or two trucks was earning 100,000 pesos in one year, in figuring out how long it takes for an eminent surgeon in this country to earn 100,000 pesos, we see that it takes the surgeon 20 years working, saving lives, to earn 100,000 pesos.

These phenomena weren't only confined to small farmers or truck owners but included certain activities in the cultural field. Go-betweens began springing up everywhere, he said, even in the work of artists, a go-between for painters and a go-between for decorating, fixing things up, and it was even discovered that someone had earned 300,000 pesos in one year.

"Where were we headed along that path?" Fidel asked. After pointing out that "it was obvious we had to rectify this," he said that perhaps we thought that along that path we were building socialism and immediately inquired: "Is taking 65 years to build a highway building socialism? Is taking 20 years to build a dam building socialism? Is taking 21 years to build a hydrotherapy room building socialism? Building without regard to cost, wasting money like that with no other consideration, is that the way to build socialism?"

Masses and bureaucrats

He commented that people understand and have a good attitude, the masses always understand, they are the first

to understand. However, a bureaucrat, he said, once he has solved his own problems, doesn't care about anything else, whether or not a day-care center is opened, and it may seem marvelous to him that with the need for day-care centers in City of Havana, six or eight of them are built in five years.

A bureaucrat with a good home, he went on, may not care about the fact that hundreds of thousands of people are living in run-down housing and tens of thousands of people are living in inhabitable quarters, and he may care very little that only 4,500 to 5,000 new homes were being built annually in Havana during the last few years.

Since a portion of these housing units, he went on, had to be logically awarded to armed forces officers who are carrying out difficult missions abroad, because we have agreed to go on gradually solving the housing needs of

"A communist society requires tremendous political work, the need for the creation of new human values . . ."

our armed forces officers, how many, he asked, were left for the workers? Some 4,000. But more than 4,000 homes deteriorate each year, how many were left for the workers, for those who lacked housing, and what hope was there for them?

Really, Fidel underscored, that's not the way to build socialism, "and that's the point we've been making, since becoming aware of all these problems. We're waging a battle: the battle to build socialism, true socialism! Something promising us a more just and more efficient society."

"I realize all this and I feel more encouraged. I feel surer, as I feel sure that everybody feels surer, everybody!" he said.

Fidel's words were met with a loud applause by everyone gathered at the Lázaro Peña Theater.

"That's why we say," Fidel affirmed, "that now we're really going to build socialism! That's what this phrase means, rectifying all these errors and outrages of every kind. We'll build dams in two or three years, depending on the length and the location where we want to put them, we're going to build housing and factories well and see the job through to the end; we're going to improve our educational services with all the resources we have, and the medical services."

We'll invest more in factories, in the economy, he went on. We'll make the most out of every hour of work and every peso, since we also want to use pesos as a measurement, so we can know that such and such a school cost us a million, a million and a half, or we are being charged three million and be able to say, listen, that one doesn't cost three, it costs two or it costs one and a half, or that product or that item costs so much.

We'll use the mechanisms we've been talking about to check on the efficiency of our work, he pointed out.

there's no shortage of chicken feed to get eggs, poultry, for pigs, which need certain amounts of feed; to get spare parts, etc."

He went on to say that we are not facing a catastrophe, given that we have many things guaranteed from the socialist countries, thanks to our exports to and trade with these nations.

Fidel stressed that there's not much sugar available for export to the convertible area, "and we must meet our commitments to the socialist countries."

In past times, he said, whenever we faced a drought, for instance, we first honored our exports payable in convertible foreign exchange and defaulted on our commitments to the socialist countries.

"And we understand that's not fair," he remarked. "It isn't correct, it isn't honorable, it isn't a dignified thing to do."

There may occur a catastrophic situation at a given moment, he continued, and we can explain it to them. He recalled that when a great plague hit our sugarcane "they understood." But that can't be our regular practice, it can't be habitual — not delivering our products to the socialist countries, he said.

All this was raised starting in late 1984 in a very serious way and we're abiding by it, Fidel added.

He then mentioned the low prices of sugar on the world market, sometimes as low as five or six cents, and he said

“We were compromising the political and ideological future of our revolutionary process and were becoming weaker . . .”

that Cuba sells its sugar to the USSR and the other socialist countries at prices very much above those prevailing on the world market, "which are the prices set by that garbage dump of world sugar, because all the surplus sugar ends up there."

But these so-called prices, he pointed out, are what govern all non-socialist countries, which are the ones paying convertible currency for their sugar.

We have countless problems solved thanks to our purchases in the socialist countries, Fidel indicated, and he mentioned the quantities of wheat we import, the oil, etc., but that doesn't give us the right to be driving a tractor around wasting fuel, or afford us the luxury of keeping our lights on all the time or filling the workers' plate full of food that doesn't get eaten.

Time to be more efficient

Summing up his ideas, Fidel said that the time has come to be more efficient than ever. Our difficulties, the lean years, must generate the virtues appropriate to the lean years, just as abundance has corrupted many countries.

He said that when the price of oil went from \$2.5 a barrel to \$30, entire nations were corrupted. They neglected their agriculture and everything else and devoted themselves to living off oil. When prices fell, they were used to a certain standard and way of living, an enormous amount of bureaucracy and other things.

He pointed out that we have had resources thanks to our economic relations with the socialist countries, and

we've also received credits from the capitalist area. He said the capitalists plunder, steal, buy cheap and sell at higher and higher prices, and they have plundered us. On the other hand, they didn't know what to do with the money and so they'd lend it to Third World countries at high interest rates. That is the cause of the enormous debt, he commented.

We've had a lot of resources that have not been used optimally, and in the last few years they've been used in a way far less than optimal, he said.

Now, he went on, no more resources can be obtained through loans. The capitalist countries are no longer lending money to the Third World and when they do, it's so that the debtor can pay the interest and nothing else: you owe me \$50 million: I'll lend you \$50; you pay me the interest and your debt increases.

That's the prevailing mechanism these days, Fidel said, and there's not a cent to be had of fresh money, not a cent over and above that to solve a situation like ours this year and perhaps in years to come.

There are no international institutions to which we can turn to ask for credit, he said, adding the following ideas to round out his argument:

The socialist countries help us a lot; the USSR helps us a lot, helps us solve many problems, but the USSR has also been seriously affected by the drop in oil prices, because they are big oil and gas exporters and their income in hard currency has shrunk considerably.

He stated that it's not possible to ask the socialist countries for more help, adding that the prices they pay for our products are just. Apart from fair prices, they give us credits.

"Where should we get our resources from?" he asked, and then answered: "From efficient, optimum administration of what we're doing, from the optimum use of the resources we have, so as to turn them more quickly into factories, roads, dams; so as to turn them more quickly into projects useful to the population; into items that will increase our exports, replace imports and help us economize."

There has been some savings in fuel, without a doubt, for years we've had a surplus due to our economizing.

He gave as an example the sugar mills, where half a million tons of oil were saved every year. He recalled what happened there before the heightened economizing drive began: in order to produce sugar, everyone opened the oil tap in the mills when the pressure dropped instead

“Now we have to depend on ourselves for our resources, on our work, and that's precisely the task we've had to set for ourselves . . .”

of concerning themselves with the boilers, making sure they were all functioning uniformly, ensuring that they had a stock of bagasse or wood to burn.

Fidel stressed that we have made progress in some areas. "There has been a growing awareness of the need to economize, but have we done the best we can? How much are we still wasting on evident things, in terms of administration, in the use of a truck or a tractor to do things not involving work, or using state gasoline for pri-

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Fidel said he was confident that all these things that the revolution intends to rectify will be rectified and all the negative trends will be eliminated.

Errors in planning

He then referred to errors committed in planning, because although the economy supposedly grew by 10,000 pesos by building a dam which took 20 years to complete, for example, or it grew "in this and that," it grew in things which generated imports and it didn't grow in things that generated exports. At some point the excess expenditures were the result of adding up all these "outrages." We would need so much of this and so much of that.

No one cared, he observed, whether we were making good investments, whether it was going to immediately benefit the country, whether exports would grow or even whether it would contribute to our future or solve our problems.

He said he attached great importance to our investments for export, to increased exports, "and we weren't going anywhere by having the economy grow if we imported more raw materials while exports didn't grow."

Added to the above was the emergence of certain circumstances made worse by the foreign debt, the situation in which we had no other possible income through exports, a hurricane, a drought, and other factors like the dropping oil prices, the dollar devaluation which made the currency that Cuba uses to buy from other countries more expensive.

As an example he said that it wasn't a question of West German or Japanese equipment costing more now. What went up was the mark or the yen, right from the moment the dollar dropped, "and so then we needed more dollars for the same amount of marks and yens." If at the beginning we needed \$500,000, it might be that by then we needed, \$700,000, and not because the price of the equipment went up, but because the price of the currency with which to buy that equipment went up.

Fidel observed that these circumstances kept piling up and forced our country into a situation where we had to make this heroic effort now, for if it took \$1.2 billion or \$1.3 billion to implement a plan, later \$1.5 billion in imports was needed. The 1984 plan came to \$1.5 billion for imports, acquired with the proceeds from exports and from credits. The debt was renegotiated he added, and right away these mechanisms triggered a boost in imports. He remarked that later imports came to \$1.2 or \$1.3 billion, and now we had to make do with \$650 million, \$700 million, \$600 to \$700 million.

He recalled that \$1,500 in 1984 were the equivalent of \$2,000 in 1986 — that currency had more purchasing power. In turn, \$700 million in 1986 are the equivalent of \$500 million from 1984. And he said that drafting a plan with one fourth of the convertible currency imports made in 1984 and about one third of the imports made in 1985 was a truly heroic task.

"It is a feat," he observed, "drawing up a plan well under those conditions, so that we don't jeopardize the production of medicines, the textile industry, for which raw materials are needed; the shoe factories; so that

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vate purposes?"

He also asked, "Are we using our resources optimally if we take 15 years to complete a given project?" Pursuing this idea, he added that if we need to build a factory that will allow us to save on imports, isn't it more useful to finish it in two years instead of 10?

We must plan our projects rationally; we must perfect them. We can secure resources from the workers' goodwill, the ones Fidel mentioned such as steel bars, cement, day-care centers, and housing which will be built with available workers, using the same factories, the same

“A large portion of a man's social labor is distributed in the form of vital services . . .”

rock quarries and sand pits — perhaps we'll have to use a bit more oil on these projects which we can get from saving on other things.

He reiterated that now we have to depend on ourselves for our resources, on our work, and that's precisely the task we've set for ourselves, that we've had to set for ourselves, Fidel insisted. We have to set ourselves this task not only because we were taking the wrong road, but also because of the needs of our economy.

The rectification process together with the struggle against negative tendencies is not simply an ideological issue, an ethical issue, a political issue, no. It's all that, but materially speaking, it can result in the equivalent of billions of pesos for the economy in five years' time.

He said he was sure that if this process continued the way it was going — and it was a subject of this council meeting — we would have reason to feel optimistic, and we have reasons to feel that way regardless of our difficulties. The difficulties are going to come, he warned, they have to manifest themselves in some way or another, insofar as everything has to be bought with cash, when we have the money to buy it.

Fidel observed that even if we make the utmost effort, there will be delays in raw material deliveries. We're going to have problems, we shouldn't fool ourselves into thinking that we won't have any difficulties, that everything will run smoothly. However, he announced, we're laying the groundwork for next year, adding that some 400,000 hectares of sugarcane will have to be planted and that the sugar harvest will have to be extremely efficient.

Combating waste

Fidel then mentioned a news item that appeared in the daily *Trabajadores* that said, "A certain sugar mill, I think it's the Caracas, which is an agro-industrial complex, was leaving over 170 tons in the fields." This sort of thing must be done away with, he emphasized: this is a battle for the party there; for the mass organizations, mainly the union; for the administration; for everyone.

He reiterated forcefully that this sort of thing couldn't go on, that 170 tons of cane can't be left lying in the fields; that 25 or 30 percent of the cane at a sugar mill can't be left behind at this time, in these circumstances, with the drought and the problems we have; this is the kind of thing, this is the kind of luxury we cannot afford.

Fidel repeated that 400,000 hectares had to be planted, because production had to climb to what it was before, that plantations damaged by the hurricane and two years of drought had to be recovered. This requires a serious, responsible, big effort every day and every night, he stated.

Still on the subject of the sugar harvest, Fidel said we couldn't run the risk of having a rainy April; because we might just be unlucky enough for it to start raining heavily on April 15 or 17, when we still have a million tons to produce. He warned that this risk exists and complications may arise yet. "That's why come April 15 or 20 we must have most of the cane cut, with the highest possible yield, and not leave any of it lying around."

Fidel also said that a tremendous effort was being made in relation to cattle. He explained that 1.2 million head of cattle are being fed sugarcane tops and leaves mixed with molasses and urea, and that the supply was steady and improving. "We've learned to use these cane by-products to feed cattle, while at the same time planting more pastureland, plowing more land and growing better grass, and it may be that we'll always use these by-products as feed."

"One million two hundred thousand head of cattle at this moment!" he exclaimed, adding that this had meant a great effort in agriculture, a serious effort on the part of men who went to tend to and feed the cattle in the cane conditioning centers with sugarcane tops and leaves. He called it a good solution, the child of necessity, the child of the drought, the child of difficulties.

Last year, he continued, the workers, as always, made a great effort and reduced to a minimum Hurricane Kate's effects on the sugar harvest. It caused damage but



Cuban schoolchildren. Much of what Cuban workers produce goes into education, health care, and other services that benefit all Cubans. Prensa Latina

not as much as the drought; it damaged the plantations, it uprooted the cane, some fields were lost, a percentage of plants were lost, and that's why we have to work so hard and make a big effort this year.

He reasoned that if we manage to plant the 400,000 hectares and the rains are normal this year, then next year the situation will be different. A study must be made of each sugar mill and agro-industrial complex to find out what problems are affecting yield, what the subjective factors are, what hinders maximum sugar yield, what avoids loss of molasses, bagasse, and whatever.

