

New stage opens in Nicaraguan revolution

BY MARGARET JAYKO

(First of two articles)

The decision of the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) of Nicaragua to take advantage of the peace process it set in motion by signing the Central American accords and

See editorial against contra aid on page 18.

rapidly moving toward lifting the wartime state of emergency opens a new stage in the revolutionary process in Nicaragua.

This new stage will be marked by an acceleration and sharpening of open conflicts between the contending social classes in Nicaragua as both the capitalists and the workers and peasants utilize the new political space to defend and advance their respective — and conflicting — interests.

The restoration of full civil liberties will create the best conditions possible for the FSLN to wage the necessary battle to increase the political education, mobilization, and involvement of the masses of workers and farmers in the revolution, while politically isolating and defeating opponents of the Sandinista People's Revolution.

This significant step forward marks the biggest political change in Nicaragua since the overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza on July 19, 1979, and the coming to power of a workers' and peasants' government led by the Sandinista Front.

This step forward was made possible by the two key victories that the toilers in Nicaragua have won in the past year: dealing decisive blows to the contra mercenary army; and the political victory on the Atlantic Coast with the adoption and initial implementation of the autonomy plan and the virtual cessation of the armed conflict there. (The Atlantic Coast is where a majority of the country's Black and Indian populations live.)

At a meeting in Guatemala on August 7, the presidents of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua unanimously adopted a pact for ending the military conflicts in Central America.

As soon as the accords were signed, the Nicaraguan government began the process of implementing them.

One week after the Guatemala meeting, in an August 14 interview with the *New*

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Why Bork nomination went down to defeat

BY FRED FELDMAN

President Reagan's nomination of federal Judge Robert Bork to the U.S. Supreme Court has gone down to defeat. The debate that led up to the Senate Judiciary Committee's October 6 vote to reject Bork has revealed a lot about U.S. politics today that is of interest to working people.

The clash over the nomination threw a spotlight on difficulties that the employing class and the government face as they continue their offensive against the living standards, working conditions, and democratic rights of working people.

The 9-5 vote against Bork in the Judiciary Committee dealt a death blow to his prospects for confirmation by the U.S. Senate. Following this vote, administration officials conceded that the nomination was probably doomed.

The great majority of Senate Democrats — including many from the southern states whose support had been counted on initially by the Reagan administration — and a small but growing number of Republicans lined up against the nomination.

The selection of Bork was a move by the Reagan administration to take another step in attacking democratic rights. The aim was to shift the composition of the court further to the right and to overturn, if possible, previous Supreme Court decisions upholding women's right to abortion, affirmative action programs, and other democratic rights.

Reagan's initiative was also designed to bolster his right-wing supporters who had been sharply set back by the exposure of the Iran-contra arms deals.

When he announced the nomination of Bork on July 1, Reagan appeared to be in a strong position to push through the proposal. The opposition was on the defensive.

Liberal Democrats organize campaign

However, a concerted campaign against the nomination was organized by liberal Democrats in the U.S. Senate. This campaign won wide and steadily growing support in Congress, the daily press, profes-



Bob Adelman

A 1963 civil rights protest in Birmingham, Alabama. Victories won by civil rights movement and other struggles expanded democratic rights of working people. Bork nomination spurred clash in Congress, big-business media over how far, how fast to go in attacking these rights.

sional organizations, and many other quarters.

On October 5, editorials in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* called for rejection of the nomination.

The Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Sen. Joseph Biden (D.-Del.), held 12 days of hearings on the nomination between September 15 and September 30. A coalition of liberal organizations, working closely with Biden, held daily strategy sessions on using the hearings to rally opposition to Bork.

The hearings exposed Bork's reactionary, antidemocratic views to millions who watched the sessions on television or followed them in the newspapers.

On the opening day of the hearings, Senator Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.) sharply attacked Bork's record. "It is easy to conclude from the public record of Mr. Bork's published views that he believes women and Blacks are second-class citizens under the constitution," he declared. "He even believes that in relation to the executive

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FBI spies targeted famed U.S. authors

BY HARRY RING

Recent revelations offer startling new evidence of decades of government spying on the nation's most illustrious novelists, playwrights, poets, and literary critics.

The known list of those victimized includes such figures as Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner, Sinclair Lewis, John

Steinbeck, Thornton Wilder, Tennessee Williams, Pearl Buck, E.L. Doctorow, Eugene O'Neil, William Saroyan, and Thomas Wolfe.

Virtually every U.S. winner of the Nobel Prize for literature has been on the government's list of suspects.

Most of the secret dossiers were compiled by the FBI. Others were the work of the CIA, the State Department, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and army intelligence.

The October 5 issue of the *New Yorker* features an exposé on this by Herbert Mitgang. A book reviewer and writer on cultural matters for the *New York Times*, Mitgang is writing a book about government spying on writers and others.

By coincidence, an article on the same subject appears in the October 10 issue of the *Nation* by Natalie Robins, who is also writing a book on the question.

Both writers obtained government dossiers — usually heavily censored — on authors no longer living, which can be done under the Freedom of Information Act. Robins also got the agreement of some living writers to request their own dossiers and make them available to her.

Responding to the two articles, the FBI asserted that since it instituted "reform" guidelines in 1976, surveillance of writers because of their ideas has been discon-

tinued. Mitgang believes the practice continues.

When the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance sued the FBI and other government agencies for violating their rights, much was established about the scope of illegal secret police activities by these agencies.

The new disclosures underline how broadly the government cast its net in its unrelenting drive to record and, where possible, curb dissenting views and activity.

Mitgang writes that the dossiers he obtained "reveal that these authors often came under suspicion because of what they chose to write about; because of writers' organizations they belonged to or writers' meetings they attended; because of petitions they signed or publications they subscribed to; or because of the places where they travelled."

He adds, "None of the writers . . . whose dossiers I looked into were ever convicted of any crime attributed to them by the FBI or other federal agencies."

"Some," Mitgang continues, "were accused publicly and 'tried' by newspaper columnists and editorial writers considered friendly to the FBI, who were given tidbits from the secret files, but the FBI prevailed only in the press, not in the courts."

One of the targets of the thought-control

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Miskito contras sign cease-fire

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — In a major breakthrough, a 400-man Miskito contra commando has signed a peace accord with the Nicaraguan government.

The agreement was announced October 3 in the city of Puerto Cabezas. The accord stipulates that the Miskito group, together with Sandinista forces, will wage a political campaign over the next month to convince other contras in Nicaragua's North Atlantic region to stop fighting.

Sandinista forces have already established a unilateral cease-fire in large areas of the region to facilitate dialogue with contra groups. By November 7, if any contra troops continue hostilities in the area, the Miskito commando and Sandinista troops will jointly attack them militarily.

In signing the accord, the Miskito group

agreed to function under the command of the Sandinista armed forces and not accept any more aid from the U.S. government.

One-third of the ex-contras will be integrated into the Sandinista army and Ministry of the Interior armed forces. Another third will be placed in productive jobs. The final third will receive scholarships to study.

The accord was signed by Interior Minister Tomás Borge, on behalf of the Nicaraguan government, and by Uriel Vanegas, chief of the Miskito commandos.

The commando unit was one of three in the U.S.-financed Miskito contra group called Yatama, formerly known as Pro-War Kisan. It is hoped that the other two commandos will now be convinced to also reach an agreement with the Nicaraguan government.

FBI spies targeted famed authors

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police was the noted poet, William Carlos Williams.

An FBI file on him was established in 1930 when he wrote a letter and enclosed a contribution to the radical magazine, the *New Masses*.

Twenty-two years later, Williams was slated for appointment as consultant in poetry at the Library of Congress. That meant a "security" check.

Williams never got the job and he was never told why. In a 1954 interview, he said, "I don't know a thing. What did they find? They never did give me any indication. . . . For heavens sake, what kind of country is this?"

Around the same time, FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover was notified, "Applicant was not appointed because of an unfavorable report."

One of the striking features of the dossiers is how routinely government cops equate opposition to racism with "subversion."

One FBI target was Sinclair Lewis, the first U.S. writer to win the Nobel Prize in literature.

His file includes a letter calling Hoover's attention to Lewis' novel, *Kingsblood Royal*, describing it as "the most incendiary book" since *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

An FBI memo then advises a Justice Department official that the book was seen as "propaganda for the white man's acceptance of the Negro as a social equal."

A file was opened on Pearl Buck in 1938, the year she won the Nobel Prize.

Her dossier notes her membership in the American Civil Liberties Union, which is listed under "Communist Front Organizations."

Also included is a World War II pamphlet Buck wrote in which, as a supporter of the war, she asserted that racist discrimination by the army, navy, and war industries aided the Japanese.

The dossier on Nobel Prize winner William Faulkner includes his views on political and civil rights issues. It records the fact that he had lent his name to efforts to save Willie McGee, a Mississippi Black man who was executed in 1951 on charges of raping a white woman.

Ernest Hemingway was a longtime FBI target. His dossier includes the fact that he supported the antifascist forces in the Spanish civil war and favored improved relations with the Soviet Union. Also cited was his return to Cuba to live after the victory of the anti-Batista revolution in 1959 and the sympathy he expressed for the new revolutionary government.

John Steinbeck was put under surveillance because his novels dealt with themes of social injustice — and because his books were recommended by opponents of such injustice.

One report from a secret informer advises that Steinbeck's best-seller *The Grapes of Wrath*, about impoverished farmers, "was among the books sold from the literature table at a Communist Party

May Day meeting held on May 1, 1940 in Los Angeles."

Critic Edmund Wilson's dossier notes that he had declared his support for James Katcher, the legless veteran fired from a government clerk's job because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Tennessee Williams' dossier includes the fact that he opposed the jailing of the McCarthy-era Hollywood 10 witchhunt victims and that his play, *A Streetcar Named Desire* had been praised by a Communist Party paper. The fact of Williams' homosexuality was also recorded.

The *Militant* spoke with John Studer, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund, about the *New Yorker* and *Nation* revelations. The PRDF has organized support for the fight of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government victimization. It is currently pressing for implementation of an injunction issued by federal Judge Thomas Griesa barring the government from using its illegally developed files against the SWP. The injunction concretizes the judge's ruling in favor of the party in its suit.

Studer said the revelations about the writers' dossiers underlines the importance of the fight to curb the nation's political police. "These files show how far the government will go in its invasion of the right to privacy," he said.

He pointed to the recent revelation that librarians had protested FBI efforts to recruit them as informers about library patrons.

"It surely suggests that the FBI would like to snoop on what people read, as well as what they write," he observed.

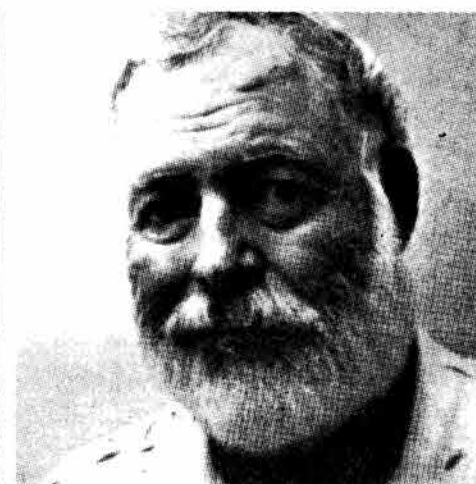
In the SWP case, Studer continued, the court found that the government had no legitimate reason for its decades of surveillance of the SWP and that most of the information it accumulated about the party was illegally obtained and therefore should not be used.

"Certainly, that finding applies with equal force to what was done to the writers," Studer said. "And the ban on government use of the files should apply there as well."

Studer also called attention to the recent interview with President Reagan in the right-wing daily, the *Washington Times*. There Reagan recalled nostalgically that in the 1950s there had been such congressional committees as the House Committee on Un-American Activities which "would investigate even one of their own members if it was believed that that person had Communist involvement or Communist leanings."

Reagan said the abolition of these committees was a victory for the Soviet Union.

"Reagan's not likely to get too far with that," Studer observed, "the stench of their red-baiting record is too strong even today. But it does show how far opponents of democratic rights in this country would like to go."



Victims of government snooping included: John Steinbeck (top left); Pearl Buck; Thomas Wolfe (bottom left); and Ernest Hemingway.

Canada abortion actions set

BY MARGARET JAYKO

On October 18-19, there will be a series of coordinated actions across Canada to defend women's right to abortion.

Demonstrations will take place in Vancouver, Toronto, and Quebec City on Sunday, October 18. The next day there will be a public meeting in St. John's, Newfoundland.

The actions center on four demands:

- Repeal the federal law which strictly limits women's access to abortion.
- Drop the charges against doctors accused of performing illegal abortions.
- Stop the harassment of the few clinics that offer abortion services, and of the women who use these clinics.
- End the budget cutbacks by provincial governments aimed at reducing the meager legal abortion services presently available.

In the past few years the Canadian ruling class has launched an assault on women's right to abortion through the federal and provincial governments, the police, and courts. They have been joined by the Catholic church hierarchy.

Clinic and abortion services have been closed down. Doctors who perform abor-

tions on demand, such as Henry Morgentaler, have been thrown in jail. Women wanting abortions have been harassed. And available services have been under attack through drastic budget cuts.

As a result, it has become increasingly difficult to obtain an abortion in Canada. In some areas, it has even become impossible.

The country's highest court is currently considering whether or not the federal law is in violation of rights recognized in the Canadian Bill of Rights.

'Militant' reporter in Burkina Faso

Militant staff writer Sam Manuel is in the West African country of Burkina Faso attending a pan-African conference to discuss international protests against the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Next week the *Militant* will carry a report from Manuel on the conference.

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"The Militant has given me the best weekly coverage of events in Nicaragua of any readily available newspaper. And in all modesty, I must say that the interview I had by Harry Ring was timely and complete.

"For all these reasons I am grateful to Harry and the Militant."

—David Linder

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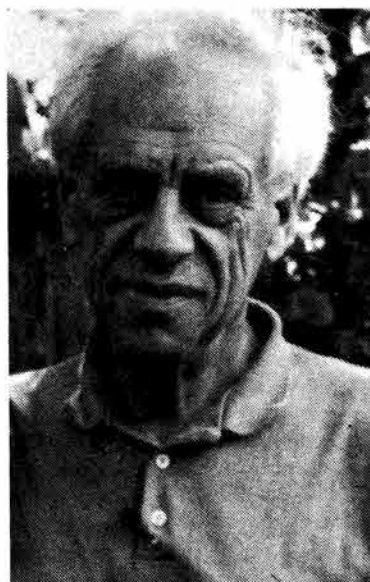
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SPECIAL OFFER



David Linder, father of U.S. volunteer worker Benjamin Linder slain by contras in Nicaragua.

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Coeditors: MARGARET JAYKO and DOUG JENNESS

Circulation Director: NORTON SANDLER

Nicaragua Bureau Director: CINDY JAQUITH

Business Manager: JIM WHITE

Editorial Staff: Susan Apstein, Fred Feldman, Arthur Hughes, Susan LaMont, Sam Manuel, Harvey McArthur (Nicaragua), Roberto Kopec (Nicaragua), Harry Ring.

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Facts on how AIDS is transmitted refute myths

BY FRED FELDMAN

"AIDS [acquired immune deficiency syndrome] is not spreading at the anticipated rate among non-drug-using heterosexual Americans, and medical officials ... at the Centers for Disease Control and elsewhere are generally agreed that they see no evidence the disease will reach epidemic proportions, except among homosexuals and intravenous drug users.

"As a consequence, there is a growing consensus among leading medical scientists that the threat of AIDS to the wider population, while serious, has been exaggerated."

So began a report by Robert Scheer published in the August 14 *Los Angeles Times*. The article was based on extensive interviews with AIDS researchers, particularly those associated with the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta. It described studies discrediting statistics published both by the U.S. Army and the Centers for Disease Control — statistics that have been interpreted by some to show a substantial and growing rate of AIDS carriers among heterosexuals who are not users of intravenous drugs.

Right-wing forces have attempted to generate hysteria against gays and AIDS victims by claiming that the disease threatens to engulf the population and can be spread easily through any sexual or even casual contact. The government has used unfounded fears to justify police measures like compulsory AIDS testing.

How AIDS spreads

In fact, the evidence shows that AIDS has spread only when infected blood or semen from one person enters the bloodstream of another.

"AIDS remains primarily an affliction of homosexual men augmented by intravenous drug users, most of the latter in the New York-New Jersey metropolitan area," the researchers have concluded, according to Scheer. It is spread primarily through anal intercourse which often involves injuries that make blood-to-blood or semen-to-blood transmission possible, and through the sharing of IV needles by drug users.

While the virus can be transmitted through vaginal intercourse, scientists and doctors interviewed point out that this has been very rare in the United States.

"Earlier fears of rampant spread of the disease through heterosexual activity, as has been the case in central Africa and Haiti, have simply not materialized in this country," Scheer wrote. "It seems that the prevalence of genital infections in Africa has contributed to the spread of the disease

there, whereas such infections are far less frequent and severe in this country."

Untreated venereal diseases are rampant in some parts of Africa and Haiti. Sores and lesions result, making possible the exchange of infected blood and semen in vaginal intercourse. That is the main cause of the spread of AIDS among heterosexual nonusers of intravenous drugs in these areas.

While transmission of AIDS from men to women is much more likely than the reverse, researchers point out that, in the United States, "80 percent of women with AIDS are IV drug users and 80 percent of children with AIDS are children of IV drug users."

The researchers indicated they felt under political pressure not to make public facts about the transmission of AIDS that would counter unfounded fears. "Most of the health professionals monitoring the course of this disease hold government jobs and many were reluctant to discuss the spread of AIDS among heterosexuals for fear of contradicting statements by their political superiors," Scheer wrote.

Another source of pressure on researchers is the need to pry funding out of politicians and businessmen who are hostile to gay people and to victims of drug addiction.

"The thing that fuels the resources for AIDS is the threat of heterosexual transmission," one federal doctor told Scheer. "The people who are spending the money basically don't care if a bunch of gay men and drug abusers get AIDS. They really don't."

Unreliable statistics

There have been 40,051 cases of AIDS reported nationally. Of these, the Centers for Disease Control has listed only 174 males — aside from individuals from Africa and Haiti — as having reportedly contracted AIDS through heterosexual contact.

But researchers explained to Scheer that the CDC collected these figures and made them public prior to any attempt to validate them. When the cases were reviewed, the statistics proved exaggerated.

Although 40 percent of the 174 cases were reported from New York City, health officials subsequently found only three men who appear to have contracted the disease from sex with women.

In Los Angeles, only seven men claim to have caught the disease heterosexually. In San Francisco, the figures are eight women and seven men out of a total of 3,545 people with AIDS.

Some have pointed to recent tests show-



New York AIDS protest. "The people who are spending the money don't care if gay men and drug abusers get AIDS," said one doctor.

ing a large number of AIDS carriers among U.S. Army recruits to justify their claim that a growing proportion of heterosexuals who are not IV drug users are carrying the AIDS virus. Even these statistics have shown no change in the rate of infection among recruits over 15 months of testing.

Out of 20 AIDS carriers who were followed up on by health authorities in Colorado, 14 turned out to have had homosexual contact — although only 4 had admitted this to the army. Three others were IV drug users — although the army had found only one. And only one appeared to have contracted AIDS through heterosexual contact.

In New York City, where the largest number of the AIDS-positive army recruits lived, about 20 of them came to the public health department for counseling. "At first, many claimed they had contracted AIDS through heterosexual contact with prostitutes," Scheer wrote.

But 10 of them eventually admitted using IV drugs, eight said they had engaged in homosexual activity, and the one woman said she had had sex with an IV drug user. The only one who fell outside the high-risk categories, reported Scheer, "turned out, on retesting, not to be AIDS positive."

"It is not the yuppies who are getting AIDS," declared Pauline Ann Thomas, the epidemiologist responsible for New York City's AIDS surveillance program. "This idea that prostitutes are going around infecting men, who infect their wives, is not generally true. If it were, we would be seeing more white middle-class men from Scarsdale. But we don't. It's the IV community, and that's where we ought to be putting our efforts."

But she added: "People don't care so much about Black and Hispanic drug users."

New York speak-out condemns assault on antiwar vet

BY KEVIN KELLOGG

NEW YORK — Some 70 people attended a "Speak-out Against the Attack on Antiwar Veteran Brian Willson" sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum on September 25.

On September 1 Willson was deliberately run over by a munitions train outside the Concord, California, Naval Weapons Station. He and others were protesting the shipment of arms to the contras fighting against the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and to the U.S.-backed Duarte regime in El Salvador. Willson lost both his legs.

Speaking at the forum were Cate Woods, New Jersey Pledge of Resistance; Dave Cline, coordinator of New Jersey-New York Vietnam Veterans Against the War; David Rosenfeld, Young Socialist Alliance member recently returned from a work brigade in Nicaragua; and Mike Pahias, a VVAW member and friend of Willson.

A message to the speak-out from Mary-Alice Waters on behalf of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party was also read. Waters met and worked with Willson in Nicaragua several times in 1986. Her message said, "Brian's personal courage and exceptional commitment impress everyone he works with, whether or not they agree with his choice of tactics. But more important are the qualities Brian has that are not unique — those he shares with growing numbers of men and women in the United States."

"A Vietnam veteran whose own experiences turned him against the U.S. government's immoral war against the Vietnamese people," Waters continued, "Brian became determined to do everything he could to mobilize opposition to U.S. aggression elsewhere. His experiences and conclusions are shared by millions of people in this country who have learned something from our own recent history, and who today see more clearly the real character of the government that acts in our name but not in our interest."

"Brian is representative of many others

— such as Ben Linder," Waters stated, "who have been willing to risk their lives to struggle to advance the future of humanity."

Support the Fall Socialist Publications Fund

At a rally August 13 we announced the launching of this fund, which has a goal of raising \$150,000 by Nov. 24.

Its purpose is to finance publication of the *Militant*, the monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Marxist magazine *New International*, the French-language *Nouvelle Internationale*, and Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

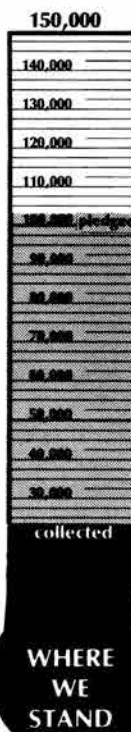
As of October 7, \$103,300 has been pledged and \$23,700 collected.

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New step forward in Nicaragua

Continued from front page

York Times, Nicaraguan Vice-president Sergio Ramírez announced that his government was fully prepared to end the state of emergency and restore "full constitutional freedoms."

The next week, on August 19, Bayardo Arce, vice-coordinator of the Executive Commission of the FSLN's nine-person National Directorate, explained that lifting the state of emergency means there will be "absolute freedom of the press" and "absolute political freedom."

