

U.S. gov't escalates attack on Panama

BY FRED FELDMAN

Washington is tightening an economic noose around Panama in the escalating drive to bring down that country's government. Groundwork is being laid for possible U.S. military intervention in the guise of "liberating" Panamanians from the regime led by the army chief of staff, Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega.

The U.S. Southern Command acknowledged March 8 that military exercises in Panama, involving aerial assault and amphibious landing operations, had begun four days earlier. A one-month round of exercises is set to open March 12.

The U.S. government has 10,000 troops stationed in Panama.

Panamanian Maj. Daniel Delgado described the moves as "a measure of intimidation against the Panamanian people" that violated the 1977 Panama Canal Treaty. He warned that a U.S. invasion of Panama might be in the offing.

Coverage of events in Panama in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* has increasingly highlighted interviews with Panamanians who are quoted as calling on Washington to use troops to establish "democracy."

About 500 Panamanian unionists protested Washington's threats and actions at the U.S. embassy in Panama City March 7. They demanded that the U.S. military leave their country.

On the same day, opponents of Noriega within Panama announced agreement on "a government of national reconciliation" to replace him. The groups supporting the so-called government include business groups, capitalist political parties, and others who have backed Washington's drive to topple the government.

The coalition formally endorsed Eric Delvalle's claim to the presidency. Delvalle was removed from the presidency by the National Assembly after he attempted to dismiss Noriega as army chief of staff on

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Socialist Workers Party announces 1988 ticket Urges steps to defend workers, farmers

BY CINDY JAQUITH

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party announced its candidates for the 1988 U.S. presidential elections at a news conference here at the state campaign headquarters March 9.

James Mac Warren, a longtime activist in the labor and Black rights movement, is the SWP candidate for president. Kathleen Mickells, a West Virginia coal miner, is the vice-presidential candidate.

Joining them at the news conference were Doug Jenness, SWP national campaign director and editor of the *Militant*, and Rena Cacoullos, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Stock market crash

"The stock market crash last October signaled that a devastating world crisis is looming," Warren told reporters. "U.S. working people need to unite with fellow workers and farmers around the world, especially in those countries oppressed and exploited by the United States and other imperialist powers, to protect ourselves. The semicolonial countries are already suffering hunger, soaring infant mortality, and massive unemployment under the weight of their mammoth debt burden."

"In the United States, the crisis has brought devastation to the most impoverished sections of the working class — especially the Black community, immigrant workers, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans — many of whom have lost their homes, who can't find a job, who suffer a rise in diseases like tuberculosis and AIDS."

Warren said that the generalized social crisis that is coming will engulf working people as a whole, not only in the United States but in Canada, Western Europe, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. It will hit the colonial world even harder, which is already suffering its worst crisis since the 1930s.

"The SWP 1988 election campaign centers on how workers and farmers can de-



Tony Savino

James Mac Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president, and Kathleen Mickells, candidate for vice-president at March 9 New York news conference announcing their campaign. Biographies of candidates appear on page 5.

fend ourselves from the ravages of this crisis," he explained, outlining several key proposals the socialist candidates are raising.

Shorter workweek

"We urge the labor movement to fight to shorten the workweek for all workers, with no reduction in pay," he said. "Along with this we propose affirmative action in hiring for victims of race and sex discrimination."

"We call on labor to fight against farm foreclosures and to demand that the gov-

ernment guarantee all working farmers the use of the land they rent or hold title to for as long as they continue farming, without fear of eviction. Farmers should be provided government-financed, cheap credit," he said.

"We urge U.S. unions to unite with fellow workers in Latin America, Asia, and Africa in demanding cancellation of the foreign debt; an end to all protectionism in imperialist countries; and a halt to dumping of low-priced goods on the world market."

Vice-presidential candidate Mickells said the socialist campaign "opposes the increased use of U.S. military force around the world, from the Persian Gulf to Central America to southern Africa."

She singled out the escalating drive by the Democrats and Republicans to oust the government of Panama. "This is an outrageous violation of that country's sovereignty and independence," she said. "We say hands off Panama!"