Further on, Fidel explained what's going on in agriculture generally, in the collection centers now that they are nationally run and no longer locally, how the allotted resources are being used, the trucks with diesel engines they've received, with which the collection enterprises have almost everything they will need until 1995. They'll receive, among other things, 500 new diesel trucks. Now we'll see what use they put them to, how they manage to pick up agricultural produce in the most remote parts of the country; how to bring about optimum organization now that they have to deal with private farmers and the cooperatives; how they press ahead despite drought and hurricanes; how they promote coffee planting; they're already mobilizing agronomists and intermediate-level technicians for this purpose. Agriculture, not including sugarcane, requires a big effort too, Fidel remarked.

He also talked about how the forestry workers are trying to produce more timber, taking better care of forests,

“Some peasants with great revolutionary awareness have given up their large incomes and joined cooperatives . . .”

planning not just for the present but also for the future; how cane agriculture is working and under what conditions; how construction workers are working everywhere; how industry, our entire industry is doing. Therein lie the resources, he remarked.

Workers' attitude

And he backed his opinions with the following observations contained in two questions: Can anyone doubt that subjective conditions are good, are favorable; can anyone doubt that the workers are willing to make their best effort? Haven't they just proved this in an extraordinary manner, by the way they're supporting the measures affecting them directly? They're affected by the increased fares, electricity rates, etc.

He then explained what happened with self-sufficiency in agriculture. He explained that the self-sufficiency plan was introduced to guarantee root vegetables for farm dining rooms and peasant families; but, in addition to their ration quotas, they were getting many pounds of rice, in some cases at the same low prices, or other products at

the same prices — a privilege that shouldn't have been introduced.

He argued that when these privileges are created and then comes the need to rectify, there are problems and difficulties.

He said the workers have had an admirable attitude and the news on the attitude of workers everywhere is very favorable, they are ready and willing in difficult times to do what must be done, to be told what must be done and how to do it, how to cooperate.

"That is socialist consciousness and that is communist consciousness; they know this is theirs; that this is their revolution, their system and their economy and whatever is done will be for the benefit of the people, the workers, be it a school or a hospital, a day-care center or a factory; a field of sugarcane, root or other vegetables or citrus fruit, transportation or anything else. They know this is their economy and are asking: 'Well, there are economic problems, so what must we do? Well, there have been mistakes, so what must we do? There are negative tendencies, so how to combat them? What is my role and obligation in the struggle against those negative tendencies?'"

"Such is the attitude of the workers and it must be everybody's attitude. It must be the attitude of the administrators."

"And really, without hesitation, any administrator who resorts to tricks, schemes, politicking, demagoguery, shady deals, or deceit must be removed from what he is doing on the spot, with all due haste! That is simply intolerable." These comments were warmly applauded by the delegates.

He added that the members of the party and the Union of Young Communists are participating in the battle, along with all the workers. It can't be done by party or Union of Young Communist members alone, without the support of the workers, stressed Fidel, and if the workers act in a solid, compact front against all errors and negative tendencies, it is a battle won before we start.

He said that that's why the CTC council meeting is so important; the instructions which labor leaders who attended from different levels to take to the grass roots are very important and "your role is very important." Not all the ideas are absolutely clear and there are still problems, such as those Veiga mentioned where the rectification carried out was incorrect, where calculations of norms were wrong, in which allowances were not made for the possibility that there really could be high wages for jobs such as those mentioned here or cases of high wages for 10 or 12 hours of really hard work calculated later in terms of eight hours in regard to productivity.

There were cases where the opposite was true as well: meeting and surpassing norms in four hours, even doubling the norm; there have been mistakes in the very process of rectification.

Then he quoted one of the first things he had said at the start of the process: "We must rectify errors and we must rectify errors committed while rectifying errors." These comments were warmly applauded.

Then he added: "We will be very alert and flexible, there is no room for confusion. The ideas are very clear: if that man earns more, if he can earn two times more

working more — like the examples we have given here — there is no cause for concern and there shouldn't be any limits on production, for that's the easy way out, restricting the possibilities. We should clearly differentiate between one thing and the other: money thrown away or given away, and money earned in honest labor and vigorous effort by a worker."

He also suggested looking into cases where there had been resistance by the administration, why this had happened and why the administration liked one form or the other. There have been sectors where this has proved more difficult to apply, especially in those activities which are most difficult to measure, but methods have been sought and others will be sought.

He said that everywhere workers have displayed a better attitude than the administration's, even when it means sacrifice. Some things will have to be tested and there should be no fear when it comes to rectifying something, since rectification means seeking the best possible solution in all of these cases, said Fidel.

He stressed the need for a careful study of all these instruments and the best possible way to use them, and analyze well the issue of profitability. That time is coming, at this point in the drive for rectification, after we have battled for norms, said Fidel, who before getting into the issue of profitability talked a bit about the struggle to redefine norms.

A constant battle

He stressed that this is a constant battle because it is a complex and difficult problem that requires great dedication and great integrity on the part of the norm setters, administrators, union cadres, and everyone else to uphold a just position in all cases. He repeated that this battle and in particular everything related to norms must be pursued, for it is a very difficult battle. He mentioned other battles to prevent irregularities here and there, all the things we view as incorrect.

He said the time had come for workers to get involved also in the problems of the system and one of them is the issue of profitability. We must solve the "mystery of profitability," as he put it. We must start saying, "We need clarification of the concept of profitability and how it can be a measure of efficiency, what are the costs, how much everything costs and why."

To give an example, he explained that it is known that beer has a value when it leaves the factory and another when it is sold retail at a much higher price, as with cigarettes, but the retail price has nothing to do with cost per se. However, a beer factory must know the cost of the raw materials, the investment, the labor, the energy consumed, the water, and everything else. How much does the beer cost? What should the cost be? Is it high or low? Why is this the case and what has a bearing on this? What about excess personnel and too many workers not directly linked with production, in addition to not taking

"A bureaucrat with a good home may not care about the fact that hundreds of thousands of people are living in run-down housing . . ."

full advantage of the workday?

Fidel stressed the need for becoming experts on costs, based more or less on the prices we have. He added that this means the State Committee for Prices must adjust its work very carefully and get involved in cost research, "so we can ask them, 'How much did the heart center cost?' and they can quickly reply, 'So many tons of this, so many tons of that, so many hours of work, such and such an effort, so much equipment, so much fuel and so many pesos, plus, of course, the value created by that effort means such and such percentage.'"

He explained that sometimes there is a desire to measure something and there is no point of reference. He gave as an example the international price of a product, whose cost is often impossible to compare because there is better technology in the world in that sector or because the plants are more developed and have greater productivity, while we have a relatively old plant which we can't close, for if we close it we won't have any. So what should be the rational cost of an enterprise with these conditions, and what should be the cost of the other?

He stated that these concepts of profitability are relative if we don't take all this into account, for there may be a factory which "seems like it is going very well" and it may be that it has a good wholesale price for its products and has good technology, while another which seems like it is bankrupting the country is actually making a bigger effort than the other one and is running at a loss because the state makes it buy raw materials at one price and sell the finished products at a lower price.

He explained that in this case subsidies must be given to the product, not the factory, for if you subsidize the

factory you are subsidizing an unprofitable factory. "But why is it unprofitable?" he asked. Because the state has made it unprofitable by decree.

Costs and profitability

Then he referred to another report, "I think it was in *Trabajadores* newspaper. I want to take the opportunity

"Any administrator who resorts to tricks, schemes, politicking, demagoguery, shady deals, or deceit must be removed from what he is doing on the spot . . ."

to say I have taken a growing liking to that newspaper of the workers, with its new format and content, because every day it has more and more news about the problems of industry and production, of many things in a very responsible manner, which I tell you is very useful for us, it is very useful for me."

The news report in question was about the Ariguanabo textile mill and it said, "The workers at Ariguanabo have had a great success. The workers at Ariguanabo have a high percentage of workers directly in production — I think it said 87 percent — with only two or three percent administrative personnel and I don't know what percentage of technicians. They have raised production to 55 million square meters — more than 90 percent of capacity — while cutting losses to two million."

He commented that this was strange, for how can a factory with nearly 90 percent of its workers in production and which has reduced personnel not directly involved in production to a minimum and is nearly at peak capacity be losing two million pesos? Why? We have to see if it is excess personnel, low productivity, low technical skills, if they take full advantage of the workday; if the factory functions well, in spite of problems with the roof, the air conditioning, and all those things.

"I know that some workers have tents over the machines for when it rains. That's something else: they have been working on that roof and people have been

working under those conditions for who knows how many years."

Fidel asked if it is running well, "why is it unprofitable? Why is the plant running at a loss?" He expressed his opinion that something is wrong and the economists must get involved there. That's where the economists should be! Studying all those details. What are the elements that determine that a factory that is running well loses money. This is a very important problem, he stressed, if we want to continue talking about profitability, if we want to continue using profitability as a measure of efficiency.

He reaffirmed the view that in all factories we must know what everything costs and analyze what determines these costs, the retail prices and technical level of the factory. He argued that if it is very backward in technical terms, then we should measure efficiency, measure whether they really cut costs, reduce them to a minimum. Even if the factory is being subsidized, because with adequate prices its technical level is backward and yet the factory must continue functioning.

We can say the efficiency of the factory is such and such, although it runs at a loss or this factory loses money because the prices it is paid are arbitrary, or that factory loses money because it is obliged to sell its product at less than what it must pay for raw materials.

We must be able to make a diagnosis of all the fac-

"In all factories we must know what everything costs and analyze what determines those costs . . ."

tories in terms of cost and see what problems make them unprofitable. And anticipating the results of this, he pointed out, "What a tremendous economic ethic the workers would have if they would say, 'This factory is unprofitable because its technological level is such and such but the country needs us to keep it going.' Or, 'It isn't profitable because of excess personnel and now we can't remove them because we have no place to send them to.'"

"I don't mean to say that the problem would be solved
Continued on next page



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Continued from previous page

by removing all surplus personnel. No, they must be sent to new factories, to other activities, for we can't create any social problems."

But workers there must know what the problem is, what the costs of their factory are, why their factory is losing money, so that if these are subjective or objective factors, they can include them in a program for the day we can change that machinery for another which is more modern.

In some cases, he added, there is a branch with more modern factories and others which are older, and if the factory can't make a profit under these objective conditions, then the merging of enterprises should be profitable.

We must know and be familiar with all this, if we want to see if we are efficient. Now there is no way — if we don't know the costs and don't take all these things into account, if we don't make changes in the system — of knowing if we are really efficient.

Fidel said he had asked the comrades of the sugar industry to explain why the great majority of the agroindustrial complexes lose money. "Tell us whether it is because of excess personnel, underutilization of the workday, deterioration, or the fourth shift at the mills — something the workers had long called for — or because after the calculations were more or less completed we added the branch coefficient. Explain it to us and tell us if some are profitable and others not, why one is profitable and another isn't, because we must spot subjective inefficiency in order to combat it and rectify it.

"So they must explain it to us. The ministry must know and each mill must know and so must every worker. We must know whether or not it is profitable, on a just and rational basis."

At one point there was talk that the harvests were too expensive, that they were costly because parts were overpriced. Maybe parts manufacturers were getting rich selling parts for harvesters while bankrupting the agricultural side of the sugar industry.

All this must be studied to see how much is due to poor

“We often feel that these are matters for great intellectuals, great wise men; but these are real, practical problems of life . . .”

organization and administration, poor use of the workday, and excess personnel and how much is due to objective factors, so we can get to the bottom of the problem. "For by simply saying, 'This factory runs very well — applause — it's profitable' and 'This one runs very badly — criticisms — it's unprofitable,' we may end up rewarding somebody who turns a profit the easy way and being critical of somebody whom we have obliged to be unprofitable and nothing is cleared up that way, not even the need to change the old machines and bring in new ones to increase productivity."

He said that workers and unions must no longer leave this to the wise men, the brains, the technocrats. It is the time for every worker to know about the problems of his factory for that's very important.

If he doesn't know what makes a factory profitable he can't do anything or struggle against anything, said Fidel, who added that if we know what is involved, the party, the union, and the Union of Young Communists can formulate programs.

He added that this way we will acquire a genuine economic ethic and otherwise we will be living myths and lies.

Issue of wages

After asking workers to start thinking about the factors that determine profitability or unprofitability, Fidel came to the issue of low wages.

"There was a reform which raised the salaries of those who already earned a lot, many salaries, but I really think nobody thought of those who earned less. Now, as a result of these measures, we have seen that there is still a relatively large number of people who make less than 100 pesos monthly."

He explained that he was talking about auxiliary personnel who get paid based on the time they put in, who work an eight-hour day and who don't get paid according to how much they produce.

More than 100,000 or perhaps 150,000 people are in that category and earn less than 100 pesos. He advocated bringing them all up to 100 pesos.

He said that to the extent that we have resources and save, we can redistribute the savings. He said that some of the measures adopted, not to improve internal finances but because of the hard currency picture and to avoid having to import, will enable us to increase earnings, redistribute, and improve the situation of those who earn less.

They tell me that the CTC can't hold on to its elevator operators because they are only paid 85 pesos. Maybe paying them 100 pesos the situation would get better. Now, as soon as we have some money from what we save or raise from applying the measures, we should try to improve selectively some of these salaries that are becoming a headache in terms of finding people for these jobs.

Continuing in the same vein, Fidel said that the wage reform raised the salaries of those who were already earning a lot but forgot the modest worker. This also illustrates a frame of mind. It's the work of people who have nothing in common with the modest worker; they are concerned about other things. These comments were warmly applauded by the delegates.

Fidel said it was right for the specialist who does transplants, a surgeon, or professor to earn 350-400 pesos, but this doesn't mean we should underestimate modest workers who do difficult work and forget about their material conditions.