In October 1985, Nicaragua's government had announced that it was reactivating state-of-emergency measures adopted in 1982 and lifted temporarily in 1984. These included prior censorship of the media, the need for permits to hold street demonstrations, suspension of the right to strike and the right to a trial, the right of the police to conduct warrantless searches where counterrevolutionary activity is suspected, and the ability to detain persons accused of crimes against national security or public order without habeas corpus — the right that protects against imprisonment without charges.

The removal of restrictions on civil liberties "is going to initiate a new situation" in Nicaragua, Arce said. "The entire Sandinista Front and all the revolutionary forces will have to prepare themselves for the political-ideological struggle that is going to open up."

What Nicaragua has done

In the two months since the treaty was signed, the Nicaraguan government has taken a series of steps to implement the accords, including:

- Allowing the daily *La Prensa* to resume publication. Before it was closed down by the government in June 1986, *La Prensa* functioned as a voice of Washington and the contra mercenaries, and was financed by the CIA.
- Allowing Radio Católica to reopen. This mouthpiece of the Catholic church hierarchy had been closed in January 1986 for repeatedly violating the law.
- Lifting censorship from all the nation's news media.
- Unilaterally initiating a cease-fire in several areas of the country.
- Launching a massive publicity campaign to encourage the contras to take advantage of the amnesty program that is already in existence in Nicaragua.
- Appointing a national reconciliation

commission, which included Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, the most prominent supporter of the contra mercenaries inside Nicaragua.

- Allowing three Catholic priests expelled from the country for counterrevolutionary acts to return if they want.

- Repealing the decree authorizing the government to confiscate the properties of Nicaraguans who left the country for six months or more as a way to encourage those who left to return.

'A publicity show'?

President Reagan, the contras, the opposition inside Nicaragua, and the editors of the big-business media in this country all present these actions of the Nicaraguan government as primarily moves made either for international consumption, as concessions extracted from the FSLN as the price for the Guatemala accords, or as attempts to influence votes in Congress on contra aid.

But none of these self-serving interpretations — all of which are rationales for continuing the criminal contra war — explain what really lies behind the accords.

It is true that the Nicaraguan government is being forced by Washington to make decisions, including concessions, under duress from the contra war and the extensive trade restrictions by the U.S. government.

As Interior Minister Tomás Borge explained it, the Guatemala agreement "implies concessions on everyone's part, including Nicaragua's, of course. [But] it does not mean renouncing principles or negating the revolutionary process."

But the heart of the matter is that the Sandinista leadership has decided that giving space to the internal opposition and the restoring of civil liberties is the best way to strengthen the mobilization, organization, and education of the workers and farmers of Nicaragua to fight for their interests.

This is what is being explained by FSLN leaders as they travel around the country seeking to win support for this new course from the Nicaraguan people, beginning with the most committed members of the FSLN itself.

Cost of rights restrictions

The state of emergency measures were used to curtail political opposition in the face of the need to mobilize an all-out effort to defeat the contras.

These wartime measures, which are an

administrative approach to dealing with both capitalist and ultraleft opponents of the FSLN, carry an overhead price.

They don't eliminate the ideas of these opponents, nor reduce their support. They make it more difficult, in fact, to clarify them.

Such an approach also gives an impetus to those supporters of the revolution who argue that the need for national unity in the war justifies postponing till the indefinite future key social tasks of the revolution like further advances in the distribution of land to small peasants, driving forward concretely on women's rights, and similar questions.

At a September 18 rally in Nandaime, Nicaragua, where 404 new members were accepted into the FSLN, Sandinista leader Arce explained that those who have the most to gain from lifting Nicaragua's restrictions on civil liberties are the workers and peasants themselves. They too lost rights — not just the opponents of the revolution — when the state of emergency was reimposed in 1985.

"Just as we had to sacrifice, leaving our schools, our jobs, and our farms so we could go to the war front; just as we had to sacrifice by restricting our consumption of food and fuel so that our fighters may be well supplied; likewise we've had to restrict our full enjoyment of democracy and limit our freedom of speech, our freedom of movement, and our possibility to demonstrate," he explained.

With the restoration of these rights, Arce told the FSLN members, working people should make full use of them to defend their interests. At the same time, he said, the Sandinistas will have "to adjust the dynamic of our revolutionary work, change our style, and change our functioning as a vanguard," in order to better guarantee these rights.

Each and every FSLN member, said Arce, must clearly know and understand the FSLN's program and be able to explain it to the masses.

'Incorrect way of practicing Sandinism'

In an article in the September 12 issue of the Sandinista daily *Barricada*, prominent Nicaraguan poet Gioconda Belli raised the need to correct weaknesses that had developed in the FSLN's work under the pressure of the war.

In discussing how to deal with the segment of the population that, while pro-revolution, is not involved in politics and in some cases has become alienated from Sandinista political activity, Belli wrote, "In many cases, I would say, we ourselves pushed them into apathy with authoritarian attitudes, rhetoric, and even incorrect ways of practicing Sandinism."

Some Sandinistas retreated from the task of politically winning over the unconvinced and inactive. "We Sandinistas must recognize," she continued, "that we have not had the patience with this sector that the old Sandinistas had with us."

Now, said Belli, "we Sandinistas have a battle to win among these comrades." They have to be convinced, she wrote, "that the revolution is neither sectarian nor closed; that in this country everyone has something to contribute; and that we are prepared to continue winning our role as vanguard, acknowledging the errors that we have committed, and with their collaboration, correcting those that we can correct."

As Belli pointed out, the "old" leaders of the FSLN who led the fight to mobilize the workers and peasants in the battle for political power were trained to do this kind of political work. Many of the newer members, however, who have joined and been educated in the period of the contra war and consequent heavy use of state-of-emergency restrictions, will have to learn.

'Political-ideological struggle is key'

President Daniel Ortega gave a speech on August 29 where he explained the opportunity and challenges posed by the new situation.

In Nicaragua, while workers and peasants hold political power, the economy is still largely in the hands of the capitalist class. "The large private sector that has remained in our country after Somoza [was overthrown] has its own interests. It has its own possibilities to reproduce itself, and clashes objectively with the interests of the revolution," Ortega pointed out.

LA PRENSA

AL SERVICIO DE LA VERDAD Y LA JUSTICIA

Militant/Duane Stilwell
Managua office of pro-contra daily *La Prensa*.

"The private sector has political space, a political opening that ultimately becomes a challenge for really strengthening our revolutionary process. [The challenge is] to wage a political-ideological battle under conditions where those forces have the possibility to express themselves, to demonstrate . . . and to try to win the population with their ideas. These are the conditions in which the revolution fights to strengthen its influence among the fundamental forces, the forces of the people," said Ortega.

It is better for foes of the revolution to "have the possibility of expressing themselves openly, because it sets the stage for waging a political-ideological battle openly and directly against that line of thought. [Their views] would be here in any case, independent of our will. They wouldn't disappear just because political pluralism didn't exist. . . .

"Nothing could be better than openly confronting those who try to confuse and disorient the people. Give them the opportunity to speak in order to have the possibility of waging this political-ideological struggle."

That, said Ortega, "is the challenge. That is the struggle. To carry out the fight in the arena where the different political and ideological forces, including our enemies, are present. And to win the battle and defeat the enemy in that arena."

"We would not be solving the problem by imprisoning all those who [oppose the revolution]. This would appear to be a comfortable and easy road to follow, but on the contrary, we would be doing ourselves harm. We would be harming the revolution."

(Part two of this article will discuss the contra war and the lessons of the Atlantic Coast experience.)

Strike-related trial of 5 Kentucky miners to open October 19

BY DUNCAN WILLIAMS

CHARLESTON, W.Va. —The trial in London, Kentucky, of five members of the United Mine Workers of America has been postponed to October 19.

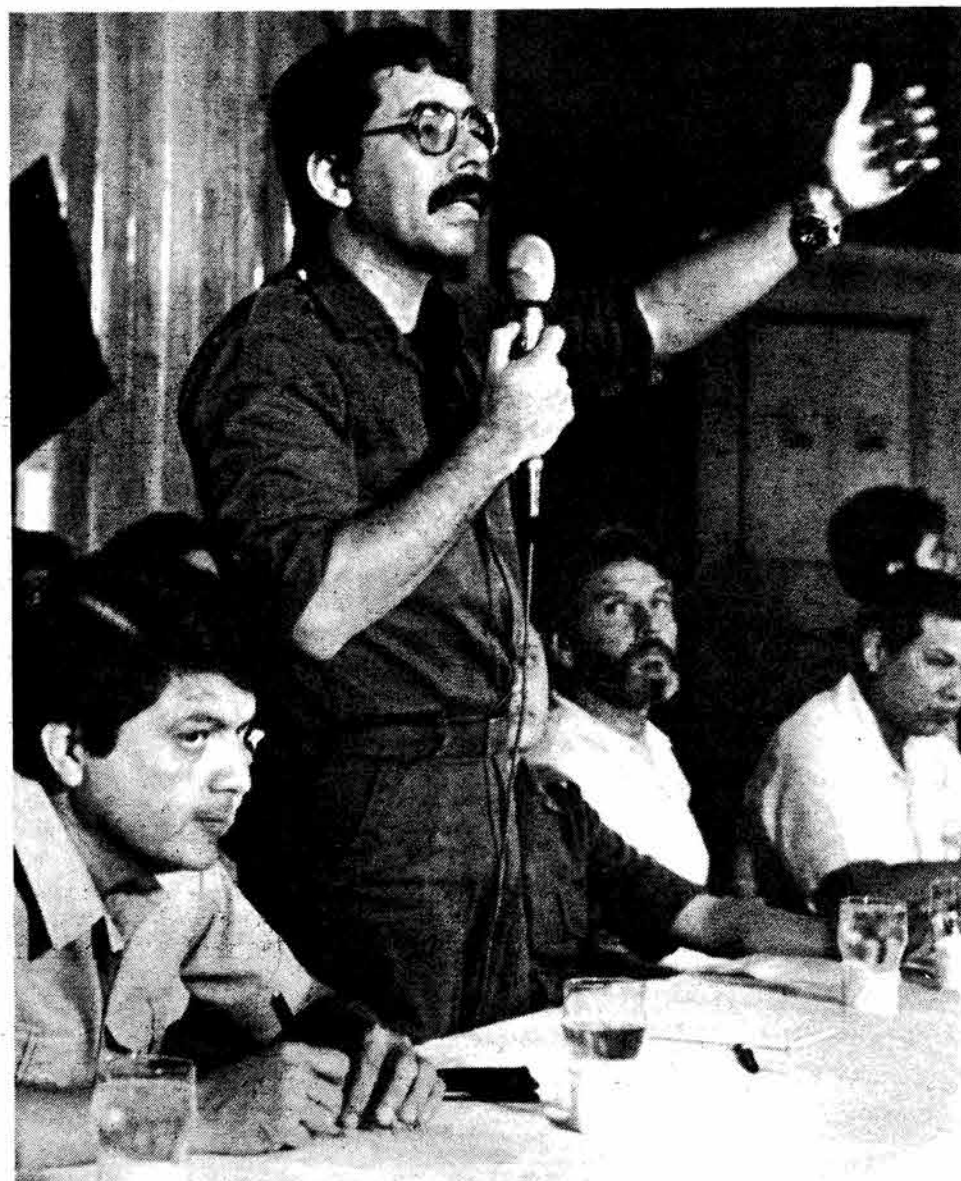
The men are facing federal charges of interfering with interstate commerce, stemming from an incident in which a nonunion coal driver was killed during the UMWA strike against A.T. Massey Coal Company in 1984-85. That strike featured widespread violence and intimidation by Massey gun thugs and police against union pickets.

The prosecution, while presenting no evidence that the miners are guilty, has sought to paint them as violent criminals. Dozens of heavily armed FBI agents and state cops carried out the arrests in August.

Four of the men are still in jail awaiting trial. The U.S. magistrate refused to set bail, claiming they were a danger to the community.

Recently, the federal prosecutor claimed to be hiding witnesses under the Witness Security Program, supposedly to protect them from vindictive miners.

Attorneys have been retained for the miners, and funds are needed to carry out the legal defense. To send contributions and get information, write Citizens for Justice, Box 8, Canada, Ky. 41519.



Nicaraguan President Ortega (standing) and Vice-president Ramírez (left).

Daymon J. Hartley

Why Bork nomination went down to defeat

Continued from front page

branch that members of Congress are second-class citizens."

At the hearings, Bork attempted to explain away or even repudiate some of his views in an effort to garner more votes. But there was no explaining away decades of speeches, articles, and court opinions that called for sharply narrowing the scope of constitutionally guaranteed rights.

No right of privacy

Bork's stands include:

- The repeated contention that since the right of privacy is not mentioned explicitly in the constitution, no such right exists. He has denounced privacy rights as "one more slogan" used by judges whom he charged with "writing their own tastes into law."

- Bork denounced *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 Supreme Court ruling that privacy rights include the right of women to decide to have an abortion, as "wholly unjustifiable." Consistent with his rejection of the right of women to control their own bodies, Bork ruled in favor of a corporation that ordered women employees to become sterilized as the price of keeping a job.

- Bork has argued that the right to free speech applies only to what he regards as legitimate "explicitly political" speech. He has argued that advocates of civil disobedience, Marxism, or any other view he regards as favoring unlawful actions are not protected by the First Amendment.

He has contended that the courts have gone way overboard in restricting discrimination against Blacks and women.

Bork has consistently upheld the power of the president to override the Bill of Rights through surveillance of dissenters, making and executing policy in secret, and waging war without a declaration by Congress.

After Bork testified, artists, prominent lawyers, former government officials, and others were called on to address the panel on the Bork nomination.

Some of the sharpest criticisms of Bork came from two Black former government officials: William Coleman, who was secretary of transportation under President Gerald Ford; and Barbara Jordan, a onetime member of the House of Representatives from Texas.

"I don't want to see the argument made [on the court] that there is no right to privacy," Jordan stated. "And the only way to prevent that argument being made is to deny Judge Bork membership on the court."

Working people by the millions oppose the Bork nomination, seeing the move to



Federal Judge Robert Bork (left) testifies at Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on his nomination to Supreme Court. Sen. Joseph Biden (center), chairman of committee, and Sen. Edward Kennedy consult. Biden and Kennedy were among the liberal Democrats who campaigned to defeat Reagan's choice.



place him on the court as an attack aimed squarely at basic democratic rights.

Antilabor offensive in difficulties

The nomination of Bork and the opposition to it in Congress and the big-business media is connected to a deepening dilemma faced by the capitalist families that rule this country and control the government and the Republican and Democratic parties.

They are beginning to run into the limits of the methods they have been using in their drive to increase profit rates, in the face of intensifying international competition.

During the first half of the 1980s, the U.S. employers made a lot of headway, rolling back economic gains won by workers and dealing big blows to unions in one industry after another. They cut wages, speeded up production, eliminated jobs, and weakened the ability of the unions to defend workers.

While the government supported this campaign — and helped set an example in 1981 by breaking the air traffic controllers' strike and smashing the union — the employers scored these successes without resorting to massive government repression.

The key to victory was getting the union officialdom to convince workers that if they wanted to hang on to their jobs, they had to give up some of their gains to bolster company profits.

Now, however, resistance has stepped up. Workers saw in life that yielding to the employers' demands for takebacks saved no jobs, and led instead to still more takeback demands.

In the paper and meat-packing industries, for example, the employers' attempts to restructure their operations at the workers' expense have met a stiff fight.

Harsher methods

Some of these employers have responded by using rougher methods, bringing in hundreds of scabs to keep struck plants operating. This is what happened last year at the Hormel plant in Austin, Minnesota, and at the Boise Cascade paper mill in Rumford, Maine. That is what is happening now at John Morrell meat-packing plants in Iowa and South Dakota; the Patrick Cudahy packing plant in Cudahy, Wisconsin; and at the International Paper mill in Jay, Maine.

In some instances, the employers have called on the government to play a more open strikebreaking role. The governor of Minnesota called out the National Guard in 1986 to help Hormel reopen its Austin plant. This year a Labor Day rally to support striking paperworkers in Coshocton, Ohio, was savagely attacked by county cops.

In order to get their antilabor offensive back on course, the rulers will need to deal more blows like these to the rights of workers to organize, strike, and assemble. They will have to try to beat down the demands for equal rights of Blacks, women, immigrants, and other workers who are discriminated against and superexploited.

But these harsh measures are not the rule today. While the employers are probing and testing the effectiveness of more aggressive methods of attacking the unions, there is no consensus among them and their political representatives on how rapidly or how extensively to use them.

The rulers face a parallel problem in their efforts to contain and roll back struggles by workers and farmers in other countries. Since their debacle in Vietnam, they have made little headway in winning the support of U.S. workers and farmers for sending U.S. troops into foreign wars.

To override this opposition, they need more secrecy, more undeclared wars, and more attacks on the democratic right to oppose their policies.

Changed view of rights

A frontal attack on democratic rights will carry a high political price. The range of what people consider to be their rights and the breadth of people who expect their rights to be protected are much more extensive than 30 years ago.

The biggest of the struggles that produced this change was the civil rights movement, which shattered the system of legal Jim Crow segregation and defeated and discredited many other forms of racial discrimination.

The civil rights movement inspired the struggles of other oppressed national minorities, the struggle to advance the rights of women, and many other battles that expanded the scope of democratic rights.

A few of these victories were codified in constitutional amendments, and many others in Supreme Court decisions. Some of the most important of these rulings af-

firmed and expanded the right of privacy — the right of individuals to be free of government surveillance and control in their personal lives and constitutionally protected political activities.

These struggles, which faced many forms of official repression and harassment, also strengthened popular support for the right to speak, organize, and demonstrate against government policy.

Millions of working people have come to consider the democratic gains of the last several decades as basic human rights, and expect them to be respected. This advance in understanding is a big obstacle the rulers must overcome if their offensive against working people is to regain momentum and take big steps forward.

'He goes too far'

At this point, the dominant sentiment in Congress and in the U.S. ruling class favors a cautious, step-by-step approach in reducing democratic rights, not the more radical assault favored by Bork's defenders.

Bork "may go in a healthy direction," wrote the *Washington Post* in its editorial opposing the Bork confirmation, "but he goes too far."

The *New York Times* warned that confirmation of Bork would be counterproductive because "the Court's authority depends in large measure on public confidence in its fairness."

According to the September 27 *New York Times*, many Democratic senators from the South voiced "fear that Judge Bork's views on civil rights and privacy guarantees could reopen those issues again."

Confirmation of Bork would have increased the likelihood of reactionary Supreme Court decisions on abortion and other issues. But such decisions could not in themselves reverse rights that workers and farmers have won in decades of struggle. On the contrary, they would mark the opening shot in new battles.

The rulers know that Bork's presence on the bench would be no guarantee of victory in such battles.

As a result, the bid to place Robert Bork on the Supreme Court has gone down to defeat. But the nomination is a reminder that the employers and their government do not regard the rights of working people as permanent, irreversible conquests.

On the contrary, they are impelled to probe constantly for effective means of chipping away at them and eventually sweeping away these obstacles to the employers' profit drive.

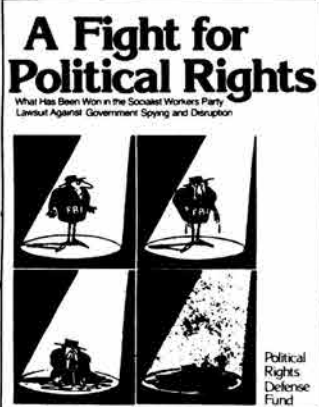
Democratic rights will be defended and extended in the course of victories won in big battles between workers and farmers and their exploiters.

'Militant' Prisoner Fund

The *Militant's* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who need help paying for the paper. Please send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Join the fight for democratic rights

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



DECISION:

Government spying and disruption are unconstitutional and illegal

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

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

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

Two-week sales team does well at Alabama mines

BY BETSY FARLEY

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — From August 24 to September 6, Alabama socialists sold over 200 copies and 31 *Militant* subscriptions to coal miners, their fam-

the hands of as many miners as possible. That way they'd have information about struggles their own union is involved in as well as information on workers' and farmers' struggles around the world.

coverage of the South African miners' strike and the fight against apartheid.

Bloodworth stressed the importance of having a large number of salespeople at a portal if possible. "That's what it takes to get the cars to first see you and then stop. When we had only two salespeople," Bloodworth said, "we didn't sell as many papers."

The team sold at 15 UMW-organized mines. About half were strip mines. At the Kellerman surface mine, about 10 workers driving gigantic earth-moving equipment out of a work force of 100 bought the paper. "You have to climb right up to talk to these guys," Bloodworth explained.

The largest number of single copies were sold at four underground mines in Jefferson, Fayette, and Tuscaloosa counties.

At a Pittsburg & Midway mine, 17 copies were sold. At the Jim Walters No. 3 and No. 5 mines, 23 papers each were sold. At Jim Walters No. 7, 30 papers were sold to miners going in on the afternoon shift, and the team ran out of papers before most of the day shift came.

The sales effort was organized around a full-time team of two people who were joined by other supporters for a day or two at a time, or in the evening after work. Ten supporters in all participated in part of the effort.

On weekends, team members went door to door in mining communities. Some subscriptions were sold to miners who had picked up a copy of the *Militant* at a portal earlier in the week.

The team also went to the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa

and introduced the *Militant* to several students there. Some of the students expressed interest in joining the Young Socialist Alliance. Team member Mary Knaeble explained that establishing a YSA there will be important in the future for keeping in touch with miners in Tuscaloosa County.

The team ended its tour at the Labor Day rally in Mobile. Twenty-three copies of the *Militant* were sold, most of them to paperworkers locked out at International Paper's mill there.

Following up on the success of the team, *Militant* supporters in Birmingham have established regular weekly sales at three mine portals. In addition, they have plans to send additional teams to mining areas during the current *Militant* subscription drive.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

ilies, and others in the mining communities near Birmingham.

As the January 1988 contract expiration date approaches, members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) are preparing to put up a fight if the mine operators refuse to agree to negotiate a decent agreement.

The aim of the two-week sales team was to get the *Militant* into

One hundred and thirty-five miners going in and out of portals purchased copies of the *Militant* from the team.

Team captain Stephen Bloodworth said miners — Black and white, young and old, male and female — bought the paper. One young white miner bought a subscription on his way home. He was particularly interested in the

Subscription target week begins on October 17

BY NORTON SANDLER

We urge all *Militant* readers to join us in the one-week special subscription target week effort that begins Saturday, October 17.

Readers who follow the subscription scoreboard week to week know that the drive launched in August to win 6,000 new

readers by the end of November is behind schedule. As of October 7, we should have collected 3,000 subscriptions or 50 percent of the goal. Instead, we have on hand 1,924, or 32 percent of the goal.