"We also demand that all border restrictions be lifted so that workers can travel freely from one country to another to work and to meet with other workers."

Unifying the working class

One reporter asked the candidates what section of the working class they would appeal to, and where the fight for the shorter workweek fits in.

"We're appealing to the working class as a whole," said Warren. "No worker in our society has guaranteed job security. We are all temporary workers. And this will become clearer to millions as the crisis deepens. We appeal to those workers who are employed," he continued, "including those subjected to involuntary overtime or part-time work — and those who have been denied the right to employment, including the two generations of Blacks who have never been able to get a job."

"It's impossible to defend the interests of the working class as a whole without defending the interests of those who are the most oppressed and exploited. This is why,

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Next steps in fight to force governor to prosecute Brawley's attackers

BY SAM MANUEL

NEW YORK — The struggle to bring to justice those responsible for the brutal assault on a Black high school student, Tawana Brawley, in upstate New York is at a crucial turning point.

The momentum toward forcing state officials to investigate, prosecute, and convict Brawley's attackers is being undermined and is in danger of being reversed. A concerted effort, including mass public protest actions, is needed to force Gov. Mario Cuomo and State Attorney General Robert Abrams to move forward rapidly with the prosecution of this case.

On Nov. 24, 1987, Brawley, a Black 15-year-old, was abducted, beaten, raped, and sodomized by six white men. One of the men had what appeared to be a badge and told Brawley he was a cop.

Brawley was found four days later, partially naked and wrapped inside a plastic bag. Patches of her hair had been pulled and cut from her head. She had been rubbed with excrement. The word "nigger" had been written on her stomach and the letters "KKK" across her chest.

From the start, police and government

officials have shown no interest in seriously investigating the attack on Brawley. It's taken protests and a major effort to publicize the case throughout the state and the country in order to force state officials to do anything at all.

The first battle was to get the case taken out of the hands of local officials, who could not be trusted to prosecute the case. It was necessary to get Cuomo to appoint a special prosecutor, which would make the governor directly responsible for bringing the attackers to justice.

Cuomo appointed New York State Attorney General Abrams as special prosecutor only after both the Dutchess County district attorney and a court-appointed local prosecutor successively removed themselves from the case due to "conflict of interest" in their offices.

The appointment of Abrams as the special prosecutor by Cuomo represented an important victory. It placed the authority of two of the state's highest elected officials, the governor and attorney general, on the line in this case.

When Abrams handed over the day-to-day responsibilities for the case to an assis-

stant, the Brawley family's lawyers, Alton Maddox and C. Vernon Mason, advised the Brawley family to refuse to cooperate with the investigation. A short-lived agreement to cooperate with the investigation was reached when Cuomo assured Maddox and Mason that Abrams would be directly involved in the case. This broke down after Abrams refused to give similar assurances in a subsequent meeting held on February 17.

Since then the case has remained in a deadlock. Mason and Maddox have demanded the removal of Abrams and the dissolution of a grand jury impaneled to hear testimony. Cuomo has refused.

Many prominent figures in the struggle for Black rights in the city have expressed concern that momentum won toward investigating the case is being lost.

Maddox and Mason are letting Cuomo and Abrams off the hook by escalating their demands on the governor. The key question in this case is not whether Abrams or another member of his staff does the day-to-day work. Whoever Cuomo appoints will represent the interests of the ruling rich who run New York State. No matter who

Brawley case: fight for justice

Continued from front page

they are they will have to be forced by visible protests involving large numbers of people to prosecute, convict, and jail Brawley's attackers.

The approach of arguing with Cuomo over who should carry out the prosecution — instead of demanding that Cuomo and Abrams get cracking and start doing something — demobilizes those unionists, Blacks, Latinos, women, and students who are ready and willing to march, rally, and picket to demand justice for Tawana Brawley.

Some will be taken in by Cuomo's plea that he would like to do something, but that his hands are tied by Maddox and Mason. The governor is using Mason's and Maddox's stance to deflect criticism of the government's failure thus far to conduct a serious investigation.