At least we must show them that society appreciates their work; if not, little by little we will fall into a society based on hierarchy, with a series of social categories of all kinds and follow in the footsteps of capitalism in this respect.

He stressed that — in the framework of giving each according to his work and considering that earnings can't be egalitarian, although needs may be greater in some cases than in others — in our wage policy we must put an end to this sort of historical neglect regarding wage categories and improve them.

The money we save and raise will enable us to correct some of these injustices of cases of neglect or situations with people who do work which is not that of the great intellectual but it is honorable, useful, indispensable work for society.

We must get into the habit of thinking. We often feel that these are matters for great intellectuals and theoreticians, great wise men; but these are real, practical problems of life. You won't find that in books, and we mustn't think that by having taken a Marxism-Leninism course we know everything.

The problem of the hospital auxiliary worker, he went on, the person who sweeps the floor in a hospital or in a school or in a day-care center won't be dealt with in any manual or class we receive.

We must use theory, the essence of the theory to solve practical problems without being guilty of idealism, extremism, or egalitarianism, Fidel stressed.

There can't be egalitarianism, for we are not in the era of communism, but that doesn't mean we can resign ourselves to having some people earn 85 pesos and others 850.

Fidel then mused, is the work of the latter 10 times more useful to society than that of the former?

He mentioned the case of somebody who earned 50,000 pesos a year and asked, is his work 50 or 60 times more important than that of the person who sweeps the floor in a school or a day-care center?

And if they earned 100,000 pesos you could wonder, is his contribution to society 100 times more useful than

“There can't be egalitarianism, but that doesn't mean we can resign ourselves to having some people earn 85 pesos and others 850 . . .”

that of other workers? If we're not bothered by someone earning 100,000 yearly and another earning 50,000, do we have the human and moral right to resign ourselves to having another make only 85 pesos a month? Of course, if you get used to somebody earning 85,000 a year, and you think it's wonderful, you will forget the man making 85 a month for sure.

Fidel remarked that we have no right to tell anybody how to build socialism but we have the obligation to tell ourselves how to build it.

Defending superior values

If our people have been willing to defend socialism because it is just, in spite of all our blunders, errors, and negative tendencies, wouldn't they be much more willing to defend superior values related to the concept of socialism? They would surely be willing to do much more.

Further on, Fidel stated that in the services it is impossible to link wages to norms. We must have people do several jobs, give them some incentives for working irregular hours and fair wages, if the idea of linking wages to norms is abused, it would even be applied to surgeons.

He spoke of a visit he made to the Hermanos Ameijeiras Hospital and the invitation he was issued to

witness an operation using lithotripsy (destruction of calculi with shock waves).

He said he witnessed the operation and saw the doctor handling the sophisticated equipment and aiming at the stone as if the apparatus were a telescopic sight. This required care and attention, but the medical team's aim was to do eight operations daily using the lithotrite.

He said he realized the idea was to have the machine work 24 hours a day, not just eight; like planes, it should never stop.

I suggested, he said, they train teams from Santiago de Cuba and Villa Clara so that here in Havana they could have the machine going all the time.

"It doesn't matter if you do five operations instead of eight, but you mustn't ever neglect care for patients, being sensitive to their worries, the psychological aspect, that sort of thing," Fidel told the team.

Five operations every eight hours means 15 daily and more than 3,000 in 250 days. Thus, a single machine is enough for the moment, he said.

With three teams of doctors and one machine (supposedly we needed three) we can handle 3,000 cases.

Later on we will buy other machines for the eastern region and perhaps one for central Cuba, but one is enough for the time being.

In this case man is the most economical factor and, of

“We have no right to tell anybody how to build socialism, but we have an obligation to tell ourselves how to build socialism . . .”

course, he must do the operation as well as possible.

Fidel said he had figured out that the medical team gets paid 72 pesos per operation, and the machine costs nearly \$2 plus the electrode, which is \$300 per operation, and a condenser which also costs money and must be recharged every 200 operations approximately.

The machine is the most expensive thing, and thus it must be exploited, while the human factor provides a quality operation.

Performing an operation isn't the same as making a pair of shoes, he remarked, for a badly performed operation has far more serious consequences than a sole that comes unstuck. He added that the family doctor cannot be paid according to the number of patients he sees.

"What we're interested in is having well-trained doctors with revolutionary awareness, committed to their work, to their patients, to their neighbors and who will work well."

Likewise, he continued, it is difficult to link wages to norms in education, the services, and much less in defense. In education we must demand good classes and quality. How would we go about paying an officer who has completed one, two, three, four, or five internationalist missions? Do you think we could say, so many years means so much money, so much per internationalist mission?

Fidel added that it would be ridiculous and offensive to a soldier to tell him, listen, we'll pay you according to the number of people killed in battle, or tell a commander we'll pay him by the number of victories.

He emphasized that there's a major segment of society in the construction of socialism where such economic mechanisms can't be used.

However, it would be idealistic to ignore the need for linking wages to norms in the material sphere where work can be measured in concrete terms.

If we don't forget the role of the party, the role of awareness, of education and revolutionary ethic, some day we will have many more people working in another frame of mind as our soldiers, doctors, and teachers are doing, he said.

These services, with a major intellectual component, can't be handled with the mechanism of linking wages to norms.

Fidel urged workers and trade union cadres to think about all this, "which you won't find in books, you won't find in theory, it's the way in which we will really enrich our practice and theory of socialist construction."

Fidel concluded by discussing the next CTC congress, to be held in two years, and said it should be a historic event in terms of the ability to provide answers, both theoretical and practical, to the issues at stake.

The labor movement is not a simple organization of professionals; it is a mass and political organization which must have its answers, must analyze and think in order to come up with solutions for the construction of socialism.

Lastly, he said: "You are the party's most important force in the battle to rectify errors, struggle against negative tendencies, and build socialism and communism in our country."

Canadian letter carriers win strike

Outpouring of union solidarity helps workers beat back government assault

BY STEVE PENNER

MONTREAL, Canada — The federal government pulled out all the stops in its effort to break the three-week rotating strikes by 20,500 letter carriers and impose major concessions on their union.

It brought in thousands of strikebreakers and employed massive cop violence and court injunctions to try to break up picket lines set up by the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC). The result was a massive battle in which hundreds of workers were either injured or arrested for trying to defend their right to strike.

The cop and scab assault, however, was unable to break the strike.

The letter carriers, backed up by one of the biggest shows of union solidarity in years, defeated Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's antiunion attack. (As we go to press the result of the membership vote on the proposed settlement is not yet known.)

In the proposed agreement, the letter carriers beat back every major concession demanded by management. They also forced the post office to rehire every one of the 83 workers fired or indefinitely suspended for alleged picket line violence.

The LCUC's stunning victory is a serious blow to the efforts of Canada's capitalist rulers to reverse the growing wave of trade union struggles against the bosses' concession demands and union-busting attacks. Its impact will give new strength to the labor fightback that was unleashed last year by the powerful struggles waged by Gainers meat-packers in Alberta and by Newfoundland government workers.

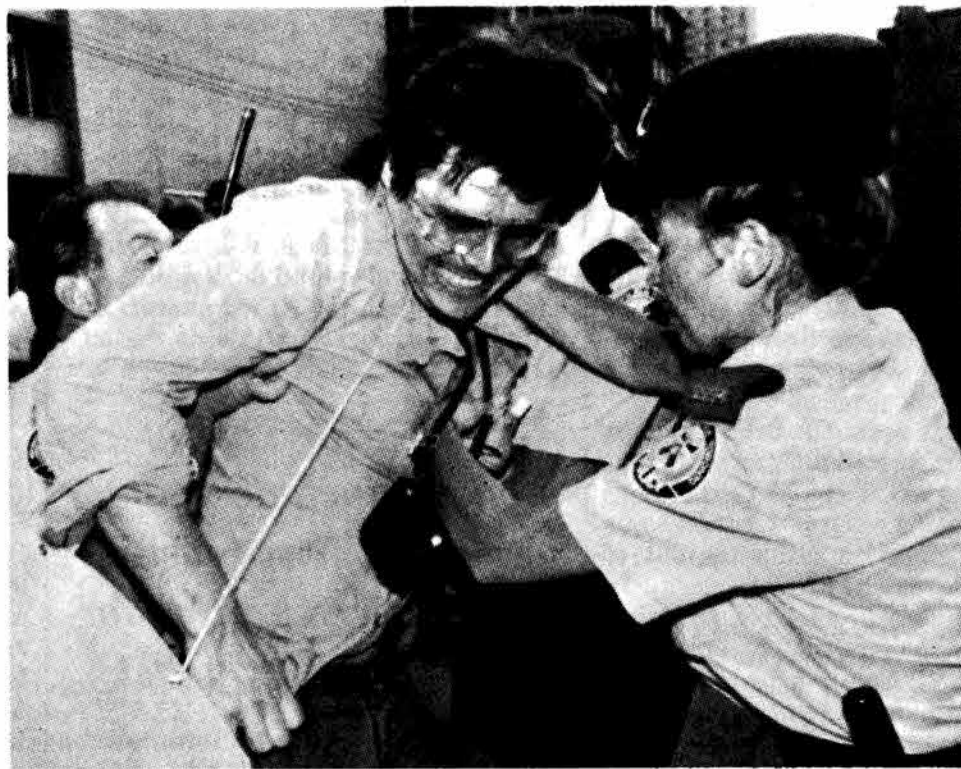
The post office — backed up by the federal government, the big-business media, and the bosses' associations — had campaigned for months to isolate the letter carriers and win broad support for its sweeping concessions demands. It insisted it would settle for nothing less than a "fundamental change" in the union contract in order to be able to impose "increased productivity" on the work force.

Layoffs and cutbacks

The government's stated goal was to eliminate a \$132-million dollar "deficit" in the post office budget by next year. This was to be accomplished by increased speedup on the job, longer routes and shorter breaks, and further major cuts in postal services.

The post office also sought to eliminate the no-layoff clause in the LCUC contract. Management's aim was to lay off more than 8,000 letter carriers and other postal workers in the next few years.

Canada Post was also demanding a two-tier wage scale in which new employees would be permanently paid more than \$3 an hour less than other letter carriers for exactly the same work. As the union pointed out, this would have meant institutionalizing systematic wage discrimination against younger workers, women, and immigrants, who make up a much higher percentage of new hires than they do of the present work force.



Postal worker being arrested in Toronto. Mulroney government employed massive violence and court injunctions in unsuccessful attempt to break strike.

All of the major concessions demanded of the LCUC were decisively defeated by the union.

The post office's main accomplishments were very limited by comparison.

It succeeded in freezing the wages of new hires at the current rate of \$13.25 an hour for the duration of the two-year contract, while the top rate rises to \$14.24. It will now take five years for a new employee to reach the top rate instead of two. Otherwise, the new contract is essentially the same as the old one.

In addition, while the post office was forced to rehire every one of the 83 fired workers, it did suspend 567 workers for strike activity. The vast majority of the suspensions were for 20 days. However, 21 workers were suspended for periods of 60 days to one year without pay. The union is fighting the suspensions through the grievance procedure.

Whether the government can succeed in imposing further major cuts in postal service in face of strong union and public opposition remains to be seen.

The next major test will be the current contract negotiations of the inside postal workers. They are expected to be in a position to strike legally by mid-August.

Mass picket lines crucial

The letter carriers were able to defeat the government attack for several reasons. Its members were determined that they would not "accept rollbacks or concessions," union Vice-president Mike Villemare explained.

A number of strikers told the press that previous concessions and cooperation with management had only weakened the union and set it up for more sweeping attacks. They vowed that letter carriers would not make the same mistake again.

Moreover, the workers refused to back away from the fight in the face of massive use of strikebreakers, cop violence, and court injunctions. To the contrary, they responded to these attacks by building mass picket lines of up to several thousand workers in every major postal center across the country. This was crucial to winning the strike.

Thousands of potential strikebreakers were either persuaded not to cross the pick-

et lines or prevented from doing so. Mail service was substantially reduced, and hundreds of companies were forced to turn to private courier services.

Most importantly, the letter carriers' picket lines were key to mobilizing the support needed to win the battle with the government, not only on the picket lines but among working people and their allies.

Working people from coast to coast were horrified by the government-sponsored violence and blatant union-busting. They had not seen anything like it since the federal government's workers' unions won the right to strike for the first time in the mid-1960s.

In response, thousands of union members across the country threw their support behind the letter carriers to ensure that the government's attack was defeated.

Unprecedented labor solidarity

The scope of cross-country labor solidarity was broader than in any other pan-Canadian strike in decades.

Leaders from many of the major unions called on their members to help reinforce the letter carriers' picket lines. These included the auto, steel, and woodworkers' unions; the inside postal workers; and several public sector unions. Hundreds of workers from these and other unions marched on the letter carriers' picket lines.

Solidarity took many other forms. Transit workers in Toronto and Montreal refused to transport scabs across picket lines. Canada Manpower counselors refused to send unemployed workers for jobs as strikebreakers. And thousands of union members across the country put up stickers on their mailboxes proclaiming, "No scab mail here."

The 8,500-member local of the United Steelworkers of America at Stelco in Hamilton, Ontario, distributed a leaflet to all of its members using:

"We, as union members and workers, must support the letter carriers in their struggle. We must help the letter carriers and put a stop to this use of scabs to break their strike. If the post office is successful with their use of scabs to break this strike, in 1990 Stelco may try the same thing."

The Hamilton steelworkers expressed the growing understanding of thousands of workers from coast to coast about the crucial importance of labor solidarity in face of the bosses' attacks. The fact that the letter carriers' victory has taught that lesson to many thousands more was the most important single gain of their strike.

Cop attacks anger auto parts workers

BY ROSEMARY RAY

TORONTO, Canada — The nightly television scenes of cops beating postal workers and scab trucks charging picket lines angered my coworkers at Canadian A.S.E., a local auto-parts plant. They wanted to know why the government was paying scab truck drivers \$80 an hour from their taxes and why the cops were receiving overtime pay on the picket lines.