An extra push during the October 17-24 week is necessary to get back on schedule.

Militant supporters who distribute the

revolutionary press at worksites, in working-class communities, and on campuses know that it takes political discussion to sell a subscription. Often you can get someone to stop and talk by calling their attention to a headline or to one or another article, but that's only the beginning. Before subscribing, people want to know what they will gain from receiving the paper every week.

This issue, for example, has the complete text of Fidel Castro's speech delivered at the July 26 celebration in Havana Province. Castro describes what the Cubans refer to as their "rectification process," a subject that has drawn scant attention in the U.S. press. The speech shows the progress Cuba's workers and farmers are making in taking greater and greater control over leading and administering the Cuban state and economy.

Another article discusses the controversy over Robert Bork's nomination to the Supreme Court. While this is one of the most talked about topics in U.S. politics today, the *Militant* is the only place where you will find an analysis of what the Bork debate reveals about the employer and government offensive against the rights of working people.

And an article by Margaret Jayko describes what has opened up in Nicaragua following the signing of the Central America Peace Accords in August as well as the challenges facing those in the United States who are opposed to Washington's aggression in Central America.

Political discussion around these and other articles can help convince potential new readers that by getting the paper every week they will get a deeper understanding of the most important questions facing working people.

What is a target week?

Target weeks differ from other weeks during a subscription drive in that local

areas schedule more than the normal number of sales and ask supporters to go out more than the normal number of times.

A number of areas report success from regional subscription teams. During a recent 10-day swing through Watsonville and Salinas, California, supporters from the San Francisco Bay Area sold 50 subscriptions to the *Militant* and the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*. Most were bought by farm workers or workers at frozen-food packing plants there.

Many *Militant* distributors in the St. Louis area work rotating shifts in the plants and mines. This often means they work on weekends. Some are also forced to work substantial amounts of overtime.

Tom Leonard, a *Militant* distributor in St. Louis, explained that this cuts down on the number of people who participate in their regular Saturday mobilizations. But Leonard emphasized that their drive has been boosted by taking special steps to schedule sales during the week that make it easy for these supporters to participate.

The target week mobilizations can also help publicize upcoming Socialist Publications Fund rallies. These rallies at the end of October and in November will help raise \$150,000 for the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*, and Pathfinder Books and pamphlets. (See chart on page 30.)

They will feature fighters from the unions, the farm movement, and student organizations, and activists against apartheid in South Africa and U.S. intervention in Central America who like what the *Militant* and other socialist publications have to say.

Supporters who want to get a bundle for the target week should write the *Militant* Business Office at 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014, or phone (212) 929-3486.

Fall Sales Scoreboard

Area	<i>Militant</i> subscriptions			New International single copies			<i>Perspectiva Mundial</i> subscriptions		
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	%
Greensboro, N.C.	115	85	74	20	11	55	10	1	10
Houston	200	123	62	50	0	0	40	9	23
Portland, Ore.	80	41	51	40	16	40	30	1	3
Cleveland	105	52	50	20	0	0	15	3	20
Boston	200	90	45	50	0	0	100	22	22
Detroit	200	90	45	35	6	17	25	3	12
Des Moines, Iowa	125	54	43	35	0	0	15	1	7
Baltimore	140	57	41	40	0	0	10	1	10
Omaha, Neb.	70	28	40	20	0	0	10	7	70
Morgantown, W. Va.	130	49	38	25	0	0	5	1	20
San Francisco	180	67	37	50	0	0	70	37	53
Twin Cities, Minn.	180	67	37	100	21	21	20	4	20
Oakland, Calif.	150	54	36	100	0	0	50	9	18
San Jose, Calif.	75	27	36	*	0	*	50	19	38
Milwaukee	115	41	36	35	0	0	15	1	7
San Diego	85	30	35	25	11	44	40	21	53
Washington, D.C.	130	45	35	60	0	0	30	10	33
Seattle	300	103	34	50	13	26	50	21	42
Newark, N.J.	350	119	34	75	12	16	125	26	21
Los Angeles	300	100	33	100	50	50	175	51	29
Salt Lake City	150	50	33	25	2	8	25	6	24
Kansas City	105	34	32	25	2	8	20	6	30
Atlanta	120	37	31	35	15	43	20	5	25
Annandale, N.Y.	20	6	30	-	-	-	-	1	-
Birmingham, Ala.	150	43	29	35	0	0	5	1	20
Philadelphia	150	40	27	50	0	0	50	6	12
Phoenix	100	25	25	*	0	*	80	19	24
Austin, Minn.	85	21	25	10	0	0	15	1	7
New York	600	147	25	350	183	52	150	83	55
Miami	120	29	24	40	0	0	40	4	10
St. Louis	175	37	21	50	0	0	10	2	20
Price, Utah	48	8	17	10	0	0	2	0	0
Chicago	225	33	15	50	0	0	75	7	9
Charleston, W. Va.	125	16	13	20	0	0	-	1	-
Pittsburgh	175	16	9	*	0	*	10	1	10
Cincinnati	10	0	0	-	0	-	-	-	-
Louisville, Ky.	5	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Britain	60	41	68	-	-	-	-	-	-
Canada	-	17	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
Puerto Rico	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-
Other Internat'l	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Totals	5,653	1,924	32%	1,630	342	17%	1,387	407	27%
Drive Goals	6,000			2,000			1,500		
Should Be		2,940	49%		980	49%		735	49%

* Goal not adopted yet



Selling the *Militant* at September 19 antiracist march in Pittsburgh

Introduction

In this issue of the *International Socialist Review*, we are reprinting the speech given by Cuban President Fidel Castro on July 26 in the town of Artemisa in Havana Province. The speech was printed in full in the August 2 *Granma Weekly Review*, an English-language weekly published in Havana.

More than 100,000 people gathered in Artemisa's main square on July 26 in the pouring rain to celebrate the 34th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada garrison.

On July 26, 1953, Fidel Castro led a group of 200 students and workers in an assault on the Moncada military barracks, launching an armed struggle against the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, who had seized power in a coup d'etat the previous year.

The attack was defeated and half the assailants were killed in battle or executed by the regime. Castro was captured several days later and imprisoned. He was freed in 1955.

Thirty of the participants in the Moncada raid came from Artemisa, also known as the Red Town because of the color of its soil.

Every July 26 Castro gives a major speech in one of Cuba's 14 provinces. Havana Province, on the western end of the island, encompasses Artemisa and 18 other municipalities.

As Castro explains in his speech, prior to the triumph of Cuba's revolution in 1959, this area suffered from the same problems of poverty, disease, illiteracy, and underdevelopment that the rest of Cuba did. Before the revolution, for example, the infant mortality rate in Artemisa was 70 per 1,000 live births. Today it is 14.3.

Much of Castro's speech is a review of recent progress in housing and other construction in Havana Province as a result of the "rectification" process going on in Cuba today.

The current issue of *New Internationalist*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory published in New York, reprints two other speeches by Castro on the rectification process. (See ad on *ISR* page eight.) In an introductory essay, *New Internationalist* editor Mary-Alice Waters explained that the aim of this process is "to carry through a historic correction in the course of the revolution itself."

It is a battle, Waters explained, "to eradicate the mistaken idea that there is some mechanism," like the Economic Planning and Management System, whose automatic functioning can and will provide "the motor power of the advance toward socialism."

"It is a battle to once again place at the center of the revolutionary process," explained Waters, "the only force that can drive forward the transition from capitalism to socialism — the working people themselves, mobilized to take increasing control over the administration and leadership of their own state and to chart the path of the Cuban economy."

At the heart of the rectification process has been the reintroduction of the "minibrigades." An account of a meeting of Havana enterprises that appeared in the July 5, 1987, *Granma Weekly Review* emphasized this.

According to *Granma*, Castro stressed at this meeting — as he does in the July 26 speech — "that rectification doesn't mean rectifying what may have been done wrong in the last 10 years; rather, things which were done wrong in 30 or 100 years. Rectification means going back to the capitalist era and confronting old vices and problems, long-standing social problems for which a solution must be found. . . . He gave as an example the revival of the minibrigades."

The minibrigades are voluntary labor crews that construct housing, day-care centers, hospitals, and other socially necessary projects. The workers involved are given a leave from their jobs to participate in the brigades while coworkers pick up the slack. With the introduction of the Economic Planning and Management System in the mid-1970s, the minibrigades were done away with.

"We thought — that's what happened — that the marvelous formula of the enterprises as originally planned

Fidel Castro reviews progress of Havana Province 'Example of solving problems while building socialism in a Third World nation'

would solve everything," Castro told the meeting of Havana enterprises.

He recalled that the minibrigades had been building 10,000 or 12,000 homes a year — the only way to build that amount of housing in a country as poor as Cuba.

In his speech in Artemisa, Castro reviews the tremendous progress made in the past several months by the revived minibrigades and the importance of such voluntary social labor in the building of communism.

"Fortunately, the rectification process came at the right time because people had not become corrupt," Castro told the meeting of Havana enterprises. "We were going in the wrong direction but workers were not yet alienated and they retained revolutionary spirit, as had been repeatedly illustrated."

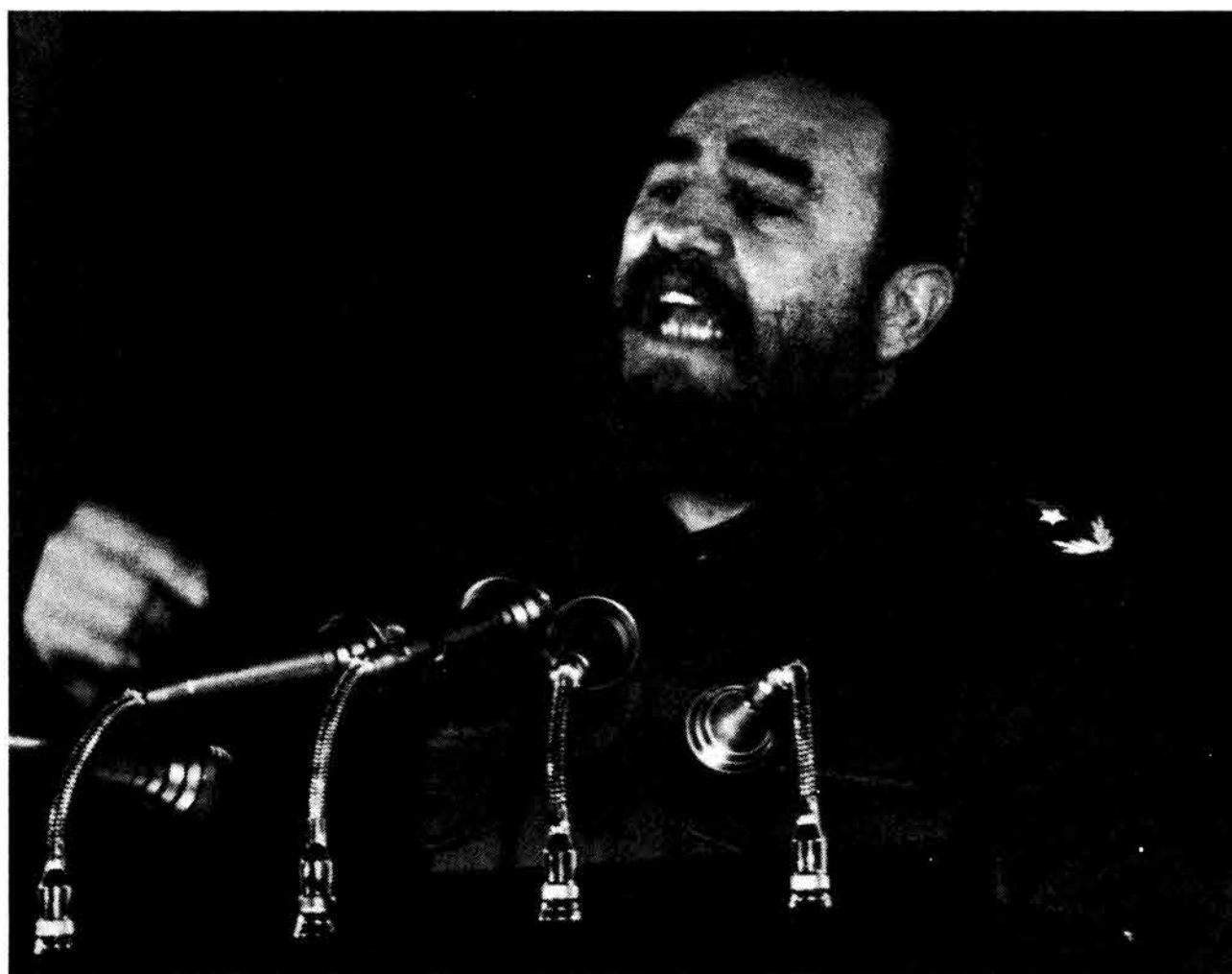
Fidel Castro

Today we received a wonderful present in the form of considerable rain. (Applause) When in mid-afternoon I heard the thunderbolts and imagined that it was raining in Artemisa, remembering so many 26th of July celebrations when nature — friendly at times toward the revolution — didn't let a single drop fall, I thought that today, after years of drought and amidst one of the driest years we have had, if we had to have the ceremony amidst the rain we would be very happy. (Applause) I even urgently requested a plastic file cover in case some of my papers got wet; although I have virtually memorized the data that I wrote down for greater detail.

But nature has gone one better. It was raining about an hour before the ceremony. When we got here we saw that the streets were virtual rivers, but everybody was heading for the square, and furthermore it was a cool afternoon, with protection from our bright sun. That is why we are celebrating this 26th of July with an excellent omen. (Applause)

This year Havana Province has the honor of hosting the ceremony, and the provincial leadership decided with

Continued on next page



Fidel Castro

Gianfranco Gorgoni

Continued from previous page

a sense of historic justice that it should be held in Artemisa. By having it here in Artemisa we not only honor the province of Havana, but also the neighboring province of Pinar del Río, to which Artemisa belonged at the time of the Moncada. (Applause)

This province grew in the revolutionary period with a more rational politico-administrative division, since the one that existed before dated back to the colonial era.

I am very well acquainted with this province that came into being 11 or 12 years ago with the new division, when the old Havana Province that also included the capital of the country was split up. I am familiar with it not just because I have toured it many times, not just because I covered thousands of kilometers along the roads and highways of this province before the 26th of July, but also because after the triumph of the revolution I had the privilege of covering many more thousands of kilometers in the territory, getting to know it almost like the back of my hand, from the area where the livestock-breeding program to the east borders on Matanzas, to this spot, bordering on Pinar del Río. For years we toured every corner of this territory when we worked out the province's economic and social development programs, so I am a witness to how much it has changed in these years.

Perhaps many of you are also witnesses, and perhaps an even greater number of young people born after the revolution have no possible framework of comparison with the past, so it is a good idea for us to think about the work of the revolution in the province.

Although the western region was the most developed

thousands of kilometers of roads and highways have been built. As a result, Havana Province, which is basically agricultural but has taken on an important level of industrialization, now has 0.39 kilometers of paved road per square kilometer [0.62 miles per square mile]. That really is a very high index, on a par with any industrialized country in the world.

Sixteen dams have been built — I don't remember a single one before, I don't know if any Havana resident can recall some small pond, but I don't. We have built 16 dams and 135 minidams, together with the Mampostón-Pedroso-Güira water supply network.

Agriculture is totally mechanized. Now the number of tractors in the province is equal to the number existing in the entire country before the triumph of the revolution. More than 1,000 installations for cattle, hogs, poultry, and other agricultural purposes have been built.

Large-scale factories and plants have been built such as the Máximo Gómez power plant in Mariel; the new cement factory with a capacity of more than a million tons; the Evello Prieto bus factory in Guanajay; the asbestos cement and styrofoam plant in Artemisa; the Rubén Martínez Villena textile mill in Alquízar; the San José noodle factory; and the distillery in Santa Cruz del Norte, the largest in the country.

Others, like the Ariguanabo textile mill, the electric wire factory, and the white ceramics factory in San José de las Lajas, were modernized and enlarged.

Other major projects under construction include the power plant east of Havana, which will be the largest in the country; the cardboard and bristol board factory in

major social gain. How many regions in other parts of the world and how many countries can say the same?

Here is another statistic which is very interesting. While the number of employed increased fourfold, the number of women employed grew tenfold, and now 38.1 percent of the labor force is made up of women. Something else which is interesting: of these 270,000 workers, 52,200 are intermediate- or top-level technicians. Now there are almost as many intermediate- and top-level technicians among the workers of the province as the total number of workers before the revolution. How wonderful it would be to have data on how many of those 65,000 workers before the revolution were intermediate-

“Social problems were building in the capital of the republic. The number of houses built yearly by the state was decreasing . . .”

or top-level technicians! This also provides an important idea of the progress made by the revolution.

Havana Province produces 700 megawatts

In the field of material production, for example, the total power-generating capacity in all of Cuba — all of Cuba! — in 1958 was 387.1 megawatts. Now in Havana Province alone it is 700 megawatts, almost double the figure for 1958. About 60 percent of the homes in the province — including cities and countryside — had electricity in 1958. Now in a province which, as I said before, is basically agricultural, 95.2 percent of the homes have electricity. I trust that many are watching the ceremony on television, because all or nearly all have television sets. (Applause)

In 1958 crude oil production in the whole country was 50,400 tons; in 1986 in Havana Province alone the figure was 420,000 tons, or 7.3 times more.

Before the revolution there was no automotive industry, and some progress has been made in this.

In Havana Province 585 big buses were produced in 1986, most of them of the Girón XI model, 200 double-length buses, and I think five special buses for radio and TV broadcasting.

Production of wire and electric cable in the whole country in 1958 was 150 tons, while in 1986 Havana Province alone produced 3,400 tons.

All this is very important. Nobody should feel that electric cables are unimportant. Recently we were looking at how many meters of electric cable go into every new home, and it ranges from 150 to 300 [500 to 1,000 feet], depending on the height of the building. The greater the height the more cable required. It is important. We estimate that 1,000 and 1,500 tons of cables for 60,000 homes.

Since we are promoting housing construction programs, we wanted to know exactly how much copper we need and how much plastic, so as to turn out here in Havana Province what we need for the ambitious housing construction program. Twelve thousand kilometers [7,500 miles] were needed for 60,000 homes. These figures are not impossible to achieve. Very often we hear that “there is a lack of finishing materials,” and we have said, “Let's see what materials are lacking.” So you see, that's why the data about electrical cables are so important for the housing program.

Then there is grey cement, which is very important. In 1958 the entire country turned out 742,200 tons. Last year Havana Province alone produced 1,285,100 tons and it still isn't enough. We are increasing cement production all over the country.

In asbestos cement tubes, produced here in Artemisa, all of Cuba produced 205 kilometers [1 kilometer = 3,300 feet] in 1958, and now Havana province alone turns out 507.7 kilometers.

In flat, transparent glass, which is also extremely important for construction, in 1968 — not 1958 but 1968 for that is the data we have — all of Cuba produced 96,800 square meters. [1 square meter = 1.2 square yards] Today Havana Province alone produces 994,300 square meters, which is 9.3 times more.

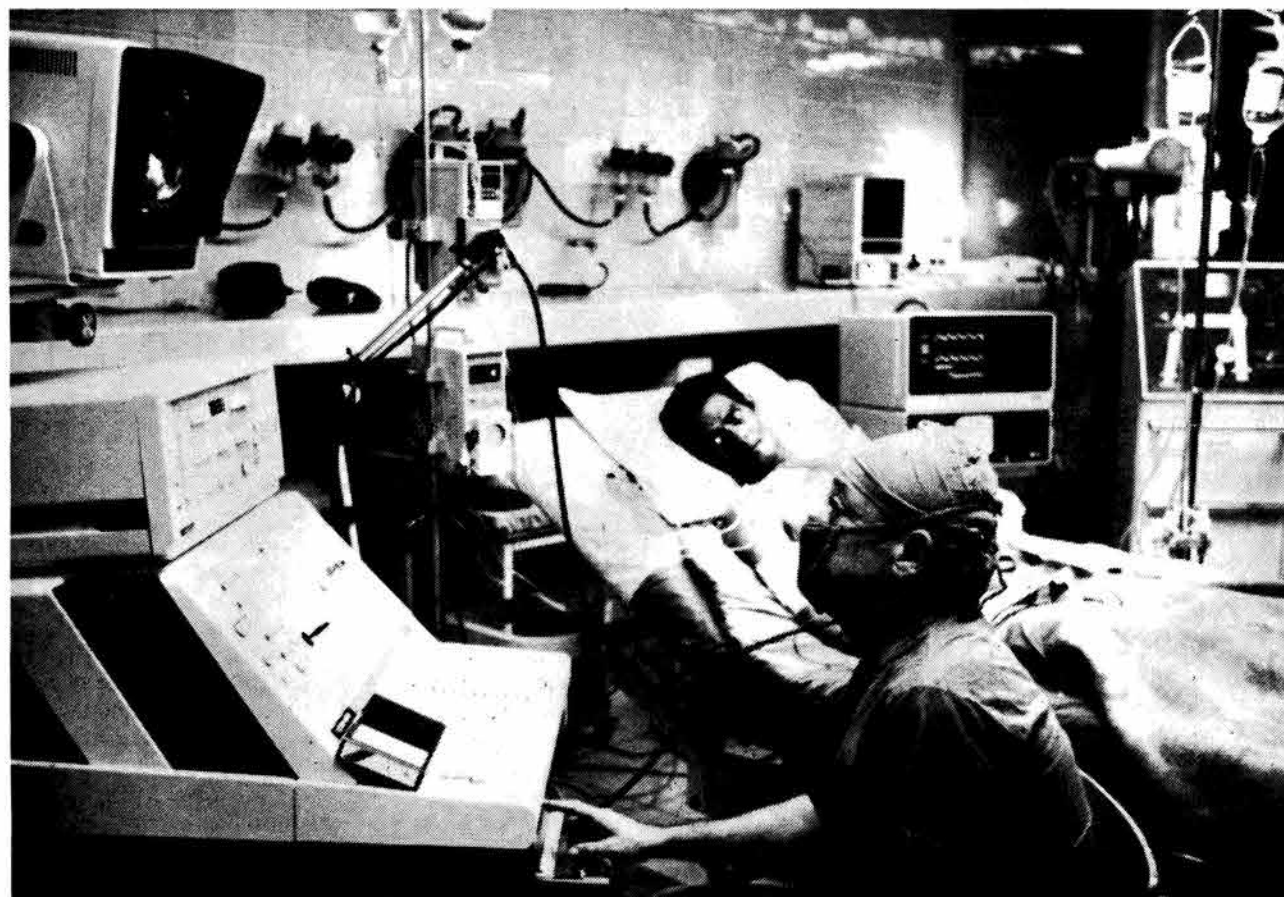
In 1958 the entire country produced 13 million bottles, while now Havana Province alone produces 91.8 million, a sixfold increase.