Prosecution needed

Some activists in the fight for Black rights have raised proposals aimed at getting beyond this stalemate.

The most constructive proposal has come from State Assemblyman Roger Green, who is also chairperson of the legislature's Black and Puerto Rican caucus. At a March 5 press conference Green was joined by State Sen. David Paterson, U.S. Rep. Major Owens, and James Bell, a leader of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

They proposed that "the Governor and the Attorney General appoint a Deputy Attorney General who would serve as a continuing special prosecutor in the Tawana Brawley case and other cases of racial or social violence."

They explained that the aim of their proposal is to "resolve the current tensions surrounding the Tawana Brawley case," to "secure immediate justice," and to allow Brawley and her lawyers to "cooperate with an experienced Deputy Attorney General in charge of all trial assigned to the Brawley case."

The proposal by Green and Paterson, if accepted, could break through the logjam and open the door to mobilizing the widespread sentiment that exists for bringing Brawley's attackers to justice.

Lessons of Howard Beach

The potential for mobilizing support for justice for Brawley has been greatly increased by the victory won against racist violence in Howard Beach. The broader lessons of that struggle are important today.

On Dec. 19, 1986, three Blacks were attacked by a mob of white youths in Howard Beach, Queens, a mostly white section of New York City. One of the Blacks was killed.

When the Queens County district attorney attempted to stonewall the prosecution of the case, massive protests forced Gov. Mario Cuomo to appoint a special prosecutor. These protests reflected widespread opposition to racist violence and

forced the authorities to prosecute, and convict, three of the racist thugs involved in the attack. In January and February they were given stiff sentences.

The Brawley case poses the question of whether or not the pattern in the fight against racist violence in New York will be the successful Howard Beach prosecution.

Getting Abrams appointed special prosecutor in the Brawley case is a good start down the Howard Beach road. But Mason's and Maddox's refusal to take the next step — demanding a speedy investigation and trial — threatens to undo what's been gained.

Danger of cop informant

Maddox and Mason are also making a grave error in allowing admitted cop informant Al Sharpton to assume the role of spokesperson for the Brawleys.

In January Sharpton admitted providing information to the FBI with the aim of incriminating two Democratic elected officials who are Black.

Sharpton has played a provocative and reckless role in the Brawley case. He has challenged the authorities to arrest the Brawleys in light of their decision not to cooperate with the state investigation and has absurdly equated Cuomo and Abrams with Adolf Hitler.

Assemblyman Green sharply attacked Sharpton's actions, stating, "I strongly believe that the struggle for justice is being

undermined by tactics and language that only serves to divide, as opposed to unite, the nonracist majority of our state." Sharpton's actions have "failed to enhance coalition in the state," Green said.

On Sharpton's role in the Black rights movement, Green commented, "One cannot be an agent for the FBI and be an agent for social change."

Smears Irish freedom struggle

In an escalation of his provocative role, Sharpton charged on March 6 that those who assaulted Brawley are linked to a "racist cult" that practiced rituals similar to those he claimed were done by the Irish Republican Army (IRA). He stopped short of saying Brawley's attackers were members of the IRA.

Peter King, chairperson of the Committee for Justice in Northern Ireland, immediately condemned Sharpton's remarks. King said in a telegram to Sharpton, "Rather than working together in a common cause, you are dividing white from Black by your bigotry and recklessness."

"Sharpton has outdone even the British in the slandering of the IRA," commented Martin Galvin, a spokesperson for the Irish Northern Aid Committee.

Sharpton and his disruptive actions should be rejected by all those who fight for social justice. They are an obstacle to the fight for justice for Tawana Brawley.

The main lesson of Howard Beach is that the struggle for Black rights does not begin



Tawana Brawley

with the courts. An effective fight starts with the necessity to build the broadest unity in action to force the cops, government officials, and judges to prosecute, convict, and severely punish those who would beat, kill, or rape someone simply because their skin is Black. That's the task we face today in the case of Tawana Brawley.