We decided to help the postal strikers by getting together a solidarity petition addressed to their union, the Letter Carriers' Union of Canada (LCUC).

Brad, a young Black steward, was proud that all the workers in the plating department responded to his request for signatures.

On July 3 Brad and I were heading down to the letter carriers' union office to deliver our local's petition when we heard on the radio that LCUC had called a strike for all its members in Toronto that day. Once at the union office we were immediately dispatched to join a picket line outside the posh Harbourcastle Hotel downtown.

We arrived to find large groups of well-dressed people leaving the hotel who were being jeered by a handful of postal strikers. They were post office management officials who had been flown in from across Canada, to keep the mail moving if a strike was called for Toronto.

By mid-morning good news arrived at the postal stations. The postal drivers had figured a way of getting around the govern-

ment injunctions that limited picketing. They had picked up the bulk of Toronto's mail for that day and instead of taking it to the sub-postal stations for delivery, they drove the trucks to a Canada Post warehouse, a building not covered by the anti-picketing injunctions. They locked up the trucks, put a padlock on the warehouse gates, and set up a picket line. No mail was delivered by scabs in Toronto on that day.

Responding to calls from LCUC for solidarity, picket reinforcements arrived at the Harbourcastle from members of the Communications Workers union, the Steelworkers, the Building Trades, and from the South African Congress of Trade Unions Solidarity Committee in Toronto. At 2:30 p.m. the LCUC picket captain announced that we would be crossing the street to picket the building that houses the regional headquarters of Canada Post. Brian Mulroney, prime minister of Canada, was scheduled to enter that building at 3:05 to open a new child-care center.

Mulroney has always tried to project himself as being sympathetic to trade unions. For example, in response to charges that his government was supporting strikebreaking by Canada Post, Mulroney, in a much-publicized statement, declared: "I do not cross picket lines — never have and never will."

As we waited outside the building some picketers wondered whether Mulroney would come. But then at 3 p.m. a caval-

cade of limos and cops came speeding up. A bus pulled up in front of the picket line. The bus sat there for five minutes and through the tinted windows we could see the silhouette of the prime minister involved in a very animated discussion.

Suddenly the doors of the bus opened and there stood the prime minister. He was about to cross our picket line. As the cops pushed a path through for him, the picketers surged forward yelling at Mulroney, "Scab, scab. Liar, liar." And "Never have and never will. Mulroney, you're a phoney".

After Mulroney had entered the building a jubilant postal worker turned to me and said "this is the best day of my life."

Later that day as the TV screens across Canada showed Mulroney crossing the picket line, the prime minister desperately tried to repair the political damage. He called a hastily arranged press conference claiming that "it was not a picket line, neither in the legal nor conventional sense" and said he had a right to enter a "multi-purpose" building. But, given the broad support that existed for the strikers, the damage had been done.

Within 24 hours Canada Post Corporation signed a no-concessions contract proposal with LCUC leaders.

Rosemary Ray works at Canadian A.S.E. and is a member of United Steelworkers Local 8694.

Oct. 11 march for lesbian, gay rights in Washington, D.C.

On October 11, a march for lesbian and gay rights will take place in Washington, D.C.

March demands include:

- Passage of the congressional lesbian and gay rights bill.
- An end to discrimination against people with acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS). Massive increase in funding for AIDS education, research, and patients. Money for AIDS, not for war.
- Repeal of all antisodomy laws.

Supporters of the march include the National Organization for Women, National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, Mobilization for Survival, War Resisters League, National AIDS Network, Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches, National Association of Social Workers, Inc., and Peoples Anti-War Mobilization.

For more information, contact the March on Washington Committee, P.O. Box 7781, Washington, D.C. 20044. (202) 783-1828.

Contras sabotage powerline tower in northern Nicaragua

BY JON HILLSON

ESTELÍ, Nicaragua — This northern Nicaraguan town of 70,000, the seat of government of the Segovias region, was placed on a "state of alert" June 12 in the aftermath of sabotage by contra terrorists. The attack had downed an electrical powerline tower shortly after midnight on that day.

It was the sixth time in a year and a half that U.S.-trained hit-and-run mercenary bands have blown up electrical pylons in the region, leaving Estelí and surrounding towns temporarily without power and running water.

The June 12 attack, unlike others, was not carried out in remote areas of the region, where the pylons are virtually impossible to protect from tiny contra units.

Outrage, anger — and disbelief — was the response of working people here, who pride themselves in being citizens of Nicaragua's most combative city in vigilance against contra attacks.

Residents of the Oscar Gamez barrio were wakened by the tremendous explosion that toppled the tower.

"It was like an earthquake," one barrio resident said. The contra bomb squad used C-4 explosives, a highly sophisticated gelatinous substance manufactured exclusively in the United States.

In an instant, armed residents of the barrio poured from their homes to search for the mercenary unit under a brilliant full moon. Later in the day, local officials reported they had taken at least one suspect into custody, as an atmosphere of complete calm, typical of any average day here, prevailed.

Work to repair the pylon began immediately, as hundreds of Estelí residents came to watch from dawn on.

The tower was one of two priority points for neighborhood watch carried out by the community-based Sandinista Defense Committees (CDSs).

Regional CDS coordinator Ramón Gamez told a delegation of U.S. and Canadian activists in Estelí that the nine-person watch committee was in the process of being relieved when the explosion took place. The charge, placed nine feet from the base of the tower, was detonated by a slow fuse, which gave the saboteurs time to

plant the C-4 and leave undetected.

Gamez termed the sabotage attack "an act of propaganda by the contras for foreign consumption to prove their viability as the U.S. Congress prepares to reconsider aid to the mercenaries."

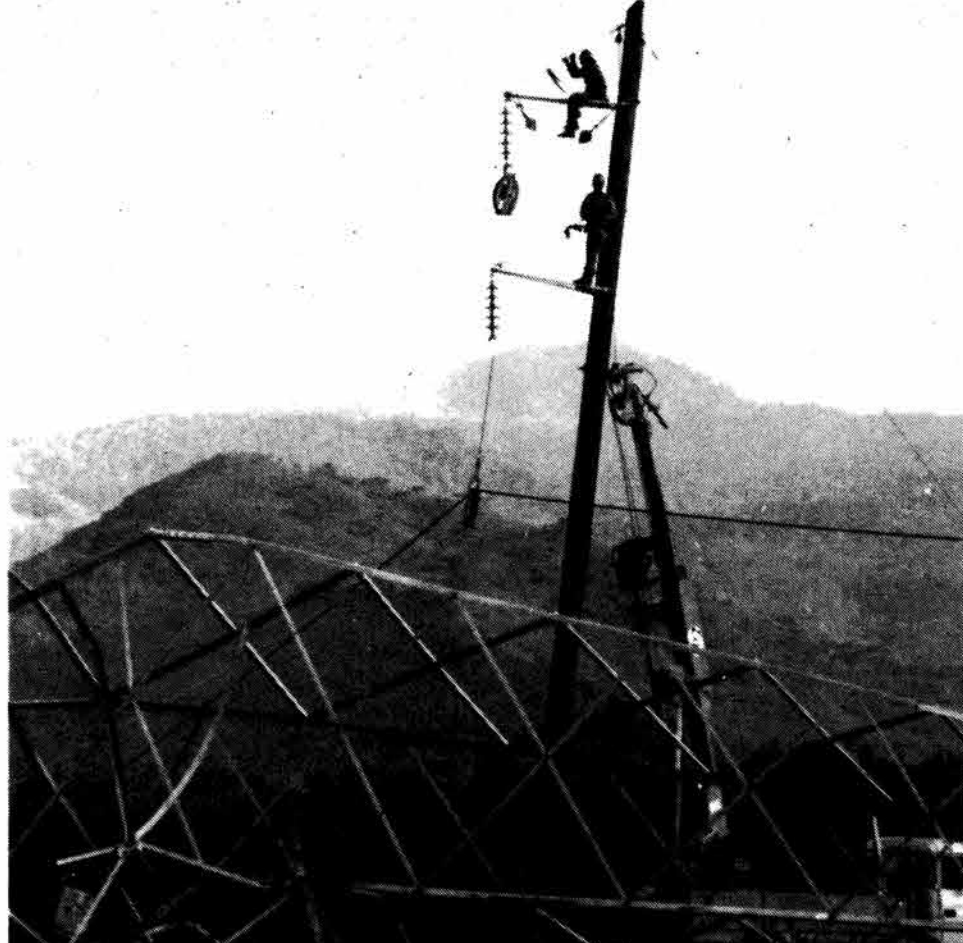
It is, Gamez said, "one thing for them to blow up a tower in the mountains, but, if they do it in Estelí, it is supposed to have more significance."

Gamez, an elected member of the Nicaraguan National Assembly for the Sandinista National Liberation Front, said the tower attack would prompt a "mobilization to increase vigilance throughout the city."

The next evening, the Oscar Gamez barrio was being patrolled by armed, uniformed members of the army reserve. There was a modest, but discernable increase in neighborhood watches, supplemented by armed walking patrols of local citizens, across Estelí.

At special local CDS and Sandinista National Liberation Front meetings over the weekend, the reorganization of such vigilance was a key topic in discussions that centered on the war's impact on the city and surrounding areas.

Vigilance, many local activists note, has fallen off in recent months. Many young men are at the front, participating in the nation's military conscription program. And, as economic pressures mount, the level of responsibility shouldered by union, community, and political leaders at the grassroots level has increased, leaving



Workers repair pylon blown up by U.S.-backed mercenaries in Estelí. Contras used explosive manufactured in United States.

weaknesses in many areas of work.

The contras, organized into small bands, attempt to avoid military confrontation with the Nicaraguan armed forces. They have trained their sights on "economic targets" — electrical pylons, bridges, and farming cooperatives.

These hit-and-run tactics of the contras are not signs of strength. CDS leader Gamez explained that they come from "weakness and defeat, because the contras

are afraid of our military forces. So they kill civilians."

"Within this new mode of war of the enemy, the total mobilization of the people is necessary to accelerate the defeat of the contras," Estelí FSLN leader José Francisco Mendieta explained in radio broadcasts and newspaper articles in the wake of the sabotage. This, he said, "will bring the definitive victory over the counterrevolutionary bands closer."

Nicaraguan leaders visit Iran, Iraq

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Central leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and Nicaraguan government concluded trips to Iran and Iraq July 3. The purpose was to appeal for oil supplies, express opposition to U.S. military threats against Iran, and encourage both Iran and Iraq to find a negotiated settlement to the six-year war between them.

Carlos Núñez, a member of the FSLN National Directorate and president of Nicaragua's National Assembly, traveled to

Iran, where he met with top officials. It was the first visit of a National Directorate member to that country.

Upon his return, Núñez announced that the Iranian government has agreed to supply oil to Nicaragua, which currently faces a big shortage of fuel.

"Iran's positive response," he said, "is due to the fact that they understand the difficult situation Nicaragua faces, they recognize the revolutionary transformations we are going through, and [they understand] the aggressive attitude of the United States." Washington is treating Iran the same way it is treating Nicaragua, he said, "as shown by the situation in the Persian Gulf."

Núñez praised the Iranian government's willingness to help meet Nicaragua's oil needs, "given the efforts of the Iranian people to preserve their [own] revolution" in the face of U.S. threats. "This is not just moral solidarity but solidarity demonstrated in practice," he said.

President of the Iranian parliament, Hojatolislam Hashemi Rafsanjani, who met with Núñez, said that "the common denominator that our two revolutions share at the moment is our conflict with the United States." Washington, he said, "is shamelessly and openly intervening in the affairs of the Nicaraguan revolution, approving budgets for the counterrevolution. Meanwhile, in the Persian Gulf, it is making political and military threats and shamelessly flying its flag on the ships of a country that is trying to give aid to our enemy in the war."

The U.S. government is challenging Iran and Nicaragua simultaneously, Rafsanjani explained. Therefore, "it is natural" that the Iranian and Nicaraguan governments "should have more meetings and more joint cooperation," he said.

While Núñez was in Iran, Nicaraguan Vice-president Sergio Ramírez, also an FSLN leader, visited Iraq, where he met with President Saddam Hussein and others. It was the highest-level Nicaraguan delegation to have visited Iraq thus far.

Ramírez' statements during his visit focused on Nicaragua's concern that a settlement be reached ending the Iran-Iraq war. He said this was also a concern being raised by Núñez in Iran.

Ramírez explained that both Iran and Iraq are members of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, as is Nicaragua. He pointed out that Nicaragua proposed, at the 1986 Nonaligned meeting in Zimbabwe, that the Nonaligned countries play a central role in achieving a peaceful settlement to the Iran-Iraq war.

After leaving Iraq, Ramírez headed for Algeria. There he is representing Nicaragua in celebrations of the 25th anniversary of Algerian independence from French colonial rule.

N.Y. picket demands more rapid testing of drugs to treat AIDS

BY SONJA FRANETA

NEW YORK — About 50 spirited people walked in a circle in front of Memorial Sloan Kettering Hospital in New York City July 23. Signs they were carrying read, "Why is Sloan Kettering testing new drugs on only 31 people with \$1,152,930 the NIH [National Institute of Health] gave you," "Silencio = muerte [silence = death]," "We're dying from red tape, release the drugs," and "22,000 are dead, don't join their silence."

The mother of one of the marchers told the *Militant*, "I'm walking because I'm a parent; instead of testing people for AIDS, they should test drugs."

A fact sheet distributed to passersby said, "In June 1986, Congress allocated \$47 million to fund a comprehensive national program to test promising new treatments for AIDS at 19 medical centers across the country, designated as AIDS Treatment Evaluation Units. Why, 13 months after the program's establishment, are there only 844 people enrolled in government drug trials? More than 10,000 Americans have died from AIDS in the interim."

Larry Kramer, who heads AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power, which organized the action, said that the picket line at Sloan Kettering was going to last four days. It would be followed by pickets at other New York hospitals. New York University, he said, was the next target.