Cuba produced 24.4 million tiles in 1958, and now Havana Province turns out 49.5 million and production will increase. There are other factories in other provinces.

In textiles, all of Cuba produced 60 million square meters in 1958, and now Havana Province alone turns out 80 million.

Other products such as liquid animal feed, prepared from food leftovers, didn't exist before the revolution, and now Havana Province alone turns out 291,000 tons.

In 1959 Cuban egg production was 312 million, while



Prensa Latina

In December 1985, Cuban worker was first person in country to receive heart transplant.

part of the country from the colonial era on, when large coffee and then sugarcane plantations worked by slaves grew up around the capital and in neighboring Matanzas Province, when the revolution was victorious, the province, like the rest of the country, was agriculturally and industrially backward. At the time, the population was about 435,000 — in the territory of the current province — and more than 20,000 were unemployed, in addition to tens and thousands of others who were underemployed. And these figures increased during the famous dead season. About 65,000 people were employed when the revolution triumphed.

About 3 billion pesos invested in province

In these 28 years the population has increased to about 621,000. The exact figure is 621,200, I believe. They tell

“Life expectancy in the province is 75 years, which means we've surpassed the United States, in spite of their blockade . . .”

me it is 621,180; that's before the latest births last night and in the last few weeks, for the figure changes daily.

The revolution has invested about 3 billion pesos [1 Cuban peso = U.S.\$1.25] in this province. It is a significant sum. What were they spent on? Well, for example,

Santa Cruz del Norte; the new facilities at the industrial fishing complex in Batabanó; the laboratory animal breeding center in El Cacahual, an important center which is very significant for health and research programs; and the vaccine production center in Bejucal.

I have mentioned only some of the efforts made in economic, industrial, and agricultural development. I haven't mentioned the major construction work in the port of Mariel, the hotels, and 20 camping sites in the province, especially along the northern coast, which has become a very attractive spot for Cuban and foreign tourists alike. I haven't mentioned the 26 automated telephone exchanges and many other things of all kinds that we could talk about, since it is impossible to list them all. Nobody in the province should think that they have been forgotten.

What has been the result of all this? The work of a revolution must be measured in results, not by the fine words spoken, but by results, the economic and social results of the work in this province where we are celebrating the 26th of July.

Well, here's an example. I already said that some 65,000 people were working when the revolution triumphed. In December of 1986 the figure was 270,300. The population grew by 43 percent and employment grew by 400 percent, or a bit more, over four times what existed before the revolution. What does this mean? The end of the dead season; actually, anyone who doesn't work here in this province today doesn't want to work, but there is nobody lined up at any factory, agricultural enterprise, or other work center looking for a job. And for any part of the country and for any country, this is a

in 1986 Havana Province alone produced 731 million, which is more than double the previous national figure.

Development efforts lead to concrete results

Production of milk for the whole of Cuba in 1962, three years after the triumph of the revolution, was 192 million liters [43 million gallons]. In 1986 production in Havana Province alone was 279.1 million liters. That's the result of the cattle-breeding programs, the dairy construction programs — this province now has over 800 modern, mechanized dairies with electricity whose production has been exceeding 1 million liters daily in the last while.

That is, development efforts have led to tangible, concrete results. Approximately 78 percent of investment went into production, but investment in social projects also grew substantially, for a lot of attention was paid to them in this province.

We have, for instance the situation of public health in the province. I'm going to give you some comparative figures. Before the triumph of the revolution, the budget didn't even reach 1 million pesos, whereas today it's more than 40 times that figure. Doctors: there were 217

“The people I saw are not only capable of building a new Havana; they can build a new London, a new Paris . . .”

in the whole province, and most of them were private doctors; today the province has 1,172 doctors, 5.4 times more, and all of them are completely at the service of the population, and that's not counting the services the province gets in the capital of the republic; on this subject I told [Victorino] Lemus [first secretary of Communist Party in Havana Province], “Don't give up those services,” when we were discussing the province's hospital development program two days ago.

I also told him that we need the program for this province to be coordinated with that of the capital because we haven't succeeded in working out a cohesive program yet since this province used to be part of the capital and then was separate. Thus a polyclinic-hospital was built in one place and another somewhere else. I was told the story of how the one in Artemisa began, what's been done so far and what you plan to do; I said: “We must carefully coordinate the province's medical development program with that of the capital given that there are some hospitals that have certain equipment and resources which in view of their cost and size couldn't possibly be sent to a polyclinic-hospital, for instance, or a smaller hospital.”

Anyway, we must settle quite a few things in this connection, and regardless of the circumstances, this 300-bed hospital in Artemisa is going to be finished, that's for sure, (Applause) just like the Santa Cruz del Norte polyclinic-hospital was built and is now going to be expanded, and just like other hospital facilities have been built.

Dentists: there were 83 in the province before the triumph of the revolution; today there are 450. There were no polyclinics; all there was, actually, were 22 first-aid stations, and you know what they were like. Today we have 42 polyclinics, from zero to 42! There were no dental clinics. Only those who could afford a private dentist looked after their teeth, or if you went to one of those “dental mechanics” who worked with their little drills that were similar to those used to sharpen scissors, operated by foot pedal, and who went around trying to fill teeth and in the end sometimes having to pull them out. We now have 18 dental clinics.

Rural medical stations: zero; today we have 40 and these will disappear to be replaced by the much more complete and far-reaching family doctor program. The province will eventually have about 1,000 family doctors.

There were no homes for pregnant women who live in inaccessible areas; today there are 14. Old people's homes, zero; today there are seven. The infant mortality rate used to be more than 60; today it is 14 per 1,000 live births.

Life expectancy in the province is 75 years, which means we've surpassed the United States in Havana Province, in spite of their blockade, their threats and all they do, and we'll go on advancing. (Applause) I've already said that we think that within the next 10 years we will succeed in increasing life expectancy to over 80 years. That's our revolution, that's precisely what our revolution is all about! (Applause)

In education, the total number of illiterates here exceeded 20 percent, this being a conservative estimate. It would be hard to find an illiterate young person in this province today. It would be hard to find any illiterate in the province for that matter. It would take Diogenes with his little lantern going around looking for an illiterate or a child without a school, or a beggar, a homeless person sleeping in a doorway, a sick person without medical at-



tention; or to find in any of the 19 municipalities in the province a bordello — there were plenty of those in the past, as those of you who lived through those times know. Nowadays, luckily, the new generation doesn't even know what that is, they don't know about the so-called red-light districts, etc., etc., infecting people with all kinds of diseases.

Plenty of school facilities

Over 400 schools have been built in the province; of these, 85 are junior and senior high schools in the countryside. The province has enough schools for both its own youngsters and several thousand students from the capital who get their education in Havana Province's schools combining study and work.

Daycare centers: how many were there before the triumph of the revolution? Did anybody here ever see one? There were none. Today there are 76 daycare centers.

I could give you many other figures about primary day boarding schools, technical schools, etc., but there's no need. Right here you're about to finish an ESPA, no less. You know what an ESPA is? What with so many acronyms, one has to stop to remember sometimes. Doesn't the province have EIDES, that is, schools for basic training in sport? Yes, the province has EIDES. Doesn't it have EPEFs, that is physical education instructor schools? Yes, it has an EPEF to train instructors; one of the senior high schools in the countryside was turned into the province's EPEF. We're going to have an ESPA, a school for advanced training of athletes. So there you are, who would have imagined this before the 26th of July 1953! (Applause) Now, this is one thing we could call sophisticated.

Now, to mark this 26th of July, they finished building all the classrooms needed for all-day sessions in primary schools. This predominantly agricultural province is going to have 100 percent of its schoolchildren taking morning and afternoon classes, all-day sessions starting next school year! (Applause)

What does this mean? It means development, it means better education for the children, better care for the children, and also quality. It should be borne in mind also that 63.9 percent of all children enrolled in primary school are day boarders, that is, they eat lunch at school, for you know that day boarding school is like a daycare center for boys and girls over six years old.

Something could be said also about the field of culture:

“I have found entire municipalities where people will build anything. Factory workers want to build homes in their free time . . .”

we have more or less the same number of 35-mm movie theaters, actually one more, 41 now, 40 before the triumph of the revolution. Before the revolution we had no 16-mm movie theaters, now there are 95, which allows for films to be shown everywhere. You know that there's also a certain amount of competition between movies and television, and we're already starting to notice the phenomenon that in some places movie theaters are not needed.

Museums: how many were there in the province under capitalism, the much bragged about, humane capitalism? It had bordellos but there weren't any museums; well, the bordellos are now part of the museum of history. There were no museums, now there are 22. Houses of culture: zero; today there are 24. Art galleries: how could it be expected of capitalism to deal with art galleries when it was starving the people and they couldn't even get a third-grade education? Today we have 15 art galleries. Libraries: there were some, there were 11, and today there are 33.

There were a few dozen sports facilities. I don't know whether some historian knows the exact number but I know that today we have 944 sports facilities, among them that very stadium we have in front of us here — I

think that some of the people attending this rally took shelter there during the downpour.

Community services, waterworks: for instance, the province already has 124 aqueducts, and 100 percent of all urban dwellers use water from aqueducts.

I haven't mentioned some of the province's agricultural output, the consequence of its thriving development.

This province has the country's largest agricultural yields. In the last harvest sugarcane agriculture reached a yield of 71 tons per hectare [175 tons per acre] despite bad weather; 23 tons more than in 1959 when the revolution triumphed. Today less than 20 percent of the cancutters used in 1970 are needed to do the harvest, and it's a known fact that the highest yields are found in this province.

Havana Province, with 6 percent of the arable land, is an important food supplier for 26 percent of the country's population and, on top of this, exports over half a million tons of sugar. It exports other agricultural products like citrus fruit — which, incidentally, will experience a policy change; we're going to promote citrus development in other areas and earmark the fruit from the Ceiba plan, which is entirely new, set up by the revolution, for consumption by the population in the two Havana provinces. The province exports potatoes; it exports peppers, tobacco, and other agricultural produce. The province produces as many roots and root vegetables as all five eastern provinces put together and as much milk as the five eastern provinces plus Camagüey.

Just to mention one example of agricultural progress over the past five years, the production of garlic, which used to be 150 tons, is now over 7,000. This province supplies a large part of the garlic used by the country.

Special projects mark July 26

The province has great potential in terms of cattle raising and even exports cattle to other countries. The herds of cattle and pigs are in excellent health, free of tuberculosis, brucellosis, and other diseases common to cattle elsewhere in the world.

To mark the 26th of July, the province completed a great number of projects; it didn't waste a minute. From the moment it was chosen to host the main celebration, it began to ask for cooperation and assistance and to mobilize the masses and it put in a big construction effort.

By this date, the state-owned construction enterprises and People's Power built 581 homes; 142 schools and related projects that include all the classrooms needed for all school children to have all-day sessions; 149 health projects, ranging from a polyclinic-hospital to 62 family doctor home-offices; 27 agricultural projects; 10 industrial projects, including the first generator of the 100,000-kilowatt, or 100-megawatt, eastern thermoelectric plant; 36 trade and services projects; 14 cultural projects; 7 sports facilities; and many others totaling 951. This 26th of July has been quite a boost for Havana Province! It's a pity Havana Province doesn't host the 26th July every year! (Applause) Nevertheless, we propose to do many other things here.

Naturally, we won't be able to build many more schools combining study and work because we hardly need any more; we've practically exhausted the demand for them; but I talked to Comrade Lemus about the idea — as part of the national program — of doubling the number of homes built by the state, doubling the number from over 1,000 to over 2,000 by 1988, and tripling it by 1989, without counting those built by the agricultural sector, the Ministry of the Sugar Industry, and the agricultural cooperatives.

The province will decide where to build these homes in the cities and countryside, but always giving priority to economic development. That is, we will satisfy social needs, but we must give priority to economic development. We must build more homes for the Ariguanabo textile plant, more homes for Alquitéx; we must build the homes for the Germ-Free Animal Breeding Center; we have to build the homes for the new biopreparations center, which will produce vaccines; and we must go on building rural homes and communities, an effort that has

Continued on next page

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declined in recent years.

I've mentioned some of the good things we've done in construction and investment, but not everything is good. I've got a big book here — I'm not going to read from it, but I took a few data from it about relatively important projects that were started but not finished. Fortunately, there aren't many, but still there are a few of them.

We've built dozens of roads and highways, but five of them were left unfinished, what do you think of that? And I'm going to mention them here because somebody has to stand up for these roads and I think this 26th of July is a good opportunity to do it.

For instance, the Havana-Melena road, whose construction began before 1970, with the main excavating on rocky terrain being done with wagon drills which leveled out hills to road level. The hardest part was done, but then one day, for some reason or other, all the equipment was withdrawn, the crew was withdrawn and the road was left unfinished.

The construction of the La Ruda-Buenaventura road began about that date. It's 20 kilometers long, and what is pending is building an eight-kilometer stretch and then paving the whole road. [1 kilometer = 0.62 miles.]

The Ceiba Mocha-Aguacate-Catalina road was also started around that time. It's 28 kilometers long, the embankment is finished and all that's needed is paving a seven-kilometer stretch.

The Melena-Güines-San Nicolás road was started in 1972. It is 18 kilometers long, the embankment is finished, and 14 kilometers need paving.

The El Comino-Jibacoa-Canasí road also began to be built in 1972. It is 18 kilometers long, the embankment is finished, and 15 kilometers need paving.

Five roads were left unfinished and forgotten. It's true that many of the most important, the most fundamental roads were completed yet none should have been stopped.

Provide all communities' needs

Unfinished social projects affecting communities: in Río Hondo, the construction workers left in 1977, leaving a general store and a primary school unfinished. I believe that the people living in Río Hondo, who have been so patient, who saw the construction workers leave 10 years ago, today harbor the hope of seeing their general store and primary school built. This doesn't mean that the children in the town don't go to school, but they are using the temporary buildings the construction workers left behind.

In the textile town, the construction workers left in 1974, leaving it without a shopping center.

In Babiney, the construction workers left in 1977 without building the primary school or the shopping center.

In Bainoa, the construction workers left in 1978 without building the general store.

In Pedro Pi the construction workers left in 1975 without building the shopping center.

In Guaicanamar the construction workers left in 1978 without building the primary school.

In Canasí the construction workers left in 1971 — this date should be checked because I don't think it's very accurate — without building the general store.

In Bacunayagua the construction workers left in 1976 without finishing the sewer system or solving the water supply problem.

In Levitán the construction workers left in 1978 without finishing the sewer system or assuring a water supply. They didn't build the general store or the school.

In La Chapa the construction workers left in 1981. The general store wasn't built.

So we have 10 communities that were unfortunately forgotten for one reason or another: the construction workers stopped their work and considered it finished, and all these facilities are yet to be built. Well then, I'm asking the province and the comrades at the Planning Board to study the five roads still to be built. I don't mean it has to be tomorrow, but as soon as possible we must reinstate the work and finish the five roads (Applause) and look at the unfinished projects in these communities. It's shameful to have communities without schools and to use the construction workers' temporary housing for schools.

That's one way in which we shouldn't work. It is one of the things we have so insisted on, and a community must be complete: it must have a store, a school, a day-care center, a medical station — what it is entitled to — housing, streets, a sewer system, water, everything it needs. Not doing it that way is a habit we must eradicate.

Not many communities are suffering from these problems; fortunately, others were completed, others are being built. But I have given 10 examples in which some aspects are missing, and we must take them very much into account in all the construction programs we carry out. Highways, we'll see, for there are other things we must do immediately, but those five roads and those 10 communities' problems must be solved one way or another, and we must arrive at the conclusion that this kind of thing mustn't occur.

We cannot blame the province, except for not having



Cuba 1960. Starting in mid-'70s, "there was a decline in construction," Castro explains, "and the minibrigades we

shouted and protested more about it, demanding that these things be finished.

Province bolsters military defense

This province has also made a great effort in terms of defense. You saw today that it was declared ready for defense in the first stage; the province received the banner and the certificate to that effect, and well deserved they are. There are 3,000 Production and Defense Brigades with over 100,000 members and almost 100,000 members of the Territorial Troop Militia.¹ This means that one out of every two people over the age of 15 belongs to the Territorial Troop Militia or the Production and Defense Brigades. Moreover, 14,000 students between ages 14 and 15 are organized and trained and have access to weapons to defend Havana Province. The imperialists can try to come and take over Havana Province but they should know what's in store for them. (Applause)

The province has made great achievements, without a doubt, and therefore we should congratulate the party in the province, the Young Communist League, the mass organizations, the leadership bodies of the mass organizations, and especially the party leadership here, under whose guidance this enormous amount of work was done.

We should congratulate two comrades, for a change was made recently in the province and it's only fair that the honors be shared. We should congratulate Comrade Luis Alvarez de la Nuez, who worked as first party secretary of this province for many years, (Applause) and Comrade Victorino Lemus, present first party secretary of this province, of which he is a native. He was born in Bauta and lives there still; with his parents and neighbors he lives very simply. (Applause)

Lemus must be congratulated for the efforts made in getting ready for the 26th of July and for the tasks we're sure the party will carry out in coming years, for the work to be done doesn't diminish, it increases.

Historically speaking, this province also has great merits. During this revolutionary stage the province made a notable contribution to the final liberation struggle, particularly this municipality. Of the 26 revolutionary martyrs who took part in the attacks on the Moncada and Bayamo garrisons (an operation to which this municipality made an exceptional contribution), of the 26 martyrs, I repeat, who took part in those operations and who died during or after them, or in the struggle in the Sierra Maestra, 13 were from Artemisa (Applause) and three

1. In May 1980, the Cuban government announced that, in addition to the armed forces and reserves, a volunteer militia would be formed for the first time since the early years of the revolution. Since then, more than 1 million Cuban men and women have enrolled in this Territorial Troop Militia. — ISR.

were from Guanajay, that is, of the 26, 16 were from this area! (Applause)

The province, including Artemisa and all the other municipalities, gave generously of the lives and blood of courageous, heroic young people throughout the revolutionary struggle, the liberation struggle, and the subsequent and no less worthy struggle.

I've given an account of the work of the revolution in this province; I hope that it was of interest to all and that you've had a chance to think about the concrete work of the revolution — that is, the exceptionally important and humane economic and social results which are concrete and not just words.

We have distinguished visitors with us here today who come from several countries. I'd like to say to them that what's been done in Havana Province is a sort of sample of what the revolution has done in the rest of the country.

Not long ago I toured Pinar del Río Province — called Cinderella because of its past, and rightly so. What has become of that province? It's undergone an extraordinary change, similar to that of Havana Province. We saw, for example, how young people, engineers, almost all of them from Pinar del Río, were running a high technology, extremely modern semiconductors plant, we might say as sophisticated or more sophisticated than the ESPA.

The machine industry plant which manufactures parts for vehicles is another good example.

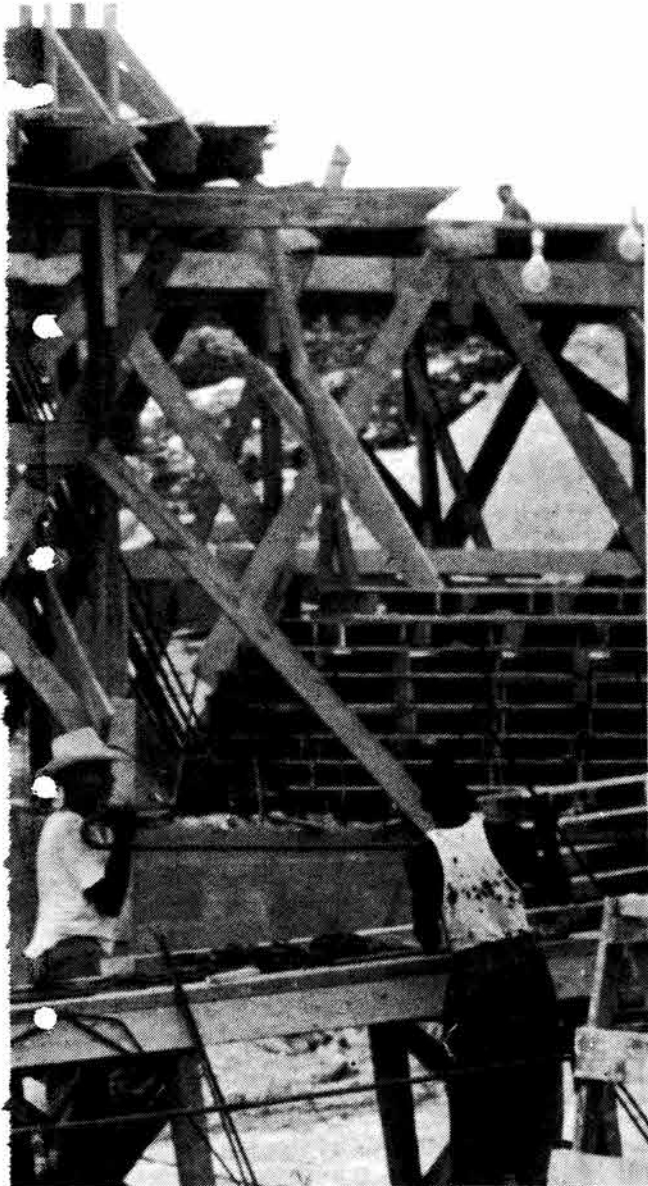
I was also able to see highway construction brigades at work. By next year the highway which runs close by here will branch off to Pinar del Río. That will save so much on time, fuel, and wear and tear on vehicles. Other brigades are also working there.

If we were to analyze how many people were unemployed and how many employed in the past and how many there are now, an analysis of education, health, the economy, agriculture, we'd realize how big the changes have been in that province.

Not long ago I was in Camagüey Province, and there I was really able to appreciate the impressive changes, the impressive work done there.

A few months before that I was in Granma Province, and there I also was witness to the progress of the revolution.

If you go to Villa Clara or Sancti Spíritus or Cienfuegos or Ciego de Avila or to any of the eastern provinces, you'll find similar situations, some more advanced than others. The situation is somewhat more difficult in the eastern provinces because there population growth was much higher than in the rest of the country. That is to say, there we don't have the same excellent situation in terms of the labor force. It's true that the sources of employment have increased greatly, they've expanded several times over, but then the population grew faster than



Militant/Joseph Hansen

re abandoned." Today they're being revived.

in the rest of the country. But when we look at Guan-
tánamo or Granma or Las Tunas or Santiago or Holguín,
the work of the revolution there is similar to what we've
mentioned here.