What paperworkers say about 'Militant'

BY MARK EMANATION

JAY, Maine — Last fall, about 90 people here purchased an introductory subscription to the *Militant*. Most are strikers locked in an important battle against International Paper Co.'s takeback drive.

Thirty more subscriptions were sold to strikers and other unionists who participated in a paperworkers' caravan across Massachusetts in February.

Supporters of the *Militant* from Boston have begun a campaign to get in touch with the unionists and their supporters about renewing their subscriptions.

The *Militant* has carried consistent coverage of the fight against the giant paper company's concession demands, which is being waged by paperworkers in Jay; Lock Haven, Pennsylvania; De Pere, Wisconsin; and Mobile, Alabama.

The renewal effort is providing us with an opportunity to see what these workers think of the *Militant*. A few of us went to Jay the last weekend in February.

We spoke to 18 subscribers during the two days we were there. Fifteen were strikers.

One of the two people who said outright that they didn't like the paper was a retiree. He also indicated that he had big questions about the strike. At first he had supported it. Now, after nine months, he said both sides were wrong.

The other person said the *Militant* "didn't belong in the house" because it was a socialist newspaper.

The biggest percentage of people enjoyed the paper for its coverage of the strike, but either didn't read the rest of the coverage or didn't like it very much. Some only liked articles on the union movement in the United States, not on struggles about workers in other countries.

Most of the people in this category noted that the *Militant* has told the truth about their strike. "It's how I find out about other paper strikes," one reader said. "I liked the article about the women in the strike," said another unionist.

Two people mentioned that they also enjoyed the articles on the United Mine Workers union.

Another said that the *Militant* was a little "strike happy."

Five people we talked to really liked the *Militant*. Three of them commented on how much they enjoy the reports from Nicaragua and how these articles have helped open their eyes to the criminal role the U.S. government plays in Central America.

Another person said he especially liked the *Militant* letters column, the "Great Society" column, and the "Learning About Socialism" feature.

A leading activist during the recent union caravan told us he reads the paper cover to cover every week.

These unionists also expressed a range of opinions on where the strike against International Paper is at. They were impressed with the solidarity they had received from working people around the country. Most were convinced that they will eventually win the strike. A few told us that the battle against this company had changed how they look at the world.

What were the results?

Two people had already sent in their renewals. Four more agreed to resubscribe. One man said his mother had just bought a subscription and that he would read hers. But he bought an introductory subscription for an official of the pipefitters' local.

Others indicated they would buy a single copy from time to time or that they had money problems and couldn't think about a subscription until the strike was over.

One man had found a new job in a paper mill 50 miles from Jay. He takes the *Militant* in to work every week and shows it around. He said he'd like to resubscribe but might have to send in weekly payments.

Gratified by the results of this visit, *Militant* distributors from Boston are planning to send regular teams up to Jay to talk with all of our readers there.

The Militant tells the truth — Subscribe today!

"The *Militant* to me is a true and powerful voice for social justice; and when read, strengthens one's own convictions to fight on."

—Chuck Fullerton

Recording secretary, Int'l Brotherhood of Fireman and Oilers Local 246, Jay, Maine.

Subscription running out? Renew now.

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Virginia miners' rally blasts attack by Pittston Coal

BY KATHLEEN MICKELLS

LEBANON, Va. — The heat was turned up on Pittston Coal Group as 3,000 miners, their families, and pensioners rallied here March 6 at the high school gym.

The protesters had come from mining areas in West Virginia, Kentucky, and Virginia to demand that this obstinate coal operator negotiate a contract with the union.

A group of students from Georgetown University also attended.

Pittston has its corporate headquarters here.

On January 31, the contract between the company and the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) expired. Pittston has refused to sign an agreement modeled along the lines of the contract the union recently signed with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA).

The company has also refused to pay pension and health benefits to retirees since the contract expired. In another provocative move, Pittston has hired a union-busting outfit called Vance Securities.

The miners have remained on the job in the meantime.

Pittston dropped out of the BCOA in 1987, claiming it "couldn't make it with the contract the other companies had," UMWA President Richard Trumka told the rally.