Subscribe to 'Perspectiva Mundial' July issue: U.S. out of Persian Gulf!

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The July issue features a news analysis of the current U.S. war moves in the Persian Gulf and their connection to the Iran-contra scandal.

The article points out that Washington's policy in the Persian Gulf is to prevent the toppling of the Iraqi regime. It explains how resistance by the people of the United States to using U.S. military forces has deepened the crisis of the government.

Also in this issue is an interview with Jesús Antonio Escandell, secretary of international relations for the Cuban trade union federation.

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Grenada — three years after U.S. invasion

Workers face growing unemployment, rising attacks on democratic rights

BY ART YOUNG

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — "Workers are beginning to see that there is nothing for them in the [government's] whole economic plan," Anslem De Bourg, president of the Trade Union Council of Grenada, told the *Militant* here. De Bourg, who is also president of the Commercial and Industrial Workers Union, said, "The workers make the sacrifices, and the employers are enjoying the whole benefit."

Largest protests

This year's May Day demonstration and rally was the largest public rally against the U.S.-installed regime since the 1983 invasion, De Bourg said. He estimated that between 2,000 and 3,000 people took part. (There are about 7,500 union members in the country.)

"The spirit [of the participants] was very good. There were banners and slogans against retrenchment [layoffs]. One of the popular slogans was 'Retrench the retrenchers,'" said De Bourg.

"Workers made up tunes [songs]. Each group of workers would make up a different tune," he continued.

The union leader also pointed to what he called a "new dimension" to the May Day action this year. He said several speakers took up a number of international issues — "the whole question of apartheid, and the importance of peace in the world."

"I think it is worth noting that the people were receptive. When these things were said, it was as if the revolution was still on. People had yearned to hear that kind of statement once more," De Bourg explained.

The audience responded enthusiastically, he reported, when speakers declared, "We want sovereignty in Grenada. Everybody must respect people's sovereignty. We want to ensure that we don't have foreign troops or military bases here."

De Bourg readily admitted that life under the Herbert Blaize regime was far from easy for the unions. But, he stressed, "despite all the problems, the trade union movement is real alive."

Kendrick Radix, a leader of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM), told the *Militant* that the rate of unemployment in the country is nearing 50 percent, with an even higher rate among young people.

Workers face growing unemployment

Prime Minister Blaize has begun to implement his highly unpopular plan to lay off up to one-quarter of the civil service.

Sixty-one government workers received layoff notices July 1. Among those dismissed was George Sandiford, a teacher for 27 years at the St. George's Anglican Senior School.

Outraged at his dismissal, students staged a one-day boycott of classes in protest. As this reporter watched, they proceeded to tape hand-lettered sheets to the school walls. One of them read, "No Sandiford! No school!"

The criteria as to who is retrenched are completely arbitrary. Seniority is not taken into account. Radix cited cases of workers

with 10 to 23 years of seniority who had lost their jobs. There is no right to appeal.

The dismissals are often politically motivated. Sandiford is president of the St. George's branch of the Grenada Union of Teachers. Supporters of the former government of Maurice Bishop are often singled out.

Rich get richer

The New National Party regime is shifting the tax burden onto the shoulders of the poorest layers of Grenadian society.

Workers and poor farmers paid only minimal tax under the People's Revolutionary Government of Maurice Bishop. Many of them paid no tax at all, recalled De Bourg. There were special provisions to protect those with low income, children under 18, and elderly dependents.

The Blaize government has installed a value-added tax system, a form of sales tax that applies to almost all items except basic foodstuffs. The rate of taxation is a steep 20 percent.

"The tax structure has been democratized," commented Radix ironically. "Everybody pays the same whatever their income."

Commenting on the overall economic situation of the country, Radix said, "The so-called private sector was to be the beneficiary of the dismantling of the state sector. Now, the private sector is in fact shrinking rather than expanding; the private companies the Americans were supposed to create never got off the ground."

Radix described how Blaize is proceeding to dismantle many of the state enterprises. "The state marketing boards, which did several million dollars a year in business importing milk, agricultural supplies, chemicals, pesticides, flour, rice, etc., are now all linked to the private sector."

"The state farms are being broken up into five-acre plots and given to favorite hangers-on of the regime."

Radix continued: "The most disgusting example [of this policy of privatization] is the Ramada Renaissance, formerly the Grenada Beach Hotel — taken over and given to a foreigner for nothing, for about 5 percent of the gross profits, or \$5,000 a month. What is more vulgar is that the government signed a loan guarantee to an international financial institution to provide money to this private individual."

Another reflection of the government's overall unpopularity is the defection of five of the 14 members of parliament (MPs) elected on the New National Party (NNP) ticket. The group includes three former cabinet ministers. Six opposition MPs are in the process of forming a new political party.

Attack on democratic rights

Aware of this growing dissatisfaction, Blaize rushed the Emergency Powers Act (EPA) through parliament in a heated 14-hour session June 26. The EPA allows the government to call a state of emergency, during which it can assume sweeping powers over the economy and over the right to travel and demonstrate. It provides for the arbitrary detention and deportation of persons deemed undesirable.

Einstein Louison, another leader of the MBPM, had his passport seized at the airport as he was about to board his flight. The government refuses to return the passport, citing "national security" and "concern." However, it refuses to explain. So Louison cannot leave the island. Radix, a lawyer, was threatened with contempt of court charges during a trial in June. (The judge later withdrew the threat.)

Youth victimized

Grenadian youths who have studied in Cuba have been targeted by the NNP government. "Many of the doctors who had qualified [in Cuba] returned to Grenada last year and didn't find positions until this year. The authorities have increased their internship period from one to two years. In fact, there should be no internship at all, because they have already done their internship in Cuba. They are fully qualified and competent doctors," said Radix.

"One of our [MBPM] members, Dr. Terry Marryshow, who himself was of-



U.S. troops with prisoner during 1983 invasion of Grenada

fered one of these [internship] positions by the authorities, made a trip to North America on our behalf. On his return to Grenada, he was officially informed that the position had evaporated, disappeared."

Meanwhile, the Grenadian regime's masters in Washington have denied visas to visit the United States to members and supporters of the MBPM, such as George Louison and Lyden Ramdhanny.

The MBPM has held two successful meetings recently. On March 13 some 1,200 people gathered in Victoria to cele-

brate the anniversary of the 1979 revolution. On May 31 about 400 attended a rally in Grenville to honor African Liberation Day and Maurice Bishop's birthday.

Summing up, Radix said, "What we [in the MBPM] have been doing since the collapse of the revolution has been trying to fix in people's mind a proper perspective of the tremendous gains that working people achieved when there was maximum unity among the people themselves and among their leadership... It's a question of struggling to win ground little by little, inch by inch."

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

S. African union adopts Freedom Charter

South Africa's largest labor body, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), on July 18 formally adopted as its "guiding document" the Freedom Charter.

The charter, the political program for a democratic South Africa, was originally drafted in 1955 by a broad array of anti-apartheid groups, led by the now-outlawed African National Congress (ANC).

The delegates to the COSATU convention in Johannesburg also voted to demand that the ban on the ANC be lifted. They likewise heard messages of greetings from the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

Answering government warnings that COSATU should not involve itself in political questions, the federation's president, Elijah Barayi, declared, "Politics, and especially the lack of even the most basic democratic rights for the majority of our people, is a bread-and-butter issue for the working class. It is the fundamental question which is tormenting millions of workers — and we are obliged to answer it."

COSATU, which was launched at the end of 1985, now has more than 700,000 paid-up members, and a signed-up membership of more than a million.

Rightists massacre Mozambican villagers

South African-backed guerrillas on July 18 massacred more than 380 people in a village in southern Mozambique.

According to survivors, the guerrillas of the Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo) moved through the small agricultural town of Homoine and systematically murdered anyone in their path with gunfire, bayonets, and knives.

Mozambique's prime minister, Mário Machungo, laid responsibility for the massacre on the apartheid regime of neighboring South Africa, which has long provided funds, arms, and training

to Renamo as part of its efforts to destabilize the Mozambican government. "We had been informed that the rebels had just been supplied by the South Africans," Machungo said following a visit to Homoine.

Machungo also blasted those political forces in Washington, particularly in Congress, that have been campaigning for direct U.S. support to Renamo.

Just a few days before the Homoine massacre, the White House revealed that one of its officials had met with a Renamo representative in Washington, the first acknowledged U.S. governmental contact with the group.

Some U.S. supplies have also evidently been reaching the Renamo terrorist bands via South Africa. Mozambican officials displayed to foreign reporters some of the parachutes used in the South African supply drops to Renamo units. The parachutes bore U.S. government inscriptions.

Quebec unionists protest cop attacks

Unionists throughout Quebec, and in English Canada as well, have protested the police arrest and frame-up of four union officials. The four, who are officials of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), were arrested in June on charges of carrying out bomb attacks, or conspiring to do so. Only one has been freed on bail.

The only "evidence" against the defendants are statements by a fifth CSN official, Marc Boivin, who is reported to have been a police agent for the Canadian Security Intelligence Service.

This frame-up seeks to break a 18-month-long strike by workers of the Manoir Richelieu, a hotel. More than 300 of them were fired in 1985 by Raymond Malenfant. His hotel chain was said to have been the target of the alleged bomb attacks.

The attack on the CSN has been condemned by the Quebec Federation of Labor, Quebec Teachers' Federation, the Quebec New Democratic Party (Canada's labor party), and the Canadian Labour Congress.

Garment worker runs for mayor in Philadelphia

BY BOB STANTON

PHILADELPHIA — Richard Gaeta, a 28-year-old garment worker who is an anti-war and anti-apartheid activist, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor here. He is challenging Democratic Mayor Wilson Goode, who is running for reelection, and former mayor Frank Rizzo, the Republican candidate.

Gaeta is a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. More than 50 coworkers at the Good Lad shop where Gaeta is employed have signed petitions to place him on the November ballot.

Supporters of Gaeta's campaign began a drive June 27 to sign up 6,000 people on petitions to place Gaeta's name on the ballot.

THE GREAT SOCIETY

The Oliver song — Songsmith Burton Lane was reminded by the contragrate hearings of a tune he and Alan Jay Lerner once did,



Harry Ring

"How Could You Believe Me When I Said I Love You When You Know I've Been a Liar All My Life."

The job front — According to a *Wall Street Journal* survey, 56

percent of business execs would hire Oliver North. One said he'd hire him "if I had a dirty job to do and didn't want to do it myself." But an official at Chrysler, now under indictment for palming off executive-driven cars as new, responded, "Are you kidding? At this point, that's the last thing we need."

Perish the thought — Amy Carter, acquitted on charges stemming from an anti-CIA protest, was dismissed from Brown University, assertedly for not keeping up with her studies. A campus official assured, "There's not a university in the country that would dismiss someone for political activities."

Hey, how about the White House? — If you want a license to do a fireworks show in Rhode Island, you have to have a letter from a licensed psychiatrist certifying you're emotionally qualified to deal with the stuff.

That man needs a shredder — According to IRS records, Louisiana state Rep. Louis Jenkins — founder and chairman of Friends of the Americas, which hustles "humanitarian" aid for the contras — was paid \$88,500 in 1985, plus \$42,528 for "out of pocket" expenses. His spouse, the executive director, drew \$50,000.

It averages out — Some of the pooch items offered by the Haut

Dog shop in Key Biscayne, Florida, seem a bit pricey. Like a silk wedding gown, with a four-foot train, \$300. But then there's a cotton maternity T-shirt, only \$15.

On the education front — The Denver-based Young Americans Bank offers youth checking accounts, credit cards, and loans. The head of the bank assures the youngsters will be treated like adults. "The kids will learn that if they default on a bicycle... we're going to repossess it."

Almost stereotypical — The "typical" top dog at a Fortune 1000 company "earns" \$590,000. Also, typically, he's a white, male

Protestant.

Fashion tip — We don't know how much he gets for his advice, but one Cleveland-area business security chief advises execs concerned with being kidnapped while traveling abroad that they should wear casual clothing instead of pin-striped suits.

Praise the Lord — David Taggart, aide to Jim Bakker in the good old PTL days, reportedly drew \$89,000 in cash on ministry credit cards on the eve of a European vacation. He's now sharing a pad with his brother James at New York's ultraplush Trump Towers. James drew \$130,000 a year as the PTL's interior decorator.

CALENDAR

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Chile: Popular Resistance Against Government Terror. Speaker: Lee Anderson, recently returned from fact-finding tour of Chile. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Aug. 1, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Political Rights Defense Fund Rally. Speakers: William Taylor, president Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-507; Rachel Del Golia, director Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights; Ibrahim Adu-Lughod, professor of political science, Northwestern University, member Palestine National Council; Carrie Brown, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 100-A; Lee Ravenscroft, representative of tecNICA; Joe Swanson, Political Rights Defense Fund. Sun. Aug. 2. Program 5-7 p.m.; reception, 7-9. United Electrical Workers Hall, 37 S Ashland. Donation \$3. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

Protest U.S. Attacks on El Yunque Rainforest. Speakers: Prof. Monte Lloyd, University of Chicago zoologist and rainforest defender; Prof. José López, Puerto Rican community center on culture and the arts. Fri., Aug. 7, 7:30 p.m. Chicago Academy of Sciences, 2001 N Clark St. Sponsor: Chicago Comité Pro-Yunque Defense and Green Flag.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Protest the Goetz Verdict: Continuing the Fight Against Racist Attacks. Speakers: Beverly Williams, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; representative of People's Organization for Progress; Richard Ariza, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Aug. 1, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Art and Revolution. Slideshow and presentation on the Cuban revolution. Speakers: Eva Cockcroft, artist-writer; Juan Sanchez, artist; Mike Alewitz, director of Pathfinder mural project. Fri., July 31, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum.