Countryside a priority

Did the capital of the republic grow and develop in the
same way? We couldn't say the same for it; it didn't have
the same accelerated social development as the provinces
in the interior.

Actually, much of the revolutionary effort was centered
on the interior of the country. But what happened in the
capital? Indeed, many factories were built in the capital,
others were enlarged, others were modernized. Concerning
education and health services, and in employment in general,
we have had the same results in the capital of the republic.
In research centers, higher educational centers, in all spheres
the capital of the republic achieved a high level of development,
but the capital of the republic doubled its population during
these 26 years — it doubled its population! — in part, as a
result of migration from other provinces.

However, during the last few years the pace of housing
construction decreased. I'm not going to speak about this
here today; I've explained the reasons for this on several
occasions, but the pace was decreasing, despite the fact
that 17 years ago the way of solving the housing problem
in the city of Havana was found even with population
growth. That solution was the minibrigades, reestablished
today, with more spirit than ever. But the truth is that social
problems were building in the capital of the republic. The
number of houses built yearly by the state was approximately
3,500, less than 4,000, and was decreasing by the year.

The housing problem in the city of Havana cannot be
solved individually because there is no room in it to build
on one's own. How can one build a house on his own in
Old Havana, in Plaza, in Cerro, in Diez de Octubre, in
Marianao, in Central Havana, and all these places. It's
impossible. Some individual construction can be done on
the outskirts because there is space, but everywhere else
several-story buildings are needed, which cannot be built
by the individual. That's how a considerable delay in
housing construction occurred in the capital.

This whole rectification process, which deals with
many things, includes the solution of this kind of problem
in the capital of the republic.

Now then, we are now carrying out several important
projects throughout the country. For example, I already
spoke of 16 dams in Havana Province and 135 minidams;
well, that isn't enough. We have to build more dams in
the province — of course, we've already built the largest
ones — we have to keep on searching for water. All the
water in the province's streams and small rivers must be

impounded, because there isn't enough water. We may
have to transfer water from the San Juan basin in Matanzas
Province; someday we may have to supply the province
with water from even more distant places.

There's a special situation in this province. It has excellent
land, workers, and highly qualified agricultural technicians;
but the province is approximately some 40 kilometers [25 miles]
wide. In other words it is very narrow. The narrowest point in
Cuba is here, between Mariel and Majana — that's something
we've heard at least since second grade — 40 kilometers. In
that area, where there are no large rivers, but fundamentally
underground basins. We find that the need for water is enormous,
that there is a population of nearly 2.7 million and thousands
of industrial and service facilities.

The city of Havana alone consumes approximately 500 million
cubic meters [100 billion gallons] of water a year. The cities in
Havana Province consume about 105 million cubic meters a year.
We need water for the population, water for industry, water for
hospital services, schools, etc., and we need water for agriculture,
because all the food for this growing population must be produced
here, and we are also exporters — as we said.

So this requires a strategic policy, which we discussed and
analyzed during the last plenum of the Central Committee of the
party. We analyzed this situation in the entire country; the need,
among other things, to optimize our use of water; to reconstruct
the capital's old aqueduct network, where so much water is wasted
due to leakage; the need for a conservation policy in every home;
the possibility of using treated sewage water in agriculture
someday to irrigate cane and other crops. Lastly, we may have
to bring water from more distant regions because although it rains
a lot, the territory is very small. The basin we have as a source
of water for both provinces is probably no greater than 700 square
kilometers [270 square miles].

People more aware of water problem

These years of drought have made the situation even more
critical, because the water stored is the extra water, not that
which comes down in a 25- or 30-millimeter [1 inch] shower
that can wet the earth, but the water that exceeds the plants'
immediate needs and accumulates in underground basins and dams.

People have become more aware of this problem throughout
the drought years.

We have unfortunately seen that despite all the efforts to
impound water, which led to the construction of dozens and
dozens of dams and hundreds of minidams throughout the country,
to the extent that the water storage capacity is 142 times greater
than at the time of the triumph of the revolution, we have seen
that all this is not enough and that an entirely new strategy
must be made not only for the total development of our hydraulic
resources, but also for the optimal use of water.

We have been below the normal average for almost five years
and this year is really very difficult. We haven't lost hope that
it may improve during the next six months, but May and June
have been dry. There are places in which even beer production
is in danger, like the factory in Camagüey Province, as well as
soft drink production in several regions of the country. Hundreds
of thousands of people are receiving their water supply through
water trucks in the middle of summer.

That's why one of the most important tasks of the moment —
and it is also part of the rectification process — is renewing
our efforts to impound water, and if possible in a better and
more efficient manner. We must take into account that the easier
dams have already been built,

those which with the least amount of land movement provided
the most water; the most difficult dams and jobs are what remain,
but they must be carried out without hesitation, and, I repeat,
not only creating new sources but also more efficiently supplying
water for services, industry, the population, and agriculture, in
which many a time water is wasted due to inefficient irrigation
or poor work. Water conservation is something that is blooming
throughout the nation.

At the same time, the country is carrying out important
social development programs. As I have recently said, in only
three years — 1988, 1989, and 1990 — we intend to bring
electricity to a million persons, fundamentally in the eastern
provinces. Of course, we don't forget the areas of Sancti
Spiritus or Pinar del Río provinces, or any other provinces where
electricity is needed. Just make an estimate of what I was
explaining to you: already 95.2 of the homes in your province
have electricity. What is the figure in the eastern provinces? A
little over 70 percent, and we intend to raise it to over 85
percent, we're making a great effort to do so.

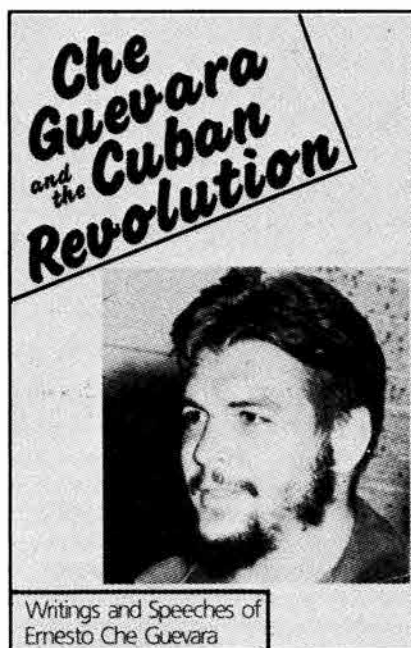
So today, a million Cubans can feel sure they will get
electricity, those who live in remote areas — I'm not speaking
of those who live in isolation. The percentage remaining without
electricity will be houses that are far from the roads and
highways, where it wouldn't be reasonable to bring electricity.
Electricity must be installed in communities, in population
centers, not in isolated homes, and a million will have
electricity. Many of them today have electricity for two or
three hours, with electric generators, hundreds of electric
generators, thousands, which are expensive and only provide
electricity for two or three hours. And many of those million
people have no electricity today. That is a very important
social program.

So we can say that by 1990, considering the country as a
whole, 90 percent of our homes will have electricity. That's
the revolution, concrete revolution! (Applause) And I would
like to know what the enemy says about this, what is said by
those who slander, disparage, and tell or write lies about the
revolution. I ask them about all these concrete things built by
the revolution, which are what show us the abysmal difference
between capitalism and socialism, (Applause) between a
bordello and a daycare center; between bordellos, dens of
iniquity, and playgrounds, schools, and hospitals; between an
ignorant population and one with an educational level above
any other Third World country and many developed countries,
many of which lack our educational level. And not only general
education, but also political education, which is very important,
so that no one can deceive us, cheat us, or pull the wool over
our eyes and so that we know how to explain what the
revolution is and what it has meant for our country. (Applause)

I'm speaking of concrete things, and we're also carrying
out an important industrial development program in the eastern
provinces. I have insistently spoken of this, I emphasized it
on my return from Granma Province several months ago and
now I'm repeating it here: In the future, the revolution's
fundamental efforts will be directed toward an intensive
industrial development of the nation's eastern provinces, where
we have the largest source of potential manpower. This policy
is already being applied conscientiously. All that can be built
is being built there, except in the cases where the raw materials
are lacking or when transfers over long distances are not
economical.

All the ministries are bearing this in mind. And thank
Continued on next page

New!



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Continued from previous page

goodness that some of this has already started, because a few years ago the ministers only thought of building in the city of Havana or nearby, where there was no longer abundant manpower or water.

Attention to social development

Now we will put much greater emphasis on that, and I don't mean to say that factories haven't been built in those regions, but they still aren't enough for a more equitable and balanced development in keeping with demographic growth. This is also another concept linked to the process of rectification which is being stressed. For we said it is our elementary duty, the duty of the party, state, and government to find solutions to these problems and find solutions to the problems of development, regardless of the economic difficulties or the existing resources. This obliges us to improvise and create.

In the next five years an integrated dairy program will

“**Rectification doesn't mean just rectifying mistakes of the last 10 years; it means finding ways of solving even century-old problems . . .**”

be developed in Camagüey, designed to reach the levels of production in Havana Province now.

We are also promoting an important social development program in the country. It's not just a case of building factories, agricultural enterprises, and irrigation systems; we must give all due attention to social development. I have given some examples.

I recall that at first in Mariel we built factories but no homes; factories in Santa Cruz del Norte but no homes; factories in Nuevitas but no homes. We have been rectifying those old mistaken ideas for some time. In Moa social development was lagging behind, but now it has been given a major push.

It is impossible to judge the value of those agricultural communities built in the dairy projects which now make possible the million liters of milk produced in Havana daily, or almost a million even in the dry season. It is impossible to determine the value of all those social facilities which created the necessary living conditions that assure job stability, the workers' well-being and production.

We aren't living under capitalism. Capitalism doesn't care how the worker lives; capitalism builds factories but not homes; unemployment drives the worker to the factory, to build a shack or any other thing. Capitalism only built for the managerial staff of the factories or sugar mills. Behind came the worker, spurred by unemployment, who built a shack in order to get a job and was happy if he got one.

That's not how a country develops under socialism. First, not just because of elementary social justice and the rational distribution of resources, but due to a pressing need for progress. Besides, socialism can do what it sets out to do. It is being demonstrated right now: we have started an ambitious construction program for housing and social projects in the capital. Since there were more problems there, we have given it greater emphasis.

I said before that there was a decline in construction and the minibrigades were abandoned and Havana has no labor force for construction. Many people in the capital don't want to be construction workers; they would rather have permanent jobs in factories than be nomadic construction workers, even though they get paid for seniority and even get other bonuses. If they can find jobs as maintenance workers in factories near their homes they drop out of construction.

It is difficult, as I have already explained, the problem gets worse if we bring people from the eastern provinces — and I am looking at Lemus because he has some here — although I explained that if the province needs some we could ask for workers from the eastern provinces.

But our idea is to carry development there, the maximum development to those provinces. If we bring people from the eastern region to the capital, you know they have three times as many relatives as somebody from Havana, for example. (Applause) You know that if there are five people in the average Havana family there are 15 in the families from the eastern region. Besides, they are very family oriented, too much so, and then the cousin's cousin and the cousin's mother-in-law's uncle come along, and when someone comes from the eastern provinces you never know how many will follow. That's why we must get the residents of the eastern provinces to build homes there.

Workers in capital handle all construction there

We have said that homes in the capital must be built by people from the capital, the labor force in the capital must



Cuban woman worker

Prensa Latina

handle all the housing and other social construction there. This idea is very clear and we are proving that it is possible.

Now the city of Havana has some workers from the eastern provinces in enterprises of the Ministry of Construction that were really short of workers. We started in the capital and planned a yearly increase of 5,000 more homes per year. We are already building several thousand, with the rebirth of the minibrigades, which is a mass movement and the only possible way of dealing with the problem under these conditions. Five thousand more homes this year, 5,000 additional next year, and 20,000 a year by 1990. In addition, in two years we will build the daycare centers, special schools, and polyclinics needed in the capital. That program will be extended to the entire country in 1988.

We have met with the comrades from the eastern provinces to discuss a similar program. They were building 4,000 or 5,000 homes through state channels, and we told them: we must reach 20,000 yearly, 5,000 more in 1988, 5,000 in 1989 and another 5,000 in 1990. The program in the capital is already being extended to the eastern provinces, but there not so much with minibrigades because there are more workers available; there it will basically be with construction workers whom we will train, although there will be some minibrigades.

We think construction will provide jobs for 30,000 or 40,000 people in the eastern provinces in the next three years. Also in a three-year rather than a two-year program we will build all the daycare centers, special schools, and polyclinics needed in the five eastern provinces. Starting in 1988 that program will be applied in the rest of the country.

That's why we talked to Lemus about how many the state is building now and how many we will build in 1988. We proposed to triple what we are doing now; we didn't say quadruple because we have to do some figuring: the daycare centers and special schools that we need, because current national capacity is 45,000 and we must get it up to 80,000 for children who have certain types of limitations, physical or mental. Estimates are that we need capacity for 70,000 or 80,000, and by 1990 we plan to meet those needs for special schools all over the country. That's why I say the programs continue, the programs for daycare centers, special schools, and polyclinics, in all those fields.

Next year we will also start building 1,500 homes for the family doctor program, which include homes for the nurses. Now we are just building homes for the doctors, but starting next year it will be for the doctors and nurses. If I'm not mistaken, I think next year there will be 2,000. We are adding up the number of graduating medical students to see how much of an increase there will be in the family doctor program in 1988, in view of the fact that

the first contingent of the Carlos J. Finlay Detachment will graduate this year. Therefore, I remind all of you that we must continue with a 26th of July spirit. (Applause)

In many places like, the city of Havana, Havana Province, and Cienfuegos, where there is a shortage of workers, the masses must be involved in solutions of problems, for there is no other way.

As I said, in the city of Havana people don't want to earn their livings from construction work, but if you organize a minibrigade to build public works they are delighted to go and work as long as necessary, be it on a polyclinic, a daycare center, or anything else; be it the enlargement of a hospital or home construction, they are delighted to participate. It is the only way of coming up with what the people needed. A mass movement is the only way of solving the problem in these circumstances, and I think the capital of the republic is becoming a real example of how to solve these problems while building socialism in a Third World nation. I don't think I'm exaggerating when I say that.

I saw how the minibrigade movement sprang up some years ago and then, unfortunately, because of mistaken interpretations and supposed contradictions between the minibrigade movement and the economic management and planning system that we can now clearly see were imaginary, the movement was halted. Now it has been reborn.

20,000 homes to be built annually

We have undertaken a very ambitious program in the capital. We have no doubt that we will build 20,000 homes yearly and perhaps a bit more on the scheduled dates in the capital, there is no doubt. The problem we face now is one of materials, we are focusing our efforts on construction materials all over the country, because this plan started in the capital but we never do anything in just one part of the country. We never do anything in the capital which isn't then extended quickly to the rest of the country. That has always been the case, even with the first minibrigade movement.

Now we have given priority to the city of Havana because of the existing housing problems there, and we are focusing our attention on construction materials. In cement, first of all, we have a capacity of more than five million tons; we are regaining lost capacity thanks to repair work and giving a big push to work in that field.

The residents of Artemisa know there is a good cement factory here which uses the wet process. We can and in fact already are using our heavy crude oil in Siguaney, in the central part of the country, as fuel in the wet-process cement factory.

That's why we ought not talk about the square meters required for the floor of an apartment or the number of floor tiles or granite tiles, but instead the number of tons of cement and beams, finishing materials, all the construction materials, and all the methods of construction. We are focusing attention on all this: having the materials for the program which we will never under any circumstances allow to deteriorate. I don't think that can happen, especially if the process of rectification continues, as it undoubtedly will. So materials are what we need.

How many workers can we get in the city of Havana? At first we said 30,000 for the minibrigades — Havana, the capital, can come up with them with no trouble — even without people having to cover the work usually done by those who go on the minibrigades, but simply by efficient organization. Industrial and service workers in

“**The minibrigades are a mass movement and the only possible way of dealing with the housing problem . . .**”

the capital gladly join minibrigades and nobody can make them go any other way. With this political and mass work, with this harmonizing of individual and collective interests, we can create a huge movement. How large is the movement now? We no longer know. There are some 15,000 people in minibrigades and everybody wants to join.

We said there are 30,000 people in minibrigades: 20,000 building homes and another 10,000 for public works. And when we finish the polyclinics and daycare centers there will be other things to do: old schools to refurbish or renovate, playing fields, and gyms. In short, there are many things which need doing in coming years. When some are concluded, we will stress others which are equally important for the people's well-being and standard of living.

Standard of living not only means the pounds of bananas somebody eats. It also covers cultural and educational services, health and recreation, the security which people have. Standard of living means increasing the life expectancy to 75, 80, or even more. That really is

what a standard of living is, and that's how you measure a standard of living.

Then we realized it wasn't just a matter of building, but also of repairs, remodeling, and reconstruction. We reached the conclusion that we needed another 20,000 workers to rebuild, remodel, and repair and, where that is unfeasible, to tear down and build upward.

Factory workers want to build homes in free time

So can we get 50,000? Yes, no trouble at all. How many more? The amazing thing is that we can get as many as we want. The only answer to the question of how many construction workers we have in the capital is that the capital, which was sending for workers from the eastern provinces on the basis of mistaken concepts, can now provide all the workers we need, because we are mobilizing those who live in temporary housing, for they want to participate in construction; those who live in houses that must be refurbished, the tenants and neighbors want to participate.

I have found entire municipalities where people will build anything, a bakery, store or supermarket, a home-office for a family doctor, a recreation center, whatever you want. These are men, women, and children; and new concepts have developed. Factory workers who are not members of minibrigades want to build homes in their free time and I have found impressive examples.

Recently, I visited Julio Díaz Hospital, which is for rehabilitation and is very important in human terms. The hospital is being enlarged by 200 beds; last year it was enlarged by 50 and now it is being enlarged by 200. Who is building it? A contingent mobilized by the party and the Young Communist League; there are more than 200 workers. I have been watching the project right from the start and the work of the contingent. They are not construction workers, simply people who responded to the call of the party, just like those who are building the intensive care ward and the new surgery wards at Salvador Allende Hospital, a party contingent.

Well, what did I see on a single day's tour of the city, a day I had off so I got away to visit these places, where one can rest and learn and very often receive pleasant and comforting impressions. I went to visit one of those so-called unhealthy neighborhoods, called El Romerillo, because we had met with the family doctors and the doctor at El Romerillo said it was an unhealthy neighborhood with very difficult social conditions, that the work there was more difficult, there were many teenage pregnancies and other problems, and he asked for aid for the residents. He blamed the people from the eastern provinces, saying that the majority were from there, and I was able to see that this was slander, for there were people from Matanzas, Havana, Villa Clara, and, of course, some from the eastern provinces.

El Romerillo was built little by little and you can hardly see it, alongside Ciudad Libertad. One of the Ciudad Libertad walls is the wall for many homes. They have used everything, bricks, wood, asphalt fiber, everything in the area. Housing conditions there are really difficult.

I think there are several neighborhoods like this in the city of Havana. They are carefully accounted for and about 50,000 people live in them.

On the other hand, I found enthusiastic people there

“The year in which we have had the least resources in the history of the revolution is the year we're doing the most . . .”

with children in the best schools in the municipality, in excellent health, people who if organized can do anything. I asked them, “What do you want?” They said “We want to build.” I said, “Well, there is no room here, there are too many people and not enough space, isn't that so?” “Well, then, somewhere else, where we can build, we will rebuild here and do whatever is necessary,” they said.

It was clear that if we provide the materials there would be people who would work all day, retired people and even children would work, if only to lay one brick, young people if the place is not far away, and many adults after work. It was proven that we can mobilize those people and others like them. That's what I saw in one of those unhealthy neighborhoods, of which there are few in the capital, but there are some.

Then we went to see the contingent at Julio Díaz Hospital that I had mentioned. There were two things that really impressed me: dozens of women participating in construction work, many of whom had been office workers and some middle-level technicians, with a good education. They were placing tiles and operating the winch and anything else they could, doing a number of things very well.

I asked them, “How long do you want to be here?” They said, “As long as necessary. We like this work and

really feel useful in what we are doing.” It was a large group of young women and I was really amazed. Only political and mass work could have transformed these women comrades into construction workers. They retain their salaries from their places of work, and do you know how many hours they are working, because they want to finish the enlargement of 200 beds quickly? They were working 14 hours daily, up to 14 hours! I was really impressed by what those women were doing. I'm not talking about men; I'm talking about women who worked in offices and voluntarily heeded the party's call and are

“There is a new work style in the party and a new work style among state cadres . . .”

doing the work with great motivation and an understanding of its importance.

We have all the people we want in the capital

While I was there one of the workers from the contingent came up to me and said, “Look, we want to build housing, because some people in the contingent have housing problems, and we want to build homes after work.” I said, “What do you mean after work? Don't you see that you're working 14 hours a day and finishing at 10:00 p.m.? When could you build a building?” He answered, “Then, at 10:00 p.m., when we finish the work here, we can build an apartment building.” (Applause)

Then I visited a brigade of the Ministry of Construction where I could see a radical change in the professional construction workers. They are working double shifts of 10 hours each, the last shift ends at 3:00 a.m. That's something new, workers building at night, when it is cooler. Many projects are lighted up. I saw all that on a single day, the work spirit, and I said, “Well, this is July, carnival season; soon it will be August. These are the hot months.”

In several places where there were professional workers I asked: “Can you be sure that there won't be any dropouts here? That there won't be any slowdown during this time?” Their reply was: “We can assure you there won't be any slowdown, for we have taken all necessary measures and vacations have been divided up,” a number of things like that which were unheard of a year ago.

Then I visited a bakery built by the people in the municipality of Arroyo Naranjo and was amazed to see what they had done there. They had been given the materials and it was an excellent bakery! There we can look into ideas about what bakeries should be like in the capital — I am talking about the capital — many important ideas.

Then I met with people from the same municipality, for a video club had also been built there. They showed me some videos of how the people, scores of them, had paved a street. We decided to give them some help, some equipment to aid in their work.

And that day I realized that very interesting things were happening, because on the way back at about 11:00 p.m. near the Children's Cardiovascular Surgery Center, I saw a 30-room building that was going up. It will mean a 30-bed increase in hospital capacity for postoperative pediatric patients who would leave the hospital area quickly, thus avoiding infections in the hospital itself. It was 11:00 p.m. and the 22 members of the minibrigade were finishing their work at that hour of the night.

A young woman appeared in answer to my questions, along with other comrades, and she started to explain: “Well, there are 44 of us and we work in two overlapping shifts.” She explained how the project was started with picks and shovels, because they had no machinery, in a difficult spot; and then she outlined the current situation. It was 11:00 p.m. and she was seeing off the workers. I was told that she heads the minibrigade, which is why she could explain everything in such great detail and in a responsible manner. There was tremendous discipline and work spirit, an awareness of the importance of what they were doing.