UMWA Vice-president Cecil Roberts also spoke. Roberts heads up the union's negotiations with Pittston.

"It's taken 16 bargaining sessions to get them to admit that Pittston Co. and Pittston Coal are the same group," Trumka said. "It's like pulling teeth out of a chicken. They come to the table with 'no authority.'"

"As late as Thursday," Trumka continued, "Cecil [Roberts] asked them what their goals are in bargaining. They answered, 'We don't know.' He asked them what their needs are. They answered, 'We don't know.' He asked them what they wanted to end up with, and they answered, 'We don't know.'"

Miners know the company "is betting on busting the United Mine Workers," Trumka said. "But they'll lose, they'll lose!" he

exclaimed to cheers and applause.

Tremendous applause again shook the high school auditorium when Roberts asked the Pittston pensioners to stand up. Roberts focused on the role these former miners had played in building the union.

"How are we going to win this struggle?" he asked. "Same thing that won at Ludlow, Blair Mountain, Cabin, and Paint Creek — that's solidarity. Solidarity is the foundation the house of labor's built on," he said.

Miners talked among themselves through the day about how to win a contract and defend the union.

"We need more rallies like this," and "We should strike, that's our power," were among the statements heard in the corridor.

"This has been great," Jerry Johnson, a selective strike coordinator at Clinchfield Coal Co., a Pittston subsidiary, said. "Not only the rally, but all us miners being able to come together and talk. This is really the



Militant/Kathleen Mickells

Miners, retirees, and their supporters came to rally from three states to demand Pittston restore pension benefits and negotiate with coal union.

first time all of us rank-and-file miners from Pittston have gotten together," he said.

The tactic of continuing to work without a contract was also much discussed by miners.

"One thing it's done is made the miners angry. Without a contract and working, they begin to see what it would be like to be

nonunion," a miner said. In the next breath he added, "We are being forced out. We should fight. You can keep this up for maybe a month or so but not much longer."

Miners and their supporters were buoyed by the rally, and a discussion was initiated about how to move forward.

Cincinnati action backs GE strikers

BY VALERIE LIBBY AND OVE ASPOY

CINCINNATI — In a militant show of determination to fight the General Electric Co., 3,500 trade unionists and their families rallied here February 27. The action was called to support workers who struck the GE jet engine plant here on February 16.

The strike was provoked by GE management when it announced plans to unilaterally rip open contracts with United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 647 and International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodge 912 to institute sweeping job changes. The company proposal would consolidate 84 jobs into 32. Strike sentiment was also fueled by a January layoff of 325 workers while millions of dollars of work are still being sub-contracted out.

Two days into the strike, two smaller IAM lodges, Firefighters Lodge 789 and Boilermakers Lodge 162, joined the strike.

The rally was called by the Cincinnati AFL-CIO Labor Council, Cincinnati Building Trades Council, IAM District 34, Teamsters Joint Council 26, and UAW CAP council.

GE moved quickly to get an injunction against the mass picketing within hours after the 7,000 strikers shut down the sprawling jet engine plant.

Hamilton County Judge Robert Ruehlman issued an order to limit pickets to four at two main gates and two each at all other gates.

While union pickets were accused of violence by GE attorneys, the first real violence occurred when a delivery truck sped up and drove into union pickets who had locked arms across one of the main gates a few hours after the strike began. Three union members were sent to the hospital. Fortunately, all were released that afternoon.

Ruehlman's court order opened the door to widespread police harassment of union pickets. Some have been arrested, wrestled to the ground and handcuffed, and beaten by local cops.

Later in the week, union leafleting teams publicizing the strike support rally at other plant gates were harassed and prevented from distributing leaflets by the same cops.

The solidarity between the two large unions during the strike has kept the morale of the strikers high. Al O'Connor, president of IAM Lodge 912, was cheered when he spoke: "We are together, and we're

going to stay together." Machinist union members know that if GE can force job consolidation on the UAW production workers, the company will come after them with a "Mastercraft" scheme to radically eliminate the number of skilled trades categories.