For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Celebrate Two Years of Unity in Action Against the Repression of the Independentistas and the Preventive Detention Law. Concert and recital, with Suzana Cabañas, Junete Musical, Grupo Origen, and others. Sat., Aug. 8, 8 p.m. to 3 a.m. Tin Pan Alley, 220 W 49th. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Comité Puertorriqueño Contra la Represión.

TEXAS

Houston

Socialist Summer School. A series of classes on the foundations of communist politics. Open to both English- and Spanish-speaking participants. Classes every Sunday at 11 a.m. and Thursday at 7 p.m. through Aug. 6. Classes held at 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$1.50 per class. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

UTAH

Price

An Evening for Political Rights. Speakers:

Kipp Dawson, national labor spokesperson for the Political Rights Defense Fund, member United Mine Workers of America; Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 31. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Socialist Summer School. Two series of classes.

Series on Stalinism. Sunday at 2 p.m. on Aug. 2. Readings from the *Revolution Betrayed*, *In Defense of Marxism*, *Our Power Is That of the Working People*, and *New International No. 6*.

Series on the fundamentals of Marxism. Thursdays at 6:30 p.m. and Saturday at 1:30 p.m. on July 30, Aug. 1, and Aug. 6. Readings from *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*; *Wage-Labor and Capital*; *Value, Price and Profit*, and the *Wages System*.

Translation to Spanish. All classes at 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$1 per class. Sponsors: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (602) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Iran-contragate: Why the Lies? A roundtable discussion with Bob Hall, Common Cause; Michael Murphy, Central America Human Rights Coalition; David Salner, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America. Sun., Aug. 2, 6 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Morgantown

Cuba: A Historic Turning Point. Speaker: Dick McBride, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sun., Aug. 2, 6 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

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Haitian women lead protests of thousands

Army troops use tear gas to break up marches against junta

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — A coalition of women's organizations led two days of demonstrations as part of continuing protests against the ruling military junta. On July 22 the women led 2,000 protesters in a peaceful sit-in at city hall to demand the resignation of Port-au-Prince Mayor Madame Franck Paul and other women government officials.

After several hours army troops broke up the demonstration with tear gas, arresting an unknown number of people. Soldiers also assaulted a group of journalists covering the sit-in, and seized film, cassettes, tape recorders, and other equipment. Jean Max Blanc of Radio Metropole was arrested as he broadcast a live report on the attack. He was freed from jail July 24. Other journalists were also attacked by the army and their equipment seized.

In response, the women organized another march the next day. About 100 men and women gathered at the Notre Dame de Perpetuel Secours Church for a kickoff rally early in the morning. They chanted "Where are the women? In the struggle," and sang anti-junta songs.

The demonstration grew to several thousand as it wound through downtown Port-au-Prince, chanting "Macoute." This is a reference to the Tontons Macoutes, the armed thugs who were the backbone of the Duvalier tyranny that ruled Haiti from 1957 to 1986.

The women organized marshals to keep the march moving and avoid confrontations with the army and police. They had planned to go to the Ministry of Justice for a rally but when they learned of a deployment of troops at the ministry, they decided to head for Radio Soleil, the Catholic church station.

As the march neared the station, an off-duty army officer fired into the crowd, wounding five people. This broke up the march and some small groups of protesters smashed car windows in anger at the attack. Edeline Noel, one of the wounded, later died in the hospital.

The *Militant* talked with 10 women leaders of these protests shortly after the army's assault on the July 22 sit-in. They were meeting to plan the next day's demonstration, but readily agreed to interrupt their discussion and talk with us. They asked that their names not be published.

The women explained that they had formed a coalition called Women in Different Organizations Who Are Fighting to Establish Democracy. It unites 11 groups, including women from student, church, and neighborhood organizations as well as broader groups like Women of Haiti and the Organization of Women of the People.

These groups had worked together in the past, but it was only as protests against the junta escalated last month that they established the ongoing coalition. These women



Heavily armed government troops used to break up protests

were outraged at the army attack on the peaceful sit-in. They stressed that there had been no disturbance or provocation before the troops opened fire with tear gas.

We asked about the demands that women were raising. One explained their focus on women appointed by the junta. "For us, it is a horror that there are women collaborating with the KNG," she said.

KNG are the Creole initials for the National Council of Government, the junta led by Gen. Henri Namphy. "We want a new kind of society and a new kind of woman leader."

"The women in government are dishonest," another added. "Madame Franck Paul holds three different posts, a violation of the constitution."

"The KNG is killing children," a third said angrily. "The suffering of each mother is the suffering of all women. We want justice."

"Market women have big problems," one said. "They pay taxes and fees to the city but don't have good facilities or even a clean place to sell from."

"The government is closing factories and women can't get jobs," another said. "They won't let workers organize unions. This especially affects women, since we are the majority of factory workers."

We then asked if they had any message for the North American people. "The U.S. and Canadian people should learn what is happening here," one woman replied. "The people are demanding democracy but the KNG is killing people."

"We ask that they organize solidarity and demonstrations so that their governments will stop supporting the KNG," another said. "The U.S. and Canadian people should apply pressure at home to stop their governments from sending money and arms to the junta."

Landlords' thugs slay Haitian peasants

Continued from front page

a carefully prepared ambush 10 miles from Jean Rabel as they were returning home.

The landlords' armed bands are organized around the Tontons Macoutes, the notorious gang of thugs used by Duvalier to terrorize the country. Formally dissolved as a group after the February 1986 overthrow of the dictator, many Macoutes kept their arms and remained active.

A spokesman for the assassins claimed that they were acting in self-defense. "The peasants' associations are communists who want to take away our lands and possessions. I stand for the Americans who have done so much here," he added.

The Jean Rabel massacre and the peasant struggle for land is now becoming an issue in the powerful protests unfolding across the country. Demonstrations have been taking place almost daily, organized by different groups calling for the removal of the ruling military junta, the National Council of Government (KNG).

The KNG issued a new decree July 23 severely limiting the right to demonstrate.

The decree requires 48 hours advance notice of any demonstration or rally of more than 20 people. It also makes demonstration organizers personally responsible for whatever may happen during the action. Police provocateurs can create a violent confrontation, but under the new decree it is the organizers of the demonstration who can be jailed as a result.

Given the KNG's record of provoking violent attacks on peaceful marches, leaders of the protest movement have indicated they will not comply with the decree.

The protests planned for July 24 went ahead as scheduled even though they were made illegal by the advance-notice provision of the decree issued the evening before. Most of the actions were brutally attacked by the army.

In the northern city of Cap-Haïtien 2,000 persons responded to the call of the national university and high school students associations. The army waded into the demonstrators with clubs, dispersing them and arresting a number of people.

In Les Cayes, the army opened fire on a demonstration, killing a bystander who had been watching the action from his porch.

On the island of La Gonave, 1,500 peasants marched against the KNG. A large demonstration in the southwestern city of Jérémie marched under the slogan, "Down with the KNG!"

In the capital, Port-au-Prince, 2,000 people, mainly youth, responded to the call of the National Federation of the Unemployed of Haiti. The army broke up the march, making a number of arrests and injuring several persons.

Troops broke up a second demonstration in Jérémie July 27. They fired tear gas to disperse the large march, but the demonstrators regrouped each time and began setting up barricades. Soldiers opened fire on the demonstrators and others. There is no report yet on the number of casualties.

— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Aug. 5, 1977

BOSTON — Four persons were hospitalized, including at least one Black woman, when 150 white racists attacked Blacks and Puerto Ricans at Carson Beach here, Sunday, July 24.

The white mob threw rocks and bottles trying to clear the beach of Blacks and Puerto Ricans, who hurled the missiles back in self-defense. Cops who were at the scene refused to arrest the attackers.

Instead they shoved the Black and Puerto Rican bathers off the beach to the nearby Columbia Point housing project. Two years ago, when 1,000 Blacks and their supporters demonstrated against racist violence at Carson Beach, police pulled a similar maneuver.

The racist assault had been brewing for two days. On Friday, and again on Saturday, the Black and Puerto Rican Columbia Point community had successfully exercised its right to use the beach, which South Boston racists have staked out as their stronghold.

In the week leading up to the protests at the beach, temperatures here rose to record levels above 100 degrees. To beat the heat children opened fire hydrants and played in the water in the streets. Three of the children were accidentally hit by passing cars.

Columbia Point parents decided that from then on their children would use the nearby beach.

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"The Justice Department sits idly by while hundreds of citizens are beaten, falsely arrested, and shot in cold blood." That statement of the simple truth about the Kennedy administration's role in the civil rights struggle in the South was made in Washington, D.C., by Charles Jones, a field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Jones knows whereof he speaks, for he belongs to that intrepid band of young people who have been risking their lives in the South trying to exercise rights that the federal government is supposed to protect. Shortly before Jones spoke the above words, one of his colleagues in SNCC was slashed with a knife by a member of a racist mob in Cairo, Illinois.

Jones made his statement while in Washington with a delegation of Negroes from Albany, Georgia, on June 26.

They tried in vain to see Attorney General Robert Kennedy and warned, "We are making this protest as a last resort."

Since then more than 200 more Negroes have been jailed by the racist police in Albany who are in clear violation of federal law and administrative rulings.

Soldiers murder 9 demonstrators

Continued from front page

and fired a burst of bullets a few feet above the head of the crowd.

Other soldiers then also started firing, this time into the crowd. Two people were killed and two wounded immediately.

Those of us at the head of the march fled down the street, seeking an alley to turn into as the soldiers continued to fire. Bullets smacked into awnings and vendors' stalls as we ran.

Further back in the crowd, two demonstrators next to *Militant* reporter Art Young fell wounded as the march started to scatter.

As Young ran down a side street, a family opened their door and invited him and other protesters to take shelter in their home. They shared their lunch with the newcomers as the sound of racing army trucks and bursts of automatic weapon fire could be heard repeatedly for the next hour.

By Malcolm X



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U.S. out of Persian Gulf!

The U.S. government is escalating its threats and military provocations against Iran, in the wake of an incident in the Persian Gulf in which a U.S.-flagged Kuwaiti tanker struck a mine July 24.

About 1,050 U.S. sailors, sent by Washington into the gulf as part of a military operation aimed at bolstering the weakening Iraqi regime in its war against Iran, had a narrow escape.

The sailors were at battle stations on three U.S. warships escorting the Kuwaiti-owned oil tanker *Bridgeton* — now placed under U.S. flag and command — in the Persian Gulf when the *Bridgeton* struck a mine. The explosion ripped a massive hole in the tanker, but no one was injured.

But Pentagon officials concede that if one of the warships had struck the mine instead, it might well have been sent "to the bottom."

"They're scared," a Pentagon official said of the navy crews.

But the top brass and their boss in the White House are not about to pull these sailors out of harm's way. Instead, they are preparing further military escalation of the operation against Iran.

As the same official put it, "The contingency plans have to be accelerated."

The French government, which recently broke diplomatic relations with Iran, is joining Washington in escalating military threats. A French aircraft carrier and other warships were placed on alert July 26 for possible dispatch to the gulf. The French government has been a strong backer of the Iraqi regime's war, providing it with arms worth \$12 billion.

Washington attempted to portray the *Bridgeton* incident as an attack on neutral oil shipments. But much of Kuwait's oil revenue is used to bankroll the Iraqi war, which the Kuwaiti rulers strongly support.

U.S. officials immediately pointed to Iran as responsible for the incident, even though the previous attack on a U.S.-flagged ship in the gulf — the May 17 attack on the *Stark* that took the lives of 37 sailors — was carried out by Iraqi forces.

Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger warned June 26, "We are perfectly capable of taking retaliatory steps."

Pentagon sources have encouraged speculation about

possible "retaliation" against Iranian naval installations, missile bases, oilfields, ports, or other targets.

But regardless of who placed the mines, the U.S. government alone is responsible for endangering the lives of the sailors escorting the *Bridgeton* — just as it is Washington that is responsible for the casualties on the *Stark*.

In fact, the purpose of the reflagging of Kuwaiti tankers is to provoke incidents that can be credibly portrayed as justifying "retaliation" or "preemptive strikes" against Iran. The U.S. sailors are pawns whose lives are to be expendable in the operation.

But the U.S. rulers have run into big obstacles in carrying out the provocation.

The main one has been the opposition here in the United States to sending U.S. forces into the Persian Gulf war zone. Far from creating strong popular sentiment here for military blows against Iran, the attack on the *Stark* and the *Bridgeton* incident have deepened suspicion of and opposition to the U.S. government's war moves.

Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy conceded the growing unpopularity of the operation — while crudely baiting dissenters — when he warned July 28 that withdrawing U.S. forces from the gulf war zone would be a victory for alleged Iranian "manipulation of opinion and manipulation of the media."

The lack of popular support for efforts to engineer a military clash with Iran is behind the growing debate in Congress, the Reagan administration, and the major media over how to carry out the operation against Iran. The *New York Times*, for instance, warned editorially against seizing on the *Bridgeton* incident as a pretext for attacking Iran.

The July 28 *Times* reported growing dissension within the administration — a "memo war" as one State Department official called it. The issue is whether Washington must at least seem to be pressuring Iraq to stop its attacks on Iranian oil facilities and shipping bound to and from Iran, in order to lend credibility to U.S. claims to be protecting "freedom of navigation."

Washington is pursuing its escalation toward military attacks on Iran, despite the opposition this drive is meeting at home and abroad.

The way to put an end to the growing threat of U.S. acts of war in the Persian Gulf is for the U.S. armada — reflagged tankers and all — to get out now.

Exploitation, appropriation, and expropriation

BY DOUG JENNESS

Last week the *Militant* ran an excerpt from an article by Michel Dugré, "Land, Labor, and the Canadian Socialist Revolution," that appears in the current issue of *New International*, a Marxist journal published in New York.

The portion we ran described how the landlords and capitalists extract profits from farmers in Canada. But the

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

whole article is excellent, and I recommend that *Militant* readers get a copy of the *New International* and read the article in its entirety.