Then I asked her, “Where do you normally work?” Her answer was, “At the electricity enterprise.” Then I asked, “What did you do there?” She smiled slightly and said she was an office worker. That night at 11:00 p.m. I found an office worker from the capital with no previous construction experience heading a minibrigade. She worked in an office and had only been trained for intellectual labor.

That day I concluded, we have all the people we want in the capital. How many — 100,000, 500,000, a million, as many as we want.

Limitations in materials, not in the work force

I'm convinced that the people I saw aren't only capable of building 200,000 or 225,000 homes in the capital from now to the year 2000 — the big increase will come as of 1990, from 1990 to 2000, 200,000. They're not only capable of building a new Havana; I'm convinced that the people I saw can build a new London, a new

Paris, (Applause) and I can assure you that as far as their ability to build goes, the city of Havana is too small for them. Where does the limitation lie? In materials, but never in the work force. We are devoting all due attention to the issue of materials, and the new Ministry of the Building Materials Industry is working under tremendous pressure for it knows these needs must be met.

For me that day was a real revelation of what the mass method is, the method of revolutionary work. No other mechanism; no other way could accomplish this!

Moreover, what will all this cost in terms of wages? The incredible thing is that it won't cost anything at all. This is incredible, it really seems like a miracle, but minibrigade members retain the salary they had in their work places and meanwhile their work places are fulfilling their production plans. The limitations are not in the work force; they may be in raw materials or something, else but not in the work force.

People who live in temporary housing or in buildings that are propped up with scaffolding, or workers after hours, all of them want to participate in construction work.

What's happening with the minibrigades? Something amazing: many minibrigade collectives are saying that they can build an apartment building after hours, after doing the minibrigade work!

None of that costs the country a penny more. We can build a new Havana and solve the problem that has grown larger with time without having to spend more money by calling on the people, organizing their effort, and providing good leadership for them. Our expenditures would be for materials, equipment, and fuel. Is this or is it not really impressive and extraordinary within the rectification process?

Since I have witnessed these things, I'm pleased to share them with you. Sometimes we see things we wish the people could see, very positive things. Often one sees

“I would say that rather than hard times these are hours of glory, of honor, of pride, of emotion. We can clearly see a great task . . .”

only the negative things, and we must see them clearly to eradicate them. But in this stage and in the process we're going through there are also new and extraordinary things.

We have often said that rectification doesn't mean just rectifying the mistakes of the last 10 years or mistakes made in the course of the revolution; to rectify means finding ways of solving even century-old problems. For example, the struggle for equality between women and men, or having women join the work force, in which we have been so successful. Isn't that rectification of century-old errors and age-old prejudices?

To rectify means looking for new solutions to old problems; to rectify means to create, to open up new trails or paths, to open a breach; to rectify is what we're doing now, when the country has less hard currency, when imports from the hard currency area are a fourth of what they were in 1984, and now, in the face of problems, people rise to the occasion, they think and come up with solutions. People are now thinking of ways and means of making here scores of things that before they would only think of importing. That's what rectification means! We must rectify in many ways. To rectify means seeking new things.

The 26th of July, 1953, was rectification, the struggle to do away with the old and open a path, to make a revolution, to create a new way of life; that is also rectification today. Rectification really has a very broad meaning and I'm very satisfied and encouraged by what I see, the result I see, although we're aware that we're still very far from developing our full potential and much remains to be done.

I said today that agriculture in Havana Province was the most productive in the country, but in terms of many crops — not in all — that same agriculture still has great potential. Fortunately, we have great potential in all fields. That potential is the basis for our resources in spite of our hard currency crisis. The year in which we have had least resources, or least in the history of the revolution, is the year in which we're doing most. This was the very difficult year, the virtually impossible year and it is passing. Right here, at this rally, we've talked about the 951 large, medium, and small projects completed in a single province to honor the 26th of July. That is proof of our great potential.

Courage to recognize mistakes

In my opinion things are going well; there is a new work style in the party and a new work style among state cadres.

So, it's not only the rain that augurs well on this 26th of July. We are in a qualitatively different period and the

Continued on next page

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difficulties are helping us. Perhaps one day we'll say: "Thank goodness for the difficulties of 1987!" The year that seemed so difficult it seemed impossible.

Imperialism was encouraged by things like this: "Well let's see how the revolutionaries overcome these problems." Sometimes imperialism is encouraged when it knows that countries such as ours have problems added to the blockade they have imposed on us. But perhaps one day we may also give thanks for the blockade insofar as what it taught us about solving difficult problems. Someday we may morally thank them, for we were perhaps one of the very few countries in the world that has shown it can live without the empire, that it can live without economic links with the empire. How many countries can make a similar claim? And not only that but to live and develop, because all our progress has been achieved during the empire's ferocious blockade.

The empire, its bosses and officials, must surely be surprised to see how we have waged a firm and heroic struggle for 28 years and have survived and advanced in spite of the shortcomings and errors, which we must leave behind. The shortcomings and errors must be left by the wayside! We've made mistakes but we've had the courage and the honesty to recognize them and struggle implacably against them. (Applause) The really bad, the really terrible mistakes are those that go undetected and unrecognized, those that aren't admitted to, those that aren't fought against resolutely.

Imperialism may also feel encouraged when there are cases of wretched, repugnant traitors who betray either the homeland or the ethical and moral principles of the revolution. (Applause)

What can the traitors and their masters do against the work of the revolution? What can they do with their repugnant slander? Who are they going to fool and why do they want to fool anyone? To return to the past which has been happily left behind years ago? To return to unemployment, prostitution and gambling, to poverty and illiteracy, to barefoot children and sick people without doctors or medicine, to women giving birth on the edges of canefields? To return to that repugnant, inhuman past? To return to repression, tyranny, the Rural Guard, machete beatings, evictions of peasants, and their homes being burnt to the ground? To sexual and racial discrimination, to live in a society of the privileged, of abuse and exploitation? Never! Why so much propaganda? Who are they going to fool?

These are the facts and the facts are and will always be irrefutable. (Applause)

They may confuse or discourage a few. There will always be traitors, since the time of Judas and even before that. The old saying to the effect that Rome pays traitors but holds them in contempt is still true now. There have always been rats who leave the ship when there's a slightly rough sea, but for every traitor and sellout there will be 1,000 firm, invincible sailors and captains who will steer the ship of the revolution forward through any storm. (Applause)

Some got scared; their knees shook

Some perhaps felt that there were problems and they got scared; their knees shook, both their moral and physical knees. They only had enough energy to flee from what they viewed as the danger. Whom will they impress with that? The revolution started from scratch, from nothing, like the daycare centers I mentioned here. The revolution didn't have a single peso or a rifle to start off with, when it began the long march at the time when we came here to win over a handful of humble, brave young men from Artemisa. None of them was a landowner or industrialist, none was rich or an aristocrat; they were humble workers and peasants, but they had an idea they were capable of defending, and many gave their lives along the way to make real those ideas. Who will they frighten or impress?

Hard times were the bitter hours after the attack on the Moncada when the objective was not obtained, when dozens of comrades were murdered, and even then there was no lack of crew for the ship. Hard times were those before the journey of the *Granma* when we were betrayed, persecuted, and jailed and we lost some of our weapons. Hard times, even more so than ours and more exemplary than ours, were those of our forefathers who fought for 10 years in the independence war in which the goal was not reached and who years later returned to the struggle and then the empire came to foil their work.

Hard times were those of Martí at the time of the *Fernandina* when all was lost and he didn't hesitate to land in a rowboat with Máximo Gómez² and a few other comrades in an isolated, solitary spot on the coast of the eastern region to start up the struggle and then die in battle, convinced of the fact that others would follow in their footsteps and one day the country would be free. He was convinced that one day that history which, as he put it,

had to be made in silence, would continue and would be crowned with victory. The cause we are defending is the same Martí upheld when he said, "I have lived inside the monster and I know its entrails . . . and it has to be in silence." (Applause) We have had the privilege of not having to do it in silence, and today's monster is the same as yesterday's and even worse.

Hard times spent by the men on the *Granma*, 1,500 miles which ended with a drop of fuel in our tanks, arriving at a marsh not a beach. Hard times, those days right after the landing, when our small group was dispersed; hard times when there was only a handful of men who regrouped; hard times those of the difficult and unequal battle in the mountains and there was never a lack of troops and the number of those loyal to the revolution increased steadily, those who upheld the ideas and the cause of the revolution. Scores became hundreds, hundreds became thousands, thousands became tens of thousands, tens of thousands became hundreds of thousands, hundreds of thousands became millions, which is what we are now — millions! (Applause)

I don't think these are hard times. I don't know what may seem difficult for rats, even if the water rises a millimeter. I would say that rather than hard times these are hours of glory, hours of honor, hours of pride, hours of emotion which we face and we can clearly see a great task. A task that is done and being done, a greater task that still remains, such is the work of these millions who are undertaking it not barefooted, better or worse dressed, more fashionable or less so, but we all have shoes, we all have clothes, we all have food and we all have medicine, we all have education, we all have recreation, we all have the indispensable material goods. (Applause)

In this difficult hour there is no Cuban living like the hundreds of thousands of unemployed or those evicted from their homes. Now a home can be better or worse, or the materials with which it is made, but everybody feels secure in their homes, everybody feels secure in their country and on their job, everybody feels secure in society, everybody feels secure even after death because they know their wives, children, relatives, their mothers or fathers won't be in need, won't go hungry or be neglected. (Applause)

Those who live in the poorest fashion now live better than the great majority did in the past, even those with certain privileges, and this is reflected in figures: life ex-

pectancy, infant mortality, health care, education, jobs, culture, equal opportunity, security, social justice, and dignity, because that's what revolutionaries think about and dream about, what to do and how to create. They do not only think of themselves and their people, they think of others and can share with them. We have learned the great lesson summed up in the phrase "Being internationalists is paying our debt to humanity."

Internationalist aid

This was made possible by the internationalism of others, for we don't deserve all the credit. We can be critical of ourselves for not having made the best possible use of the internationalist aid, as we are learning to do now. Thanks to internationalist aid, basically and chiefly from the Soviet Union, we have come this far, won this battle, and successfully confronted the monster. (Applause) It is our duty to make the best possible use of these resources and cooperation. Thus it would be unjust to claim all the credit for our people alone, just as it would be unfair in any way to deny the tremendous political, moral, patriotic, internationalist, revolutionary, and communist traits of our people. (Applause)

Now we go proudly forward, and rather than difficult days, I repeat, these are days of honor, glory, pride and creation. Thus, on this 34th anniversary we can tell our martyrs here in this heroic city that we have fulfilled and will continue to fulfill our obligations; we have done the utmost but aren't satisfied with what we have done; we will do more and do it better.

To those who one day felt that blood had been shed in vain, that the Moncada led to adversity and not victory, that the *Granma* was in vain, or that the war in the mountains was in vain, now we can say the sacrifice was never in vain. Those who one day felt that the sacrifice, heroism, and bloodshed was in vain, must know that now, more than ever and with greater certainty than ever, we can say that the sacrifice has been absolutely fruitful and absolutely useful. Those who think otherwise are fooling themselves, and the empire is fooling itself and its servile mercenaries are fooling themselves if they think that one day the blood of the just was shed in vain! (Applause) They must never underestimate our revolution, our people, and our party!

¡Patria o Muerte!

¡Venceremos!

(Ovation)



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2. José Martí, an essayist and poet, founded the Cuban Revolutionary Party and initiated the second war of independence in 1895; he was killed the same year.

Máximo Gómez was a leader of the 1868-78 Cuban war of independence. He played a leading role in the second war of independence as well. — ISR.

Salvadorans demand end to U.S. intervention

BY SETH GALINSKY

SAN SALVADOR, El Salvador — Thousands of peasants, workers, and students marched through this Central American city on September 15 carrying signs calling for an end to all U.S. intervention in the region, for an end to forced recruitment to the Salvadoran armed forces, and for the release of all political prisoners.

The marchers wound their way through working-class neighborhoods for more than three hours before ending at Plaza Barrios in the center of the city. Thousands of copies of the most recent issue of *Pueblo Unido*, the monthly newspaper of the National Union of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS), were distributed.

The march was called by the UNTS, which recently launched a national campaign against U.S. intervention and "for the regaining of our sovereignty."

Founded in February 1986, the UNTS includes over 80 peasant, cooperative, union, student, and neighborhood organizations. Earlier this year, University Unity — a coalition of the students, professors, and workers at the National University — and the Democratic Association of Indigenous Peoples of El Salvador joined the UNTS.

In a 15-minute TV broadcast the night before the march, Julio Portillo of the Salvadoran teachers union (ANDES) and Febe Elizabeth Velásquez of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers' Unions (FENASTRAS) discussed the march.

The union leaders read a UNTS statement that quoted Anastasio Aquino, a national hero of El Salvador in the struggle against Spanish rule during the last century. In response to demands that he surrender to the colonial rulers, Aquino answered:

"The land that we plow and plant is ours. They treat us peasants like beasts, drafting us for their killings and butchery. We commit ourselves to preserve peace and harmony; but we will maintain in our power



September 15 demonstration in San Salvador. U.S.-backed Duarte regime faces deepening crisis, as struggles by workers, peasants, and students grow. Right, Febe Elizabeth Velásquez, a leader of FENASTRAS.



Militant/Don Gurewitz

the arms that we have to guarantee our rights.

Velásquez also condemned President José Napoleón Duarte for his role in attempting to sabotage the peace pact signed in Guatemala in August by the presidents of the five Central American countries.

The march occurred in the context of deepening struggles by working people and growing crisis for the Duarte regime. In the last 12 months there have been more than 100 strikes in El Salvador. The UNTS has been active in coordinating strike support.

One important labor action was the recently ended strike at the Social Security Administration led by the Social Security Workers Union (STISS). The workers demanded higher wages, better working con-

ditions, and improved medical care for all the people of El Salvador. A central demand was for the government to build a new hospital. In this city of 1 million people, there were only 3,000 hospital beds a year ago and that number was cut in half by the earthquake.

The workers decided to go back to work on September 8 without winning their main demands when the government threatened to dissolve the union.

Workers, however, see the strike as a step forward because it served as a focal point for the whole union movement. Some 22 sympathy strikes of up to eight hours were conducted in support of STISS after a July 8 police attack on a demonstration of STISS hospital workers. Peasant cooperativists occupied a church in support of their own demands for government-financed credit and in protest of the attack on STISS.

Texas death row prisoner wins new hearing

BY WILLIE M. REID

CONROE, Texas — The courtroom in this small town north of Houston erupted in cheers as Judge Perry Pickett approved a defense motion to move new hearings in the case of Clarence Brandley, who is currently on death row. On September 21 Pickett ordered the hearings out of Montgomery County, where Brandley was sentenced to die for a rape and murder he denies having committed.

The Brandley case, which has had all the markings of a racist frame-up from its be-

ing, accused of the crime. The other janitors provided alibis for each other.

However, just before his scheduled execution last spring, Brandley's lawyers produced videotapes of two of the other janitors recanting their courtroom testimony that was the sole basis for his conviction. Hearings were then scheduled to determine if a new trial would be held.

The history of racism in the area (including the 1923 burning of a Black man accused of raping a white woman) and the racist and political pressures brought against participants in Brandley's first two trials indicated that a fair hearing could not be obtained in Conroe. The judge ordered the hearings moved to Galveston County.

William Srack, the lone dissenter on the first jury testified that he was accused by other jurors of being a "nigger lover." In the month following the trial, Srack's home was bombarded with thousands of threatening phone calls. Even this year, six years later, he testified, he was denied a job with the county because of his vote to acquit Brandley.

Another witness in the change-of-venue hearing recalled that during the trial an elderly white woman was allowed to come to court daily and chant in an audible voice, "Kill the nigger, kill the nigger."

The latest victory in the Clarence Brandley Defense Campaign is the result of activity by supporters in both Conroe and Houston to publicize the trampling of justice in this case — from the coaching of witnesses to disappearance of evidence to harassment of defense committee activists.

At congressional hearings on the death penalty in June, Brandley's case was cited as an example of the injustice of the Supreme Court's ruling accepting the racist results of applying the death penalty.

The case has also received national prominence through a segment of CBS TV's "60 Minutes" devoted to the case.

For more information or to assist the defense committee, contact the Clarence Brandley Defense Committee, SHAPE Community Center, 3815 Live Oak, Houston, Texas 77004.



Clarence Brandley

ginning seven years ago, has attracted the attention of opponents of the death penalty across Texas. Well over 100 supporters were present in the courtroom, while others had to wait outside for lack of room.

Judge Pickett's decision favoring a change of venue was based on what he called an "atmosphere of fear" in Conroe and a "volatile, explosive situation that is not conducive to the fair administration of justice."

Brandley, now 36, is trying to win a new trial six years after being convicted of the rape and murder of a 16-year-old white girl in a high school restroom. The only Black among five school janitors, Brandley was

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Maurice Bishop event planned in Grenada

The Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement has announced plans to commemorate the fourth anniversary of the assassination of former prime minister of Grenada and revolutionary leader Maurice Bishop. Bishop was the central leader of the People's Revolutionary Government established in 1979.

Bishop and five other leaders of the revolution were executed Oct. 19, 1983, by supporters of Bernard Coard, the deputy prime minister at the time. Coard had organized a secret faction in the ruling party, the New Jewel Movement, that overthrew the revolutionary government in the early weeks of October 1983. The overthrow of the Bishop-led government and the murder of its central leaders paved the way for the subsequent U.S. invasion of the island on October 25.

In a telephone interview from St. George's, Terry Marryshow, a leader of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, told the *Militant*, "We have held commemoration activities every year on October 25 since the U.S. invasion. We must keep alive Maurice's contributions and the accomplishments of the revolutionary government," he said.

The October 19 program will consist of political, cultural, and sporting activities. A building meeting for the event was attended by 300 people, at which the film *Maurice* was shown.

Fijian rightists organize second military coup

Right-wing military forces, lead by Col. Sitiveni Rabuka, have overthrown the government of Fiji for the second time in five months.

The coup came as the interim government set up after the first coup in May failed to agree to a structure proposal guaranteeing a majority of representatives to Fijian rightists. Rabuka now intends to accomplish this aim by revising the Fijian constitution.

Of Fiji's 715,000 inhabitants, an estimated 49 percent are of Indian origin. Most of them are descendants of indentured sugar plantation workers. Indigenous Melanesians make up 47 percent.

The first coup, on May 14 of this

year, overthrew the Fiji Labour Party-led coalition government, headed by Prime Minister Timoci Bavadra. The Labour Party had defeated the pro-U.S. Alliance Party of Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, in the April 12 general elections.

The Labour Party government was the first since independence from Britain in 1970 to win significant support of both Melanesian and Indian workers. It stood on a platform of multiracialism, opposition to nuclear testing in the Pacific, and increased emphasis on health, education, and social welfare programs.

Four days after the May coup, a general strike of trade unions, supported by some business associations, forced the release of Bavadra and others who had been arrested. An interim government was set up headed by British-appointed Governor-General Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau.

The latest coup took place just two days after the Fiji Labour Party, the Alliance Party, and Ganilau had agreed to establish a bipartisan government of 10 representatives from each party. Ganilau would have served as prime minister.

Apartheid regime tortures children

William Modibedi, 11 years old, was subjected to electrical shocks and had two of his teeth knocked out by his interrogators to force him into confessing that he had set automobiles on fire during demonstrations.

Tabisa Mabusu, 13 years old, was shot through her spine when South African police burst into her home in Botswana on June 14, 1985. She is paralyzed as a result. Her aunt was killed in the attack.

They were only two among many youths who testified during the International Conference on Children, Repression and the Law in Apartheid South Africa, held in Harare, Zimbabwe, in late September.

The Johannesburg-based Detainees' Parents Support Committee estimates that some 400 children under the age of 18 are still being held in South Africa's jails.

African National Congress President Oliver Tambo told the conference, "Let all those in the West who still treat this regime as legitimate explain why they continue thus to aid and abet the commission of a crime against humanity."

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Malcolm X Speaks. A documentary film containing footage from speeches by the Black revolutionary. Sat., Oct. 17, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

San Diego

Palestine and Israel — The History of the Conflict. A review of the history of the Palestinian people and the role of the U.S. in the Middle East. Speaker: Carol Lesnik, visited Israel in 1986. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 10, 7:30 p.m. 2803 B Street. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

San Francisco

The Struggle in the Philippines. A panel discussion. Speakers: Francis Calputura, western regional director, Alliance for Philippine Concerns; representative, Committee to Advance the Movement for Democracy and Independence in the Philippines (CAMD); Steven Fuchs, chairperson, San Francisco Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Oct. 11, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

The Central America Peace Plan, a Setback to the U.S. War. Speaker: Malik Miah, member National Committee of Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 17, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

FLORIDA

Miami

The Central America Peace Accords and the U.S. War in Nicaragua. Speakers: Chaplain Morrison, American Friends Service Committee; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish and Creole. Sat., Oct. 17, 8 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Citizens Conference on Privacy and the Constitution. Speakers and workshops on privacy in the workplace, government intrusion into political activities, and reproductive health. Sat., Oct. 17, 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. Alumni Hall, Georgia State University, corner of Courtland and Gilmer. Donation: \$15. Georgia American Civil Liberties Union and others. For more information call (404) 523-6201.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Grand Opening of Pathfinder Bookstore and Militant Labor Forum. Sat., Oct. 10, Open house and refreshments, noon to 3 p.m. Forums: "Che Guevara, the Cuban Revolution, and Socialism," 3:30 to 5:30 p.m.; "The Assassination of Maurice Bishop, Defeat of the Grenada Revolution, and the U.S. Invasion," 7:30 p.m. Speaker: Steve Clark, author of the "Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop," Socialist Workers Party National Committee. 6826 S Stony Island Ave. Donation: \$2.50 each session. Sponsor: Pathfinder. For more information call (312) 363-7322 or 363-7136.

IOWA

Des Moines

Labor at the Crossroads. Speaker: Bob Miller, Socialist Workers Party. Also, film: *Labor's Turning Point*. Sat., Oct. 10, 7 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

tant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Hear John Linder, brother of U.S. engineer Benjamin Linder killed by contras in Nicaragua. Sun., Oct. 11, 12:30 p.m. Towson Unitarian Church, 1710 Dulany Valley Rd. For more information call (301) 366-7200.

Juggling and Clown Benefit for the Benjamin Linder Memorial Fund. Sun., Oct. 11, 5 p.m. St. Vincent de Paul Church, 120 N Front St. (across from the shot tower). Sponsor: Baltimore Jugglers Association. For more information call (301) 366-7200.