Ed Marshall, a member of Auto Workers Local 647, spoke, explaining how the job consolidation plan will affect workers: "I'm 47 and a second-generation GE worker. I've worked there for 20 years and worked my way up to being an NC lathe operator. They want to add seven more jobs to my classification. I'm here to say you can't have any kind of quality with that."

The crowd packed and overflowed the UAW Local 647 hall. Hundreds listened to the rally through speakers outside the building. The crowd was predominantly composed of striking members of the auto and machinists' unions and their families, but hundreds of other unionists were there.

A dozen UAW members from the Dayton, Ohio, Delco plant attended along with a busload of Columbus, Ohio, auto union members. More than 40 members of Sheet-metal Workers Local 571, which organizes a GE refrigerator plant of 1,500 workers in Cicero, Illinois, attended the rally. Members of dozens of Cincinnati union locals participated.

Libby is a member of UAW Local 647, and Aspy is a member of IAM Lodge 912.

International Paper tries to hide new leak at Maine mill

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — Cover-up efforts by International Paper Co. officials have failed to conceal a February 28 leak of hydrogen sulfide gas at the IP paper mill here, which exposed nine scabs who work in the mill to deadly fumes.

IP's latest victims were on a roof at the company's Androscoggin mill here when the lethal "sewer gas" was ventilated. One scab was treated with oxygen, another taken to a nearby hospital.

This was the third chemical accident at the mill in 23 days. The most serious occurred February 5, when a massive chlorine dioxide gas leak caused the nearby town of Jay to be evacuated.

IP denies the February 28 leak occurred. Nevertheless, the story broke into the media here March 2, after reporters had been alerted to the danger by United Paperworkers International Union Local 14. Some 1,250 Local 14 and Firemen and Oilers Local 246 members have been on strike at the mill since last June. The strikers have scanners that monitor the plant, and also receive information from inside the mill.

When asked about several scabs who had left the mill with symptoms of hydrogen sulfide exposure, a company spokesperson said, "They might have had a bad lunch, as far as I know."

For the past month, Local 14 has demanded that the mill be shut as a safety hazard, and reopened by returning the strikers to their jobs.

Protests organized by Jay community

groups, such as Citizens Against Poisons, are supporting this call. On February 13 CAP mobilized more than 300 people at the mill gate. Almost half were high school students who, along with mothers from the area, chanted, "We want fresh air, shut that mill."

Two days later, 10 percent of Jay's public school students, from grade school through high school, accompanied their parents to the state capitol in Augusta to demand that Gov. John McKernan shut the mill.

Jay's town council and school committee have called for closing the mill until it can be run safely.

The community protests demanding that the mill be shut enjoy the full support of the strikers. However, the locals as such have officially discouraged their members from participating in the protests.

AFL-CIO field organizer Pete Kellman explained to the 1,000 strikers, family members, and supporters attending the February 17 weekly union/family meeting here that, in his view, not participating in the protests was a way to protect the paperworkers against fines for violating the longstanding injunction that limits picketing at the mill gates.

In describing the most recent leak and the unions' efforts to inform the town of Jay and the media about it, Local 14 President Bill Meserve told the 800 strikers and others present at the March 2 union/family meeting that the safety situation in the mill "is not getting better, it's getting worse."

Call issued for June peace protest

BY FRED FELDMAN

A call has been issued for nationwide mass participation in June 11 demonstrations to be held in New York City and San Francisco against nuclear weapons and U.S. intervention around the world. The actions have been called by the National Coalition in Support of the Third United Nations Special Session on Disarmament, which has already won the support of scores of organizations.

The coalition has adopted four themes for the demonstrations, according to national coordinator Leslie Cagan. They are: the complete elimination of nuclear and biochemical weapons by the year 2000; substantial steps toward general and complete conventional disarmament; support of national self-determination and nonintervention between nation-states; and reduction of global military spending and the transfer of funds to development purposes, and the promotion of a new international economic order.

"As U.S. citizens," the call to action issued by the coalition declares, "we direct

our message especially to the U.S. government."