A reader, however, brought to my attention one formulation in the excerpt that we ran that is not accurate and could lead to confusion. One sentence reads, "The capitalists also expropriate a portion of the value produced by the farmers through land rents."

In another paragraph the interest that farmers pay to banks for loans is referred to as "direct expropriation of part of the value produced by the farmer. The bank therefore is directly included in exploiting the farmer."

The use of the words *expropriate* and *expropriation* is incorrect. The correct terms would have been *appropriated* and *appropriation*. This isn't nitpicking. The difference can be illustrated by briefly discussing exploitation, appropriation, and expropriation.

Exploitation occurs when a class or classes live off the wealth produced by the laboring classes. Under capitalism there are two principal classes of exploited working people — wage laborers, and independent commodity producers such as working farmers.

Wage workers, having no other means of making their living, are forced to sell their labor power — their ability to work — to a capitalist. The wages received by workers represent only a portion of the total value they produce during their hours of labor. They produce a value equivalent to their total wage during one part of their work day; during the rest of the day they work free for the capitalist.

The value produced during the workers' unpaid labor time is taken, or appropriated, by the capitalists through the sale and circulation of the products the workers have created.

The capitalist doesn't expropriate the workers — that is, deprive them of something they already possess. In capitalist society, the products the workers produce do not belong to the working class. Instead, the employers hold ownership rights to the commodities.

Exploited farmers, in contrast, generally possess some means of production — land, machinery, livestock — with which to make a living. The majority of farmers also possess the product of their labor, which they then either consume or sell as commodities on the market.

Nevertheless, working farmers do not realize the entire value they produce after the sale of their products. Through the workings of the market, various capitalists take, or appropriate, a portion of that value from the farmers: the exploiters reap profits from a portion of the farmers' labor time.

The capitalists, however, don't do this by *expropriating* the farmers' product, or even part of it. In other words, a big grain merchant doesn't generally send a truck around with a convoy of cop cars to take possession of some portion of the crop. He doesn't have proprietary rights over it. Rather, the farmer, as the owner of the crop, takes it to market, where he receives payment.

The only hitch is that when farmers come to market, they find themselves confronting powerful monopolies capable of imposing prices or terms. Actually, both as buyers of the commodities they need for production and as sellers of their product, farmers face unequal terms of trade. The wealthy capitalist families who own the monopolies pocket the difference.

In addition, part of farmers' income is taken by capitalists in the form of rent or of interest on mortgages.

Landlords, simply by dint of their ownership of the land, and bankers, who can impose onerous credit terms on farmers, appropriate part of the value farmers have created. (Often these payments cut into the bare minimum income needed by farmers to support themselves and their families at a decent level.)

While the day-in, day-out exploitation of wage workers and working farmers does not take the form of expropriation, expropriation is, indeed, a very real threat to exploited farmers.

When, over an extended period of time, farmers' costs of production, including rent and interest, are greater than the income they receive for their products, the banks stop extending them credit. The bankers threaten to foreclose — that is, to take possession of the farmers' land, machinery, and buildings, and sometimes even of their crop. In the past several years, hundreds of thousands of farmers have suffered this fate, as banks, backed up by the authority of the police, have expropriated the farmers' means of production.

Meat-packers' fight for safety

IBP Inc., the largest U.S. meat-packing company, has been fined \$2.59 million for falsifying injury and illness reports at its Dakota City, Nebraska, plant. This is a victory for meat-packers at IBP and for packinghouse workers across the country, who are increasingly demanding protection of life and limb on the job.

In levying the July 21 fine, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) charged IBP with "willfully failing" to report more than 1,000 job-related injuries between January 1985 and December 1986. The fine is the largest in OSHA's history.

"This case is the worst example of underreporting injuries and illnesses to workers ever encountered by OSHA in its 16-year history," Assistant Labor Secretary John Pendergrass said.

Workers at the IBP Dakota City plant were locked out in December after they voted down a takeback contract. After completing extensive remodeling, IBP began bringing in scabs to restart production. Members of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) voted to strike the plant in March. That strike ended July 26.

At the beginning of the lockout, the UFCW filed a complaint with OSHA charging IBP with falsifying injury reports. IBP responded by assembling a 50-person squad to doctor their accident records. But the union got hold of the original injury logs and turned them over to government inspectors.

Several examples of the cover-up were cited in testimony before a congressional committee last spring. Meat-packer Liz Pinneke described the problems she has using her fingers and wrists because of carpal tunnel syndrome. She was forced to miss work for six and a half months but IBP's report claimed she had missed two and a half months. Steve DeRaad has permanent back trouble after being hit by a 300-pound piece of equipment used to grind beef into hamburger. His injury did not show up on IBP's falsified reports.

This spring, OSHA also fined John Morrell & Co. \$690,000 for covering up the seriousness of workers' injuries at its packing plant in Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

"Meat-packers work in extreme heat or refrigerated cold, often standing shoulder to shoulder, wielding honed knives and power saws. Grease and blood make the floors and the tools slippery," *New York Times* reporter William Glaberson stated in the recent article "Misery on the Meatpacking Line," about Morrell and other packing plants.

In the 1960s, a long-time Morrell worker told Glaberson, 640 hogs were processed an hour. Now the plant processes 1,065 hogs an hour.

Spurred by intense competition, the packinghouse bosses have been fighting to increase their profits. Over the past decade, particularly the first half of the 1980s, they had considerable success in driving down wages, speeding up production, and gutting union rights on the job.

The weakness of the packinghouse union made it harder for workers to defend themselves against skyrocketing injuries.

Between 1980 and 1985, meat-packers suffered more injuries than any other U.S. industrial workers. During 1985, a total of 30.4 out of every 100 meat-packers had an on-the-job injury. That's nearly four times higher than the national average.

Though complete statistics are not yet available for 1986, the injury rate last year at the Hormel plant in Austin, Minnesota, was 30.1 per 100 workers. At the Oscar Mayer plant in Perry, Iowa, 40 out of every 100 workers were injured.

Resistance to the attacks by the packinghouse bosses has stiffened considerably since 1985. And anger over high injury rates has been an important factor in motivating thousands of meat-packers to fight back.

These struggles are helping to focus public attention on conditions in meat-packing and forcing OSHA and other government regulatory agencies, which winked at the violations in the past, to take some action.

As meat-packers try to build a union capable of registering advances, the example set by the United Mine Workers (UMWA) in the late 1960s and early 1970s stands out.

Tens of thousands of miners participated in health and safety struggles that won federal health and safety laws. These struggles helped give rise to the Miners for Democracy movement, which succeeded in winning some democracy for the membership of the UMWA. Today, functioning safety committees continue to serve as a vehicle for the mine workers to use union power to shut down a dangerous job underground.

Fights to reinforce union power over line speed and other dangerous working conditions will be at the center of building a fighting meat-packing union and a fighting labor movement.

N.Y. electronics workers aid brigade to Nicaragua

BY MIKE SHUR

"I'm glad to hear that someone from the U.S. is going to build instead of destroying and killing." That was the response of one of my coworkers to the news that I was going to Nicaragua as part of a construction brigade that will build houses for farm workers.

Many other members of International Union of Electronic Workers Local 431 at Loral Electronic Systems in

UNION TALK

the Bronx where I work responded favorably when I told them about the trip.

Some said they were concerned for my safety in the aftermath of the murder of U.S. volunteer Ben Linder by the U.S. government-backed contras. But as the word spread in the plant, most wanted to discuss why I was going.

Several workers expressed anger at the televised Iran-contra hearings where government officials who acted illegally behind the backs of the U.S. people are being treated with kid gloves.

One worker agreed with my explanation that the U.S. government's policy in Nicaragua was the same as its union-busting policies at home. "Reagan is for the rich," he said, "so of course he's for the rich people in Central America."

Several asked how much I was going to be paid for doing the construction work. After explaining that construction brigades are made up of volunteer supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution who donate their labor and supply their own tools, several offered to help. More than 20 workers contributed some 30 tools to the project.

Several workers who helped organize union buses to the April 25 antiwar and anti-apartheid demonstration in Washington, D.C., helped on the tool collection.

A week before my departure, eight workers from Loral attended a Nicaragua slide-show at my apartment.

Cindi Kerr, a leader of the New York-Nicaragua Construction Brigade, showed her slides. After viewing them, everyone had similar questions. "How long do you go for?" "How much does it cost?" "What skills do you need?"

A Black Vietnam veteran said he wants to participate in a construction brigade in December. Three others expressed interest in participating in a future brigade.

As the discussion unfolded, we began to talk about what lessons the Nicaragua revolution has for working people in this country. Everyone agreed social change is necessary and a government is needed that puts the interests of working people first.

But there were many viewpoints expressed on how long it will take to bring about significant changes. Ray, the Vietnam vet, said, "Most people are still brainwashed. They believe most of what they see on television or in the newspaper about other countries."

Bill, a truck driver, said, "A lot of us are too comfortable, we have a nice home and a car and TV. So we forget what most poor people here live like. A lot of them are learning the hard way," he said, "like when their union gets busted."

"I used to be scared of the words socialism and communism," Gloria, an assembler, explained, "but since I've talked to some communists and learned about Nicaragua, I'm learning what it really means. Now I think capitalism is scary," she added.

Everyone is looking forward to my return so they can look at slides from the trip and continue the discussion.

Mike Shur is a member of IUE Local 431 at Loral.

LETTERS

Lindsey Scott

A group of more than 50 family members and supporters gave Lindsey Scott a joyous welcome on his return home at Louisville's Standiford Field July 17.

Scott, a U.S. marine, had just been released after serving four years of a 30-year sentence at hard labor at Ft. Leavenworth military prison for a crime he didn't commit. The military appeals court has overturned his conviction because of an improperly prepared defense case.

On hand to show support were Anne Braden and other representatives of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression and members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Catholic church, including Pat Delahanty, pastor of St. Charles and Holy Cross Catholic churches and founder of the Lindsey Scott Defense Fund.

Scott explained to supporters that his case is not over yet. Lt. Gen. Frank Peterson, commander of Quantico Marine Corps base, will be making the decision on retrying Scott in about 30 days.

Carol Bilsky
Bronson Rozier
Louisville, Kentucky

I would very much like to know the reason for this. Could it be that the writer believes the black race "superior" to the white race, and therefore defeats his purpose in showing "the cause" that blacks fought for. Evidently they, (in the writer's opinion) weren't fighting for "equality," but rather to replace the oppressors as "superior" race.

Any black man who falls for Seigle's trap is only regressing his struggle, not progressing the end of racism.

A prisoner
Lovelady, Texas

Editor replies: As our readers noted, the *Militant* capitalizes the first letter of the word "Black," when referring to Blacks in the United States, and puts the first letter of the word "white" in lower case.

The reason for this is that Blacks in this country are a people, an oppressed nationality forged over 400 years. The proper name of this nationality — Black — is therefore capitalized.

White is not the name of a single people or nationality, but simply describes skin color. People classified as white come from widely different national origins — from many Cubans to Poles to Irish.

The *Militant* is not unique in using this style. Many papers oriented to the Black community — such as the *Amsterdam News* and *Chicago Defender* — also use it.

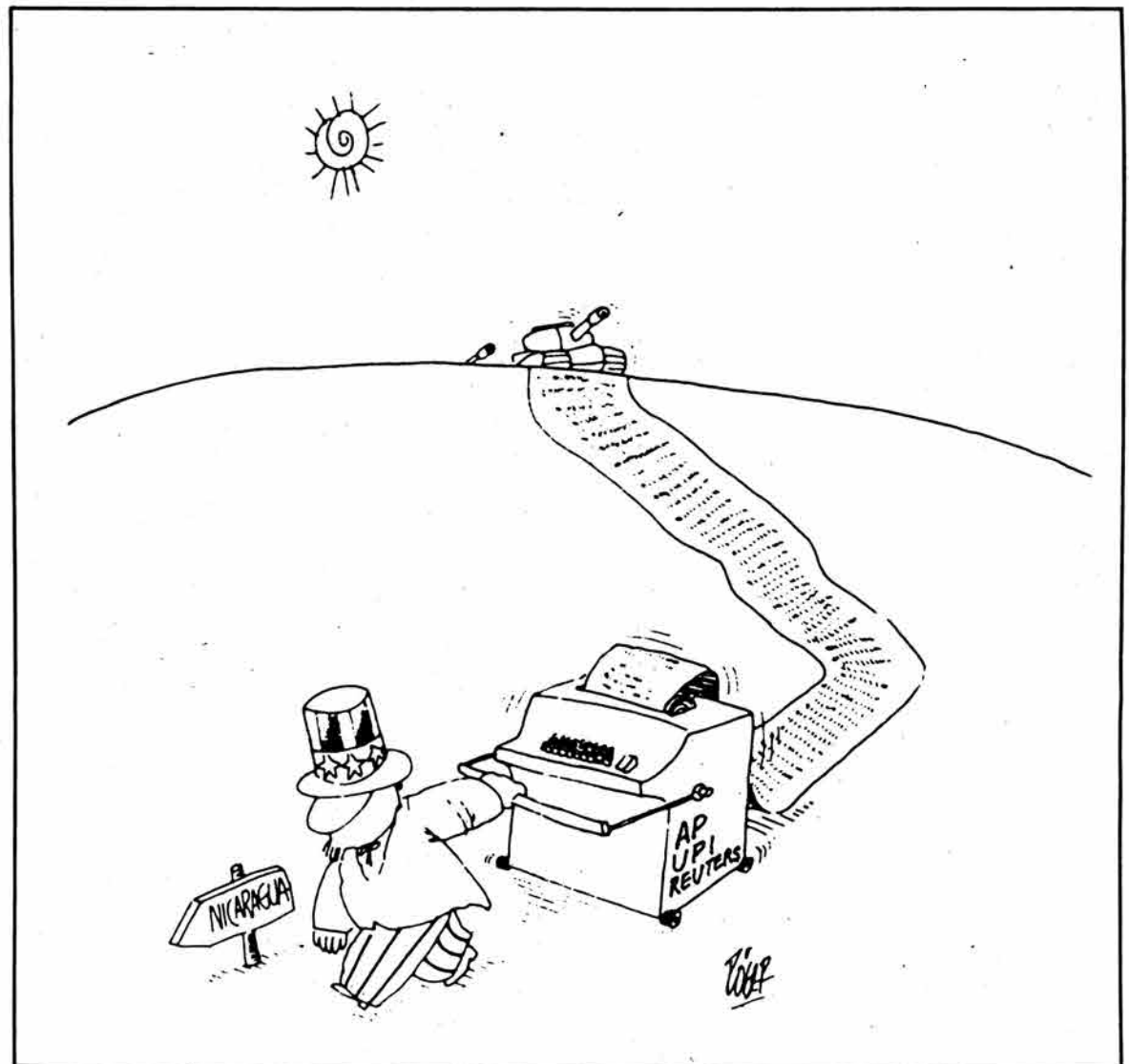
PRDF rally

Forty of us here in Houston recently heard Héctor Marroquín and other fighters for social justice at a rally sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

The rally was chaired by Tom Kincaid, a member of the United Transportation Union. Omar, of the committee defending the eight Palestinian rights activists in Los Angeles, told us, "Every win against the FBI is a win for all of us. Héctor won his case, and ours is yet to be won. Together we can defeat them."