Talk by John Linder. A discussion with high school students. Mon., Oct. 12, 7 p.m. Gilman School, 5407 Roland Ave. Sponsor: Students for Social Responsibility. For more information call (301) 366-7200.

Benjamin Linder Peace Tour. Citywide meeting with John Linder and Joan Petrik, Maryknoll sister recently returned from Nicaragua. Tues., Oct. 13, 7:30 p.m. Medical School Teaching Facility Auditorium, University of Maryland School of Medicine, 10 S Pine St. (between Baltimore and Redwood Sts.). Donation: \$1. For more information call (301) 366-7200.

The Politics of AIDS. Speakers: George Hurd, Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, AIDS Administration, minority outreach coordinator, formerly of HERO; Rachel Fruit, Socialist Workers Party and member International Association of Machinists. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 17 Dinner, 6 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: dinner, \$3; forum, \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

The Guatemala Peace Accords — New Stage in the Nicaraguan Revolution. Speakers: Beverly Treumann, director of NICA language school in Esteli, Nicaragua; Aaron Ruby, chairperson, Boston Young Socialist Alliance, taught in Nicaragua 1980-85; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 17, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis

Remember South African Prisoners! Speakers: Rejoice Sithole, South African professor at St. Olaf College; Freddie Kustaa, Namibian member of Perspectives on Southern Africa; Mahmoud El-Kati. Sat., Oct. 10, 8 p.m. Walker Church, 31st St. and 16th Ave. Sponsor: Perspectives on Southern Africa.

Rally in Defense of Democratic Rights. Speakers: Fred Halstead, Political Rights Defense Fund; others to be announced. Sat., Oct. 31, 7 p.m. Central America Resource Center auditorium, Newman Center, 1701 University Ave. SE. Sponsors: Political Rights Defense Fund, Central America Resource Center, Back Room Anarchist Books, Mayday Books, Pathfinder Bookstore, Paul Robeson Bookshop. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

St. Paul

Crisis in the Airline Industry — Causes and Solutions. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Oct. 17, 8 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

South Korea — Workers in Struggle. Speaker: Will Reissner, former staff writer for *Intercontinental Press*. Sat., Oct. 24, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Cuba Today, an Eyewitness Account. Speaker: Cathy Sedwick, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 17, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

Maurice Bishop and the Legacy of the Grenada Revolution. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 24, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Central America Peace Accords. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 10, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Report Back From the Maine Paperworkers' Strike. Speakers: Carla Hoag, member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union; Jon Hillson, member International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and reporter for the *Militant*. Sat., Oct. 10, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Nelson and Winnie, a video on Winnie Mandela, a leader of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. Sun., Oct. 18, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

Why Is There a Housing Crisis? Speakers: Ervin Brisbon, president, Confederation of Greensboro Resident Councils; John Cox, recent volunteer on housing construction brigade in Nicaragua; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Oct. 25, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cleveland

U.S. Policy in Nicaragua. Speaker: Ray Hodgson, mayor of Bluefields, Nicaragua. Sat., Oct. 17, 7 p.m. East End Neighborhood House, 2749 Woodhill Rd. Sponsors: East End Neighborhood House, Simba Wachanga. For more information call (216) 696-8215.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Socialist Workers Party Campaign Rally. Hear Richard Gaeta, socialist mayoral candidate and other activists speak out. Sat., Oct. 17, 6:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

The Meaning of the Rectification Campaign. A talk on the current situation in Cuba. Sat., Oct. 24, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 255-0213.

TEXAS

Houston

U.S. Labor: the Fight Against Concessions. Speaker: Mary Pritchard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4367. Sat., Oct. 10, 8 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

Bork nomination and the fight for democratic rights

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Speaker: Andrea Morell, national leader of Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Oct. 17, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Speakers: Andrea Morell, national leader of Socialist Workers Party; Carolyn Rea, chairperson, reproductive rights task force, New York City NOW; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Oct. 16, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

Speakers: David Fryson, president of Black Law Students Association, WVU; Sarah Ericson, leader of the Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Oct. 10, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Forum preceded by YSA fund-raising dinner at 6 p.m., \$2. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

10, 8 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Salt of the Earth. A film on a strike of mine workers in New Mexico in the 1950s. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 10, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

Conflict in the Persian Gulf. Speaker to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 17, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Grenada Four Years After the U.S. Invasion. Speaker: Steve Clark, managing editor of *New International*. Sun., Oct. 25, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Morgantown

The Philippines, an Unfolding Revolution. Speaker: Mark Satinoff, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 17, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Socialist Open House. Following Oct. 11 March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights, discuss politics in a relaxed atmosphere with leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Browse in Pathfinder bookstore. Refreshments. 5-8 p.m. 3165 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

—IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and Pathfinder bookstores.

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16412. Tel: (814) 398-2754. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 402 N. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

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

Burn it? — "New York — An educational curriculum developed by a Massachusetts group and used in schools nationwide was



Harry Ring

criticized by a member of a federal education panel as being unfair to Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan." — News item.

Creeping un-Americanism — Pollsters found that people in this

country view Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev more favorably than they do Wall Street investors, the CIA, Richard Nixon, and Rev. Jerry Falwell.

Sharp as ever — Asked if CIA chief Casey might have conducted secret operations without his knowledge, the Prez responded, "Not that I know of."

A Borkite? — Judge William Brodick agreed with property owners that a 1648 Puritan ordinance permitted only fishing, fowling, and boating at Maine's Moody Beach. He opined that the Founding Fathers would have found "beach towels, umbrellas, coolers, and the slathering of

bodies with various oils repugnant."

Steady losers — The Chicago video outfit that rushed out the cassette of Oliver North's Iran-contra testimony expects to shred 35,000 of them. And, a sales rep dolefully adds, they're getting buyer resistance on the new one about the pope.

How about stuffed chicken? It's alleged that during the pope's visit Frank Perdue offered him \$1 million to change "Give us our daily bread" to daily chicken. The pope assertedly responded, "But that means we'd lose the Wonder Bread account."

And thanks for flying Eastern — Miami cops busted five people

when some 170 stranded Eastern Airlines passengers voiced their ire. A New York flight scheduled to carry 317 passengers was cancelled and a substitute jet had room for but 149. Passengers complained they were treated like "criminals or terrorists."

Dial-a-porn — Check out the 900 number for daily recorded messages by Jim and Tammy Bakker. Their version of who got the PTL loot and what happened to Jessica Hahn. Plus Tammy's recipe for sloppy joes. Only \$1.50 for the first minute and 35 cents for each additional one. The Jesus-loving couple will pocket a reported 25 percent.

Another letdown — "The bid

by Bank of New York ... is just the latest sign that banking is no longer the gentlemanly business it once was, and that profit has become the chief goal..." — The *New York Times* on the hostile takeover bid for the Irving Bank.

Them that has, need — According to a survey, people with average incomes estimate they could fulfill their dreams on \$50,000 a year. But the affluent — \$100,000-plus — say they'd need at least \$250,000 to do that.

It follows — A quarter of those in the \$100,000-plus bracket gave less than 1 percent of their income to charity. Those in the under-\$10,000 bracket gave 2 percent.

West Virginia protest hits U.S.-run contra war

BY DUNCAN WILLIAMS

CHARLESTON, W.V. — Some 100 people took part in an antiwar march and rally here September 26. The action was organized by the West Virginia Central America Network.

During the short sidewalk march to the rally, the participants, from cities and rural areas all over the state, chanted: "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua," "Let's help the homeless, not aid the contras," and "One, two, three, four, we don't want your contra war."

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(signed)
James M. White
Business Manager

The rally's featured speaker was Charlie Liteky, a former U.S. Army chaplain in Vietnam, who was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, which he later returned.

"We can now contemplate the possibility of peace for the first time in decades, at least in Nicaragua," Liteky said, referring to the Central America agreement reached in August.

"Nicaragua is moving ahead," he noted, "to implement the agreement." He urged the marchers to push ahead so "we can hopefully celebrate on November 7," when the cease-fire is to go into effect.

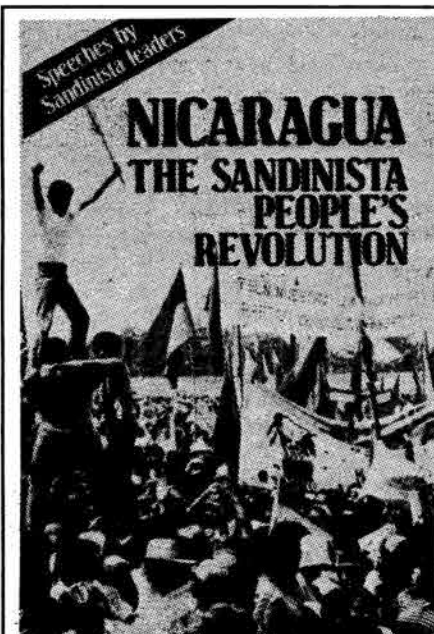
A local veteran activist, Dave Evans, of Medical Aid for El Salvador, noted that before the Vietnam War, "there weren't rallies like this one in West Virginia."

"Don't let your guard down after the peace accords," he urged.

The rally sent a message to Brian Willson, the West Coast veteran who lost his legs when a government munitions train ran him over last month.

Charlotte Pritt, a member of the West Virginia House of Delegates, spoke of her recent trip to El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua. She said she found "no semblance of democracy" in El Salvador, and opposition to more U.S. military aid. People in Honduras and Nicaragua were both hopeful for the peace accords, she said, since neither country wants the contras on its soil.

The rally, which was chaired by Nat Turner Lacy, pastor of Simpson Memorial Church and cochair of the West Virginia Coalition against Apartheid, also heard representatives of the Rainbow Coalition, Witness for Peace, Christic Institute, Peace Garden, and Marshall University students, as well as music and dance entertainment. Messages were read from Congressman Harley Staggers and former U.S. Senator George McGovern.



Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution. This collection contains more than 40 speeches by leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution. \$10.95. Available at Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 16, or by mail from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Include 75 cents for postage and handling.)



Protesters in Charleston march and rally chanted: "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua" and "Let's help the homeless, not aid the contras!"

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
Oct. 14, 1977

For the past three months, House and Senate conferees have been performing the old hard cop/soft cop routine as they debate about how to restrict abortion rights.

The debate is over the Hyde amendment, which cuts off Medicaid funds for abortions for low-income women. It is attached to the budget for the Department of Labor and Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The House of Representatives and Senate passed different versions of the amendment this year, both of them denying poor women the right to choose abortion. The House version would fund only those abortions necessary to save a woman's life. The Senate version allows funding of abortions for victims of rape or incest and in cases defined as "medically necessary" by a doctor.

The Hyde amendment will cut off money for most of the estimated 300,000 women who have Medicaid-funded abortions each year. One-third of those who seek abortions are dependent on that funding.

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interests of the Working People
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UNITED NATIONS, New York, Oct. 9 — In a speech to the UN General Assembly yesterday, Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticós made a reasoned analysis of the U.S.-Cuban crisis. He exposed the role of the [President John] Kennedy administration in inciting war hysteria and reiterated his government's desire to negotiate differences with the United States.

Referring to the anti-Cuba campaign that "fills the political stage of the U.S.," Dorticós said: "We know that this atmosphere of hysteria, this campaign ... are part and parcel of pressures being exerted by the United States government — and on it too — to the end that once and for all there will be a decision to take armed aggression, direct armed aggression, against my country. We know that these pressures exist. But we also believe that, when all is said and done, it is the U.S. government itself that is responsible for the existence of these pressures, which are the inevitable corollary, the unavoidable result of the policy of constant and permanent harassment that the U.S. government has followed since the new U.S. administration took over."

Dr. Dorticós repeatedly declared Cuba's policy of not trying to export revolution except by example. He said: "Underdevelopment is a hemisphere problem; we are not a hemisphere problem. Hunger, famine, need, are hemisphere problems, but Cuba is not. Lack of education and illiteracy are hemisphere problems, not Cuba. The training and preparation of armed forces, specifically on the part of the government of the U.S., in various countries of this continent to be used in the suppression of popular movements ... this is a hemisphere problem, not Cuba."

He reiterated his government's offers to negotiate, saying Cuba would gladly stop the expensive process of arming — defensive as it is — if the U.S. would offer guarantees that it would not attack Cuba.

Dr. Dorticós repeated the Soviet warning that a U.S. attack on Cuba could mean world war and said the Cuban leaders believed in the Soviet assurance of "solidarity" in face of a U.S. attack. "We believe in principles," he repeated several times, "and that is why we believe in the solidarity I have referred to. If the government of the U.S. does not believe it," he said, "it is because it does not understand what a policy founded upon principles is."

Let Nicaragua live in peace!

The White House claims it's not trying to torpedo the Central American peace accords, which would mean the end of the contra war against Nicaragua. Instead, the story goes, it's merely proposing some added points to bolster the accords and ensure that Nicaragua respects them.

But the United States does not have the right to demand anything of Nicaragua. The only thing Washington should do is stop intervening in Nicaragua and let its people live in peace.

What gives Washington the right to demand that Nicaragua void its recent elections — the freest ever held in Central America — and now hold new ones?

What gives Washington the right to demand that Nicaragua reduce the size of its armed forces and reject aid from other countries?

What gives it the right to demand that convicted members of former dictator Anastasio Somoza's murder machine be released from prison?

Such demands express an arrogant contempt for Nicaragua's sovereignty. Moreover, they are cynically crafted to constitute an offer that Nicaragua can't accept. This, presumably, would justify continued congressional funding of the contra war.

And the White House is by no means persuaded it can't get such funding. The ease with which it got \$3.5 million from the Democratic-controlled Congress last month for short-term "nonmilitary" contra aid gives it good reason to keep trying.

Congressional liberals and their supporters criticize Reagan's stubborn commitment to the contras. But they hasten to add, yes, of course, the United States does have "security" interests in Central America, it does have the right to make demands relating to Nicaragua's state of armed readiness and where it obtains its arms.

The notion of a Nicaraguan "threat" to the United States is a ludicrous fraud. What is a stark reality is the massive U.S. military force so deeply entrenched in Central America.

Nicaragua has taken big steps to implement the Guatemala peace accords. The latest was to permit resumption of publication by *La Prensa*. Nicaragua also permitted reopening of the counterrevolutionary radio station operated by the Catholic church hierarchy.

It is Nicaragua's full right to make such concessions as it deems necessary to end a war that has taken a toll of more than 40,000 dead and wounded — a war where Washington continues to airlift weapons of destruction to the contras inside Nicaragua at a stepped-up pace.

It's one thing for Nicaragua to negotiate with neighboring countries and to determine what steps it will take for peace. It's quite another for Washington to utilize the peace negotiations as a smoke screen for trying to ram its reactionary demands down the throats of the Nicaraguan people.

It remains an urgent task for opponents of Washington's war to demand in the clearest, sharpest way:

Hands off Nicaragua! Let Nicaragua live in peace!

Should women go to war?

It's a sure bet that in the debate beginning in Congress about the role of women soldiers in combat, the key question — whether anybody, male or female, should fight in U.S. wars of aggression — will not be discussed.

On October 1, the House Armed Services Committee's Subcommittee on Personnel began hearings on the status of women in the U.S. armed forces.

Senators William Proxmire (D.-Wis.) and William Cohen (R.-Me.) have introduced legislation into Congress that would allow women to be assigned to more combat support positions, such as flying reconnaissance aircraft or serving aboard supply ships.

The Defense Department and the four services have begun a review of their policies in regard to women members, including the regulations intended to exclude them from being directly involved in combat.

Some military officials oppose restrictions on the roles women soldiers can fill, saying they bolster the rampant and brutal discrimination and harassment that female soldiers are subjected to. They also argue that giving women the "right" to participate in combat would strengthen the U.S. military.

Congressional opponents of women being on the battlefield repeat time-worn, reactionary arguments about women's role in society being primarily that of mothers. The fact is, women are already on the front lines of U.S. military interventions:

- Army women served in the 1983 invasion of Grenada, in the military police, in communications, and as helicopter crew chiefs and munitions specialists.
- Air Force women were on tankers that refueled the FB-111's that attacked Libya in 1986.
- And 258 of the crew of 1,000 on the destroyer tender *Arcadia*, which sailed into the Persian Gulf to repair the USS *Stark* after it was hit by Iraqi missiles, were women.

The fighting capacities of female workers and farmers are even more clearly demonstrated in progressive wars for national liberation, from Vietnam and Cuba to Nicaragua, and today in El Salvador.

But the U.S. armed forces — unlike the current armies of Cuba and Nicaragua — are the murderous emissaries of Wall Street. Every military action carried out by U.S. forces abroad is against the interests of the vast majority of the U.S. population — the workers and farmers.

It's no more progressive for women to advise the contra terrorists attacking Nicaragua than it is for men. And having women in on the Grenada invasion didn't make it any less of a blatant violation of the sovereignty of the Grenadian people.

And to the degree that the fight for women's equality is associated with the "right" of women to press the nuclear button or bomb Iranian ships halfway round the globe, it undercuts support for equal rights. Most working people are opposed to Washington's foreign aggression — no matter what the gender of the cannon fodder the Pentagon throws into it.

Winning women's equality within the borders of the United States can only be accomplished as *part of* — not in bloody conflict with — the struggles of the peoples of the world to get the boot of U.S. imperialist domination off their necks.

While standing foursquare against all discrimination and harassment of women soldiers, opponents of war and champions of equality should demand: not one penny, not one man or woman for the imperialist military machine.

Solidarity with football union

Outside football stadiums around the country October 4 and 5, members of many unions walked the picket lines to express their solidarity with striking National Football League (NFL) players.

Inside, the wealthy owners of the 28 NFL franchises, in collusion with the major television networks, staged sham games with scab players in an attempt to break or cripple the football players' union.

Because of their monopoly domination of the sport, the "good old boy" owners, who include in their ranks heirs to the Ford Motor Co. and the Hunt brothers' silver fortune, reap super-profits. They will split \$476 million from their contract with the major television networks this year. That's before a single ticket to a game is sold.

At issue in the strike has been the players' demand for "free agency" or the right to negotiate a contract with any of the 28 teams when their old contract expires.

Currently a pro football player does not have the right to choose what team he plays for. Each year the owners stage a draft of college players. If you are selected, you must play for that team or not at all. The only way a player switches teams during his career is if an owner trades the rights to him to another owner.

The National Football League Players Association is also fighting for increased pensions for current and past

players. A player now has to be in the league at least four years to qualify for a pension. The average career for an NFL player is 3.6 years, and many who are forced to leave the game after suffering crippling injuries never qualify for a pension.

The players are also fighting against the owners' attempt to impose mandatory, unscheduled drug tests. And players want protection for the union representatives on each team, who have been victimized by the owners in the past.

The owners have tried to undercut solidarity with the union by claiming the average player is paid \$230,000 a year.

Frank Woschitz, the union's director of public relations, told the *Militant* that 37 percent of the players make \$70,000 a year or less.

The owners and much of the big-business media tried to give the impression that the regular players were stampeding across the picket line to rejoin the teams. But as of October 7, less than 140 of the 1,585 NFL players had crossed.

Support for the striking players deepened as the owners moved to resume play with scabs. Regardless of the outcome of the current strike, the NFL players' just demands will continue to merit solidarity from other working people.

Do new papers confirm slanders against Trotsky?

BY DOUG JENNESS

Several months ago the *American Historical Review* published a report that a large quantity of papers of Leon Trotsky had been discovered at the Hoover Institute on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University.

Trotsky was a central leader of the October 1917 Russian revolution, of the Soviet government in its early

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

years, and of the Communist International during the time of V.I. Lenin.

Undoubtedly, much useful material will be found in these newly discovered files that will flesh out our knowledge of various aspects of Trotsky's life during his forced exile from the Soviet Union (1929–40). There is no sign, however, from the report in the *American Historical Review* that the material will alter what is already known about the communist leader's political views or activities during those years.

The discovery of these papers has stirred the interest of Herbert Aptheker, a Central Committee member of the U.S. Communist Party, who claims they do reveal something new. In a column for the *People's Daily World* shortly after the article in the historical journal appeared, he wrote, "the *American Historical Review* offers significant new information concerning Leon Trotsky."

He said the new documents show that Trotsky — who he asserts was forced to leave the USSR because of "counterrevolutionary activity" — sent to or received information clandestinely from the Soviet Union. They also show, he said, that Trotsky had direct contacts with sympathetic Soviet diplomats and trade officials abroad and received at least one report from a Soviet official on military matters.

But there is nothing new or politically suspicious about such information. Trotsky was among those Russian communists who refused to abandon Bolshevik-Leninist policies and as a result came into conflict with the growing domination of the bureaucratic caste headed by Joseph Stalin. He was exiled. Thousands of supporters inside the USSR were forced to conduct their activities underground, that is clandestinely.

Moreover, it isn't news that there were officials in the Soviet government who were sympathetic to Trotsky, and who shared information with him.

It isn't strange either that Trotsky should seek facts about the military. As the head of the Red Army when it defeated the invasion of Soviet Russia by capitalist forces shortly after the revolution, Trotsky continued to follow and write about military matters during his exile. He wrote from the standpoint of how best to defend the Soviet Union.

But Aptheker isn't really interested in all this, as shown by the concluding sentence of his column. "These few flashes of illumination," he wrote "suggest that a careful and full search of these papers would enrich historical knowledge concerning the key years between Trotsky's exile and Hitler's assault upon the USSR."

The insinuation is obvious and insidious — that the new papers may reveal that Trotsky, who Aptheker contends was engaged in "counterrevolutionary activity," obtained important information that was turned over to Nazi agents, aiding the German military invasion of the USSR in 1941.

This echoes the accusations leveled against Trotsky and other revolutionists during the Moscow Trials. Between 1936 and 1938 the Soviet regime headed by Stalin conducted four trials.

Among the accused and convicted were all the surviving members of the Communist Party's political bureau except Stalin, as well as principal representatives of the Communist International from Lenin's time.

What all the defendants in the trials held in common was their innocence of the charge that they had committed "criminal acts," including sabotage, assassination plots, and collaboration with imperialist agents against the Soviet state and its leaders. No documentation was ever presented substantiating the charges, except "confessions" of guilt. These "confessions," Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev confirmed in his speech to the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU in 1956, were fabricated "through the crudest kind of pressure . . . by physical means."

Since Khrushchev's speech condemning the purge trials, some of the victims have been rehabilitated posthumously — that is the government has admitted that they were not guilty of criminal acts.

The rehabilitation of the victims of the purge trials, including prominent leaders of the revolution such as Trotsky, Gregory Zinoviev, and Nikolai Bukharin, would make it more possible for communists throughout the world to objectively study the lessons that can be learned from the heritage of the Communist International in its early years. To take the "criminal" brand off these communists will make it possible to discuss their views more impartially and seriously.

Protesters fight to save rain forest in Oregon

BY PHIL CLARK

A significant battle is being waged in a southwestern Oregon rain forest. The conflict is over half a million acres of mostly coniferous trees — pine, spruce, fir, hemlock, and cedars, 28 species altogether.

The whole area is national forest, and the federal government has granted wilderness status to part of it. But one of the oldest, most impressive sectors, the 110,000-acre North Kalmiopsis, isn't protected by this

PROTECTING OUR ENVIRONMENT

status and has only the feeble "defense" of the U.S. Forest Service. Logging permits are being granted, access roads are being lengthened, and the sound of chain saws is loud in the air.

Environmentalists call for wilderness status protection for the entire area. The lumber lords, that is to say the giant timber companies, see the beauty of this primeval forest as so many dollars worth of saleable lumber. As in the Puerto Rican rain forest, the tropical El Yunque, the U.S. Forest Service is "neutral" — on the loggers' side.

The Earth First!, an environmental protest organization, and others are struggling to stop the logging of this virgin forest. Sometimes their protests bring them eyeball to eyeball with the loggers' bulldozers. Some forest de-

fenders have been arrested.

Jeremy Kaplan, a specialist in island biogeography (the islands being forest areas, sometimes surrounded by water, but including areas surrounded by agricultural, residential, or other contrasting habitats) explains:

"Too often old-growth forests are seen only in terms of board-feet per acre of timber and not considered ecosystems worth preserving for reasons other than immediate profit. In Oregon 25 million acres of old-growth forest have been logged and 500,000 acres remain. The majority of this forest is present as a single intact undisturbed roadless area which includes the northern part of the Kalmiopsis Wilderness.

"As an ecologist," Kaplan continues, "I am convinced that this entire area must remain undisturbed to serve both as a unique area for scientific inquiry and as a germ plasm reserve, a bank of genetic diversity for future generations."

Some readers may question the term "rain forest" to describe a northern woodland. But it is a matter of precipitation, not range of temperature that is definitive. Over 200 inches of rain falls annually on Kalmiopsis. And like the great tropical rain forests of the Amazon and Central Africa, these northern rain forests retain moisture, moderate climate, attract rainfall, and add to the oxygen and reduce the carbon dioxide in the earth's atmosphere.

The battle over Kalmiopsis and the Siskiyou mountain forests has been fought in courtrooms, legislative halls, and in the forest itself since 1946. Earth First! was invited into the fight by local environmentalists in 1983. It

brought with it a more militant spirit and tactics, as well as increased numbers.

Earth First! has principally organized demonstrations to educate the public and confrontations with the loggers to slow their progress and reverse their destructiveness.

Other Earth First! weapons have been organizing people to witness the logging, blockading and blockade support, camp-ins, and letter writing. The group also sponsors tree sitting. This is where protesters climb high into a tree and conduct a vigil for as long as 40 days.

Some Earth First! activists favor driving spikes into trees to halt saws. In one incident earlier this year a machine operator was seriously injured by flying steel. Ironically he was in sympathy — and remains so — with the opponents of logging. Earth First! publications say spiking is not the organization's policy, and the majority of the organization apparently don't support it.

The truth about this struggle should be gotten out around the country. It deserves all the support and publicity it can get.

(Kalmiopsis, incidentally, is named for an evergreen shrub of the heather family. *Kalmiopsis lechiana* is the only species of its genus and is endemic — or limited to — Oregon. It bears rose-purple flowers that resemble the related Mountain Laurel. The threats to Kalmiopsis habitat endanger this rather particular species.)

Phil Clark is the former editor of Horticulture magazine and a founder of Green Flag, a Chicago-based organization that links the struggle for environmental protection with the fight for social justice.

LETTERS

Bundle

I am on the Antioch University campus and would like to sell the *Militant* to students and workers here. Please send me five copies per week.

Your coverage of the Iran-Iraq war, especially regarding the U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf, has been exceptional, and I applaud you for that.

N.S.
Yellow Springs, Ohio

New Afrikan

First of all I would like to commend you and your staff on the wonderful job you've been doing. I have been reading the *Militant* for nearly two years thanks to your prisoner program and the many people who support it.

Yet, with all due respect, I was insulted by your reply to the reader's letter in the August 7 issue titled "Blacks."

"Black" is not a nationality. It is nothing but neocolonial branding by this imperialistic empire — a genocidal attempt to denationalize our nation.

Yes, we are a nation — a nation of New Afrikans. We were Afrikans in 1619 when they began barbarically enslaving our people, and because of the mixing of different Afrikan tribes and the 400 years of colonial repression we were forced to live under, we became New Afrikans.

A self-determined, independent, socialist nation, the Republic of New Afrika, was founded March 31, 1968. Anyone who calls himself/herself a Black is either a neocolonial agent of imperialism or just psychologically enslaved by the genocidal tactics of this capitalistic system of exploitation.

A prisoner
San Quentin, California

July 26 celebration

More than 60 people attended a celebration of the Cuban revolution in Denver August 2 to show support for the revolution and to learn more about Cuba.

A broad array of groups and activists contributed to insuring a turnout twice as large as the previous year's event.

Larry Mosqueda, an activist in the Central America Solidarity Association, explained that from the first days of the revolution the Cuban people have exercised far more participation and control in running their country than do

working people in the United States.

Chris Thurner, a political science graduate student, reported to the meeting on a recent trip he made to Cuba. Cubans enjoy a "degree of equality that never existed before in their country," he said. "Major gains in the struggle against racism and sexism" have been made.

"Cuban women are more confident than women in the United States," he noted. Their rights and equal opportunity are guaranteed by law.

Harry Neir, a local attorney who had participated in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in the early 1960s, denounced the U.S. government's ban on travel to Cuba.

The United States "is the only country in the world that bans its citizens from traveling to Cuba," Neir said.

The celebration heard remarks by Miguel Sánchez, a veteran of the preparations for the 1956 landing of the *Granma*, and concluded with two films about Cuba.

Mike Chamberlain
Denver, Colorado

'Unconfirmed news'

I have not received the *Militant* this week and I must inquire about it.

I listen to the 24-hour news station on the radio and CNN at least 16 hours a day. But if I don't read the *Militant*, I consider it all to be "unconfirmed news reports."

Please continue my one confirmed news source.

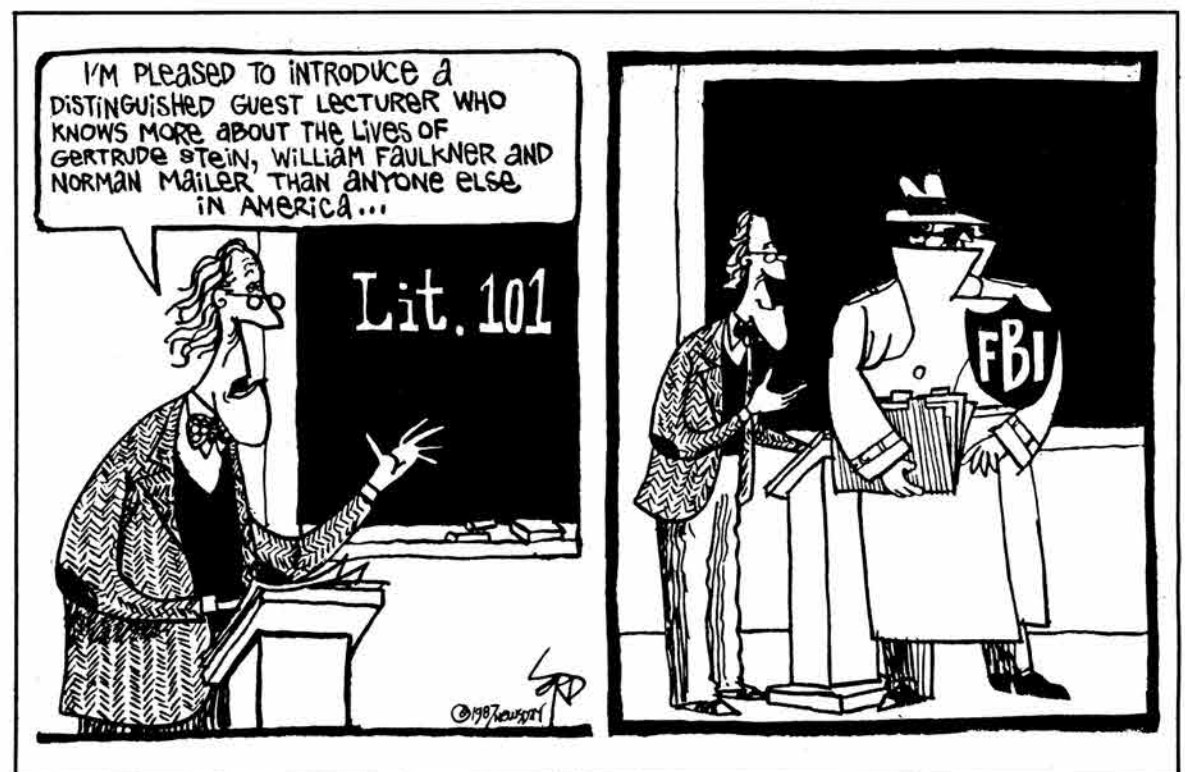
A prisoner
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Sugardale Foods

Four hundred meat-packers, members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 17-A voted unanimously on September 22 to adopt an eight-point "united, massive, militant campaign" against job losses at Sugardale Foods, Inc. in Canton, Ohio. The union had unilaterally suspended its media campaign against the company seven weeks earlier, but the company used this time to step up its attacks.

In a news conference following the union meeting, Local 17-A President Gary Feiock said, "We had a seven-week hiatus with regard to fighting for our jobs. Now we're back."

At the beginning of August, the



company announced plans to eliminate all ham production at the Sugardale plant, which would result in the loss of 85 to 120 jobs. On August 20 the company fired chief steward Gail Nohl because of his union activities. They also delayed certifying workers' compensation claims.

In nearby Massillon, 600 people were thrown out of work from a plant owned by the same parent company. Their work was transferred to the company's nonunion plant in Salem, Ohio, where wages and benefits are lower. The Massillon plant is now closed except for 10 maintenance workers.

The union's eight-point program to pressure the company through public leafletting and a march past the company president's home was popular among workers at the September 22 meeting.

One union member seemed to express the sentiment of all when he said, "We have to fight. You can see what happened when we laid back for seven weeks. Now we have to fight them again."

Marty Pettit
Cleveland, Ohio

Willson, death penalty

I read the article in the September 18 *Militant* on antiwar veteran Brian Willson. I saw the incident on TV. I saw the train take Brian Willson down the tracks. It was a terrible sight to see.

I thank the Lord for the good work that the *Militant* is doing by keeping the world informed on the

things that working people go through.

I also read the article on the death penalty. It was very touching to me because I have been there and I know the feelings. I am here in the Texas Department of Corrections right now doing a life sentence. Thanks to people like the *Militant*, I am off death row.

A prisoner
Huntsville, Texas

Atlanta killer cops

Two hundred angry Atlantans marched on city hall and police headquarters September 19 to protest the police murder of Eddie Lee Callahan, a 37-year-old Black Vietnam veteran.

Atlanta City Councilman Hosea Williams described the killing in the following words: "For two Atlanta policemen to shoot a man with hollow-point bullets, at point-blank range, once in the side and five times in the back, with him lying on the ground with his hands handcuffed behind his back, was nothing less than an execution."

More than a dozen residents of the Carver Homes community, where the murder was committed September 10, witnessed the crime. Five hundred residents poured out that night in protest, and their spontaneous demonstrations continued for a couple of days.

Charges have still not been brought against the two cops who shot Callahan. They have been

suspended, with pay, pending a police department investigation.

George Williams and Lucy Zetkin
Atlanta, Georgia

Puerto Rico

I'm writing concerning the Hartford 16 Puerto Rican political prisoners. I am myself Puerto Rican and am also a prisoner.

I understand many things these Puerto Ricans, my brothers and sisters, are going through for their own freedom as well as for Puerto Rico. They should be tried in Puerto Rico, where our people can understand what they are speaking against.

In 1899 Puerto Ricans owned 90 percent of their land, but by 1930 North American monopolies had taken over 65 percent of the land to produce sugar. From 1900 to 1930 U.S. monopolies extracted \$200 million in profits from our island.

The fight for independence from the U.S. is right for my people.

I feel that the Hartford 16 are speaking about freedom for our land and for our people, and I wish them good luck!

A prisoner
Stormville, New York

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.

Maine strikers reach out for support

International Paper stonewalls talks

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — The 1,200 paperworkers on strike here at International Paper Company's Androscoggin Mill are moving ahead with plans to take their battle against concessions and union-busting to unionists around the country. The workers, members of United Paperworkers International Union Local 14 and Firemen and Oilers Local 246, have been on strike since June 16, when the locals voted overwhelmingly to reject severe concessions.

This ambitious outreach campaign will be carried out "just the way it's been in Maine," Local 14 President Bill Meserve told more than 1,300 strikers and supporters on September 30 at the weekly union mass meeting. "We're going to talk with every conceivable international union, and we're doing this with the blessing of the [UPIU] International leadership."

The campaign includes sending delegations of UPIU strikers — "labor ambassadors" — to UPIU locals at other International Paper operations, to locals at other paper companies, and to other unions in the labor movement.

After weeks of refusing to negotiate, the company finally agreed to sit down with the union on September 29. The talks lasted exactly nine minutes.

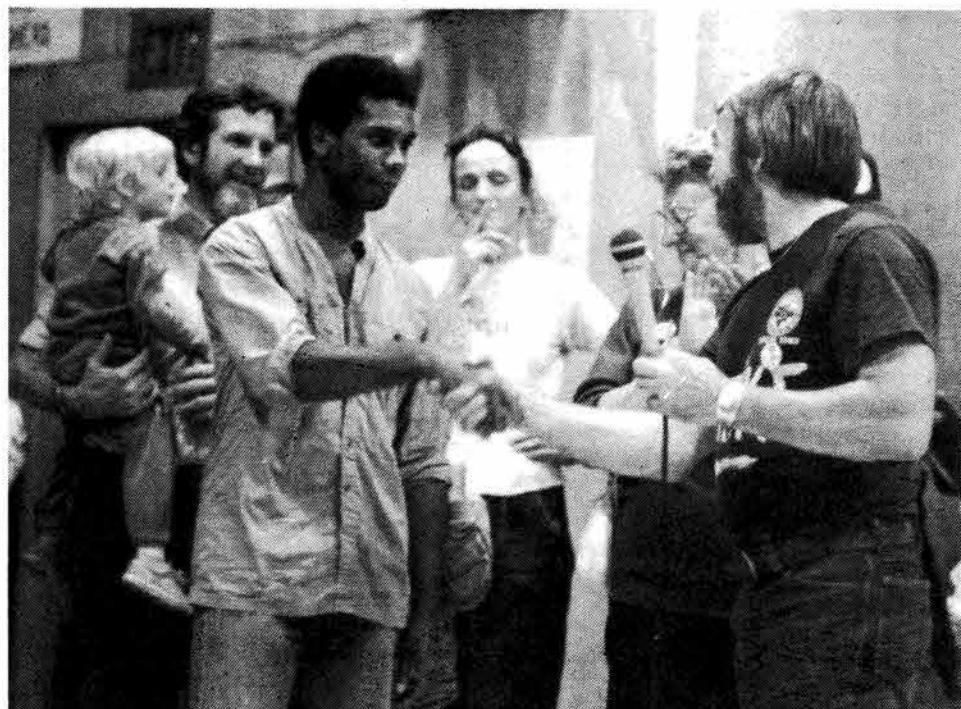
George Lambertson, a respected UPIU

staffer, told the September 30 meeting what happened. "We were prepared to negotiate," he said. After meeting with federal mediators, the union team waited more than an hour for the talks to begin. Finally, company mouthpiece K.C. Lavoie told the union that the more than 600 scabs hired by the company to break the strike were "permanent workers."

On this point, Lambertson said, there could be no negotiations. "There are no permanent replacements. We won't negotiate a contract with half [the workers] in and half out," he said to a roar of applause and chants of "scabs out, union in!"

International Paper is demanding major concessions in wages and work rules, including an end to premium pay for Sunday work and the implementation of a "team concept" productivity scheme. This plan, dubbed "Project: Productivity," would result in substantial job loss, speed-up, and weakening of union strength on the job.

The meeting cheered when Meserve reported that members of Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers Local 101 at IP's Gardiner, Oregon, mill had voted overwhelmingly to authorize a strike and join "the pool" — the coordinated bargaining effort by unions at International Paper mills. Local 14 plans to send a delegation to Gardiner.



Militant/Jon Hillson
Students from Brown University in Rhode Island greeted by UPIU Local 14 President Bill Meserve (with mike) at September 30 union meeting.

An even louder ovation greeted Meserve's announcement that IP workers in Menasha, Wisconsin, had voted to reject the company's last offer because "they've gotten nothing but suffering and dirt" from the richest and biggest paper company in the United States.

UPIU International Vice-president Jim Donato reported that in recent weeks, four locals at Georgia Pacific, another major paper producer, had voted strike authorizations.

Everyone listened with interest to a report from UPIU Local 80 at James River Corporation's mill in Old Town, Maine, which had just ratified a new contract by a wide margin. The new agreement contains modest increases in wages and benefits, and succeeds in backing the company off from its major takeback demands, which were similar to IP's. Workers at the meeting felt a similar agreement would pass easily in Jay.

The meeting closed with greetings from area unionists, who brought more than \$8,000 in donations. Included was a delegation of UAW members from Hartford, Connecticut, who have been on strike against Colt Industries for more than 20 months. They received a rousing standing ovation.

Students from Brown University and the University of Maine also pledged support.

For more information, contact: UPIU Local 14, Box 272, Jay, Maine 04239. Telephone (207) 897-5423.

Pa. paperworkers' strike holds firm

BY JOAN PALTRINERI AND STEVE CRAINE

LOCK HAVEN, Pa. — Shouts of "Union in, scabs out!" and blaring horns filled the air as 120 cars filled with strikers and their supporters wound their way past International Paper Co.'s Lock Haven plant on the evening of September 29.

The strikers — members of United Paperworkers International Union Local 1787 — along with family members and other supporters had just ended their weekly union information meeting, and spirits were high.

"This is one of the best things we have done in a while," one worker told us at a spontaneous rally following the end of the caravan. The workers recently began their fourth month on strike.

The Lock Haven mill is one of three International Paper facilities currently being struck by paperworkers trying to defend themselves against the company's takeback demands. Workers are locked out at a fourth mill, in Mobile, Alabama. Regular communication and solidarity between workers at the four plants in the coordinated negotiating "pool" is an important aspect of this fight.

The IP mill in Lock Haven, a town of less than 10,000, is one of the last plants in the area where workers can earn more than \$10 an hour.

Strike activists are quick to point out that although IP is one of the most profitable paper companies in the world, wages at Lock Haven are among the lowest in the industry.

"We don't deserve to be treated this way," said Charles "Smiley" Wilts, who has 39 years in the mill. "There's no question this is a union-busting thing. IP is bringing in scabs, bringing them hot lunches, and putting them up at the Quality Inn. They are spending more money on them than they would have had to spend to keep us in the plant."

Central to the company's attack here is its demand for the elimination of premium pay for Sunday and holiday work.

Most workers already work 39 Sundays a year. Ending time-and-a-half pay for Sundays would mean a substantial wage cut. The company also wants to operate the

mill year round, including on Christmas and other holidays.

Union ranks have remained solid since the strike began June 20, with only 26 of the 720 union members returning to work. However, the company has hired nearly 400 scabs as "replacement workers" and claims to have production almost up to pre-strike levels.

"We have learned a lot going through this strike," said Ken Fisher, one of the union committeemen. "You learn you have very few rights as a worker. They say you have the right to strike, but as soon as you do you find your job can be taken away."

"I hate to say it," he added, "but I think everyone should go through a strike — you learn a lot."

Linder tour reaches auto workers, miners

BY JIM GARRISON

ST. LOUIS, Mo. — During their tour here, John Linder and Tom Kruse participated in a lunchtime meeting organized by local union members who are planning a labor tour to Nicaragua.

John Linder's brother Benjamin, an engineer, was murdered by contras in April along with two Nicaraguan coworkers while they were working on a hydroelectric project in northern Nicaragua.

Kruse, who was a close friend of Benjamin Linder, is an architect who has volunteered to help construct housing projects in northern Nicaragua. Kruse and Linder were in St. Louis as part of the Benjamin Linder Peace Tour.

Those who attended the lunchtime gathering included auto workers, miners, a teacher from a nearby school district in Illinois, an organizer for the Illinois Education Association, and a journalist.

A miner asked what material aid Nicaraguan miners needed. Kruse explained that there was a shortage of equipment, particularly safety equipment. So the miners are looking for ways to collect miners' hats for the trip.

Linder and Kruse spoke to hundreds of other people while they were here September 10-13. A meeting of 150 was held

at the Hillel Center and 50 heard them at Washington University.

They spoke to a meeting of 200 at the St. Louis Ethical Society's meeting room on September 10. Linder presented a slideshow on the work his brother was doing to bring electricity to rural areas that never had electric power.

One slide showed Juan José de Castro, a veteran of the struggle against U.S. occupation of Nicaragua that was led by Augusto Sandino in the late 1920s and early 1930s. De Castro, a strong supporter of the revolution, took Benjamin Linder into his home while the hydroelectric projects were getting under way. "It's people like this who gave Ben the inspiration to do what he went there to do," John Linder said.

Kruse said that Linder was targeted for assassination because "the contras' military strategy is to frighten people away from defending the revolution."

BY BOB HILL AND JUDY STRANAHAN

PRICE, Utah — After a luncheon with Anne Wihbey, the Lady Miners of Utah — many of whom are currently on layoff — voted \$25 to help defray the costs of the Benjamin Linder Peace Tour. Wihbey also

met with the Coal Miners Political Action Committee of District 22 of the United Mine Workers of America.

Wihbey, a registered nurse and member of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, has worked in Nicaragua since January 1984 as a health educator in rural Catholic parishes. During the recent period she worked in the El Cuá area, where Benjamin Linder was organizing the construction of hydroelectric projects.

Wihbey has, herself, been victimized by the contras. She was kidnapped and held by a contra unit for four days in 1985.

"It was an American bullet that killed Ben Linder as are the bullets which kill innumerable Nicaraguans," she told a meeting of 45 at the Notre Dame Church in Price on September 15.

She said that her experiences in Nicaragua had convinced her that "this is the first government I've seen that has made an option for the poor." By contrast, she said, the contras targeted "anything that helps the people."

For information about setting up meetings for the Benjamin Linder Peace Tour, or helping the tour in other ways, contact the tour office at 2025 I Street NW, Suite 208A, Washington, D.C. 20006, (202) 331-7675.