Benito Juarez, an activist from Casa Oscar Romero, an organization for Salvadoran immigrants, told of a red-baiting attack against a priest working with the group. He noted that red-baiting is frequently used in this country to attack those fighting for a better life for all.

Denise Sczymchak, an anti-apartheid activist from the University of Texas at Austin and one of 16 students arrested for an anti-apartheid protest at the university, spoke next. She explained the charges still pending against the activists and the cop attacks



Róger/Barricada

against three of the protesters.

Rebecca Harrington, state director of the United Farm Workers, talked about the deaths of 18 Mexican immigrants in a boxcar in El Paso, Texas. "The recent tragedy in the railroad boxcar shows the lie that Simpson-Rodino is working," she said. "The final goal of Simpson-Rodino is to have workers coming in under the U.S. employers' terms — as the *bracero* program of the 1950s."

Wendy Wisenberg
Houston, Texas

Mexico

In his front-page article in your July 17 issue, Jim Watson states that the "U.S. companies with twin-plant facilities on both sides of the border pay workers on the Mexican side between 50 and 75 cents an hour."

Mexico is a nation approaching a state of perpetual crisis. Perhaps Karl Marx would ask, if the Mexican working class has not been alienated from the factors of production, then who has? If the Mexican nation does not exhibit the characteristics necessary for promoting a true proletarian revolution, then which does?

Mexico's so-called revolutionary party must go. Until a massive overhaul is given to both the Mex-

ican society and economy — an overhaul that must be done in the interests, not just in the name of, the people — then Mexico will continue to be a ticking bomb — its detonation not a question of if, but when.

Ed Hickey
Morganville, New Jersey

Reagan

President Reagan has succeeded in bringing about an exposure of what he has really been about since his first experience with any kind of political power:

Quick to turn his feet in the direction of bloodshed and march his troops into aggression against the weaker nations of the world.

Eager to test the ability of American war technology against those with almost primitive weapons of defense and offense.

Generous with the blood and lives of young Americans; and he could care less about the blood and lives of the innocent, the so-called enemy.

A prisoner
Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

Iran

I decided not to renew my subscription as a sign of protest to your reactionary position on Kho-

meini's antirevolutionary regime. You are so wrong!

By supporting a regime that has killed tens of thousands of the best Iranian communists, you make a serious political mistake. A list of all the crimes committed by the Islamic Republic of Iran does not fit within the scope of this note. I hope you sooner or later change your position on Iran.

S.A.
Lawrence, Kansas

Corrections

In last week's *Militant* article, "Why Haitian workers demand resignation of military junta," the name of a shantytown in Port-au-Prince was spelled incorrectly. It is Cité Soleil.

An editorial in the same issue, "Subversives' lists in Puerto Rico," gives an incorrect figure for the number of names discovered on a list in the 1950s. It is 4,000.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Blacks

In the July 10 issue of your paper you printed an article entitled "How the U.S. government tried to silence Blacks during World War II," an excerpt from *New Internationalist*.

I find that the author is blatantly displaying hypocritical ignorance in his writing.

His "message" is supposedly that the blacks were trying to overcome the fact that the white race believed themselves superior, and the changes they had to go through to "prove themselves" as equal. Then, in today's society of "equality," the writer, Larry Seigle, capitalizes the word "Black." The word "white" was in lowercase.

Strike settled at Nebraska IBP plant

Meat-packers' contract has wage freeze, two-tier pay scale

BY DIANE SHUR

SOUTH SIOUX CITY, Neb. — Meat-packers here ratified a new contract July 26 ending their long strike at IBP's nearby Dakota City, plant. The contract was approved by a vote of 752 to 180.

The workers who filed into the meeting at the convention center have a history of bitter strikes behind them going back to the organization of United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local 222 at the Dakota City plant in 1968.

Each time a contract has come due, the workers have been forced on strike by the largest U.S. meat-packing company. The average strike has lasted nearly eight months. Union members who stayed out during all the disputes have missed three and a half years of work.

There has not been a pay raise at the Dakota City plant since 1981. After the last strike in 1982, the workers had their wages cut \$1.05 an hour.

The steamy weather the day of the vote and the lush fields of soybeans and corn contrasted sharply with the wind-swept landscape and icy weather workers faced when they went out last December.

IBP locked the meat-packers out December 14 after the unionists rejected a contract proposal. In March, the workers voted to go on strike after turning down a second contract offer.

That contract included demands for a wage cut of 60 cents an hour in the kill department and 45 cents an hour in processing.

During the spring and summer months, IBP ran the plant with scabs after advertis-

ing around the country for replacement workers.

At the time the settlement was announced, IBP claimed it had hired 1,700 replacements.

Local 222 members were awarded unemployment compensation in June. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration announced July 21 that IBP had been fined \$2.59 million for falsifying injury records. Three days later, the company and the union announced that a tentative settlement had been reached.

The new contract retains the current pay scale through 1990. Wages will remain at \$7.90 an hour in processing and \$8.20 in slaughtering. After 33 months, wages will be raised 15 cents an hour.

A two-tier wage scale will be instituted for the first time at the Dakota City plant. Newly hired workers will now receive a starting pay of \$6 an hour. They will get an increase of 15 cents every three months until wages reach a maximum of \$7.45 in processing and \$7.60 in slaughter.

IBP is notorious for having a high turnover rate. A substantial number of workers in northeast Nebraska and northwest Iowa have been through the plant at one time or another.

Local 222 officials estimated that in 1986 alone, 1,500 workers quit the plant. Nearly half the union members at the time of the lockout had been there less than two years.

Safety has always been a major problem for Local 222 members. IBP agreed to expand safety committees in the plant to include union stewards. This committee will

have the right to carry out regular plant inspections. Workers will also have undisputed access to their individual company medical records. For the first time, the union will be able to monitor chain speed in the plant.

IBP also agreed to establish a retirement plan for Local 222 members. However, funding of the plan is contingent on company profits.

Workers will continue to pay \$4.43 per week toward their medical benefits, but the benefits will be expanded to include additional dental and major medical coverage.

With the exception of two fired workers whose cases are pending in arbitration, all strikers will return to work in seniority order.

The company says all the strikers will be allowed back to work by mid-August.

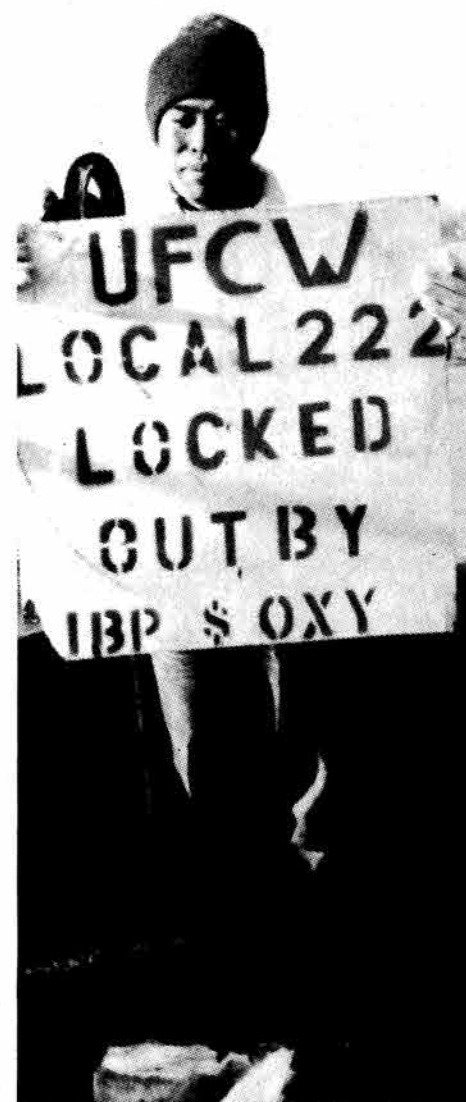
Many workers said they would have liked to have higher pay but thought the contract was the best that could be obtained under the circumstances.

Some thought the contract settlement would aid UFCW organizing drives at IBP's 10 nonunion plants.

"This is a step in the right direction," said meat-packer Paul Wiseman. "It's good because there's no cut in pay. I think this will encourage workers to stick together and organize."

"This is the best offer we've had. It's a lot better than last time," said Manuel Calamanco, who came here from Mexico 15 years ago. "I have four kids and a wife to support, and it will still be hard, but I think this is an improvement."

"When I was on strike," Calamanco explained, "I helped with the organizing drive at IBP Emporia in Kansas. Things are going very well there. I think they are close to an election."



Militant
Local 222 member picketing in January. Occidental Petroleum owns IBP.

Arbitrator rules workers can transfer to Minn. Hormel plant

BY BOB MILLER

OTTUMWA, Iowa — An arbitrator ruled July 6 that 15 meat-packers laid off from the Hormel plant here can transfer to that company's Austin, Minnesota, plant and "bump" workers with less seniority there.

"This is a big victory for us and for the labor movement," said Bill Cook, one of the laid-off Ottumwa meat-packers who have been trying to go to work at the Austin

3,400 sign to put socialist candidate on Boston ballot

BY RUSSELL DAVIS

BOSTON — More than 3,400 signatures have now been collected here on petitions to place Mark Emanation on the ballot as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor — more than the 3,000 required by law. And 2,500 people have signed up on petitions to place Denise McInerney on the ballot for Boston school committee.

The petitioning is being organized out of the new headquarters opened by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance — a storefront bookstore in lower Roxbury, part of the main Black community here.

Opposition to the war in Central America is a motivation for many people signing the petitions. "If you people are against North, I'll sign," said one.

Another person said, "If I tried to get up and lie like that in court, they'd lock me up and throw away the key."

A campaign is underway to gather support for the socialist candidates' right to be on the ballot. City officials have a history of trying to exclude socialists from the ballot even when well over the required number of signatures have been collected.

plant since February.

More than 500 Ottumwa meat-packers were fired in early 1986 for honoring roving pickets set up by striking members of United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) Local P-9 in Austin. Hormel was later forced to reinstate several hundred of these workers.

In February, 1987, the company announced it was closing its Ottumwa slaughtering line. Several hundred workers were laid off. The 300 still working will be out on the street at the end of August if Hormel goes through with its announced plan of permanently closing down the Ottumwa plant.

Fifty additional Ottumwa workers have put in for transfer to the Austin plant, and up to 120 more will have that right under their union contract.

Hormel management has been fighting to keep them out of other plants.

Instead of giving Cook and the others a starting date, Hormel management put them on what is known as the "preferential recall list." That list is made up of more than 600 Austin workers who did not get their jobs back when the year-long strike there was settled in September 1986.

The 500 replacement workers hired during that strike, however, have less seniority than the Ottumwa workers or those on the recall list.

UFCW Local 9 in Austin took the dispute to the arbitrator who ruled in favor of the transferees.

Hormel Vice-president Charles Nyberg says the company will appeal that decision in federal court.

A leaflet distributed by Local 9 says, "The Austin plant has enough capacity to put everyone to work — the current employees, those on the preferential hiring list, and the Ottumwa workers — without laying off one individual."

Meat-packers set August 29 rally

BY LYNNE FAIN

SIOUX FALLS, S.D. — Meat-packers on strike at the John Morrell & Co. packing plant are urging working people from around the country to attend a rally and



Militant/Phil Norris
Some 2,500 participated in rally for Sioux Falls, South Dakota, meat-packers in May.

other events here August 29 and 30.

Dennis Foster explained that the weekend will be "a demonstration of goodwill and solidarity of all laboring people, union and nonunion alike, with Local 304A as the focal point."

Foster is president of the 2,700-member United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 304A at the Morrell plant.

The meat-packers hope to bring nationally acclaimed entertainers to Sioux Falls for the events.

Local 304A members have been on a sympathy strike since May after honoring picket lines established by striking meat-packers from the Morrell plant in Sioux City, Iowa, some 90 miles from here.

Foster described the difference between the strikes here in 1982 and 1985 and the one today.

In the earlier strikes, Morrell did not try to reopen the plant with scabs, and there were no injunctions limiting the size of picket lines. About 500 scabs are working at the plant now, and the company has succeeded in obtaining injunctions that limit the number of pickets to 25.

Some 30 local unions helped build a May 10 rally of 2,500 to protest Morrell's violence.

Three thousand attended a July 4 picnic for the striking meat-packers.

UFCW Region 13 sponsored a food caravan for the strikers July 25. Seven UFCW locals and the regional office contributed \$15,000 to Local 304A.

Joseph Hansen, region 13 director, explained that over the past two or three years Local 304A has given considerable support to other striking locals. Hansen told a crowd of 150 that Local 304A is "an inspiration for the labor movement."