"To eliminate war and its tools, both nuclear and conventional," the statement explains, "we must eliminate its causes. . . . U.S. military intervention in support of forces hostile to social and economic justice in Central America, Southern Africa, the Middle East, and the Asia-Pacific regions provokes, prolongs, and widens war in those areas," increasing the danger of nuclear war.

Other activities include an international conference composed of delegates from peace, disarmament, solidarity, and liberation movements in June. Church-based organizations will hold daily vigils at the UN.

Non-violent civil disobedience is being organized to protest the U.S. Navy's plan to establish a homeport on Staten Island capable of servicing nuclear-powered or nuclear-armed warships.

As part of building support for the June 11 events, San Francisco antiwar forces have called for an April 30 demonstration there.

Socialists announce 1988 candidates

Continued from front page

alongside the demand for a shorter workweek, we raise the need for a fight for affirmative action."

He pointed out that the socialist campaign's proposals are aimed at unifying the working class, and noted that the biggest division within the class is between the employed and the unemployed.

"If we win the shorter workweek, it will result in the bosses being forced to hire more workers," he said. "It will spread the available work around. As part of this the labor movement will fight against the imposition of overtime, which excludes millions of workers from holding jobs while driving those who are employed into an early grave."

The fight to make the shorter workweek law is a political demand, he stressed. "We don't present it as a union contract question, but as social legislation the government should adopt in defense of working people as a whole."

A reporter with the television network TVE from Spain asked Warren to comment on the divisions between Blacks and whites in U.S. society.

"As the capitalist crisis deepens," Warren replied, "millions of Black workers and millions of white workers are going to begin to see that they have the same class enemy and the same class interests. More white workers will be won to the perspective of defending Black rights."

"Today, it's more possible to unite Black, white, and Spanish-speaking workers than at any other time in the history of this country, on the basis of defense of our interests as a class."

Internationalist policy

"What will your foreign policy be?" asked another reporter.

"The working class is an international

class," explained Mickells. "The interests of workers around the world are the interests of workers here in the United States. We are all exploited. That is the foundation of the internationalist policy we put forward."

"We think the labor movement should support the struggle of the Palestinian people and the demand for a democratic and secular Palestine. We should press for massive reconstruction aid to Nicaragua, not funds for the contras; for an end to the embargo against Cuba and for normalizing relations with that country."

"The U.S. government's foreign policy is one thing and one thing only — defense of the 'right' of the owners of the mines, mills, and banks to exploit the labor of the vast majority of humanity. We have no stake in this policy. This government doesn't represent us; it doesn't represent the interests of our class. We're for a workers' and farmers' government in the United States."

Democratic rights

The SWP is internationally known for its defense of democratic rights and in particular, its groundbreaking lawsuit against FBI spying.

In 1986 federal judge Thomas Griesa ruled on that suit and found the FBI guilty of massive violations of SWP members' constitutional rights through burglaries, electronic surveillance, use of informers, and other crimes. He ordered U.S. government spy agencies to cease all use of their illegally obtained files on SWP members and supporters. The government is now appealing the decision. Warren and Mickells told reporters they would fight to defend the judge's decision, which helped strengthen the democratic rights of all working people.

"Our suit has played a big role in exposing how the FBI has disrupted political groups, how it utilized agents provocateurs to destroy organizations in the Black community," said Warren. "We've carried out a 15-year battle against the federal government's spies. We've won a round. Now we are calling on everyone to join us in fighting the government's attempt to appeal."

In response to questions by a reporter from the Canadian Broadcasting Corp., Warren described how he was personally victimized last September by agencies of both the U.S. and Canadian governments.

He was stopped at the Dorval Airport in Montreal by Canadian and U.S. immigration agents and harassed because he is Black and a socialist. They went through his personal papers, strip-searched him, and denied him the right to enter Canada.

A broad campaign by the Political Rights Defense Fund in both Canada and the United States is protesting this blatant victimization. Warren told reporters that he will travel to Montreal again next week to join an antiracist demonstration there condemning the acquittal of a Canadian cop for murdering a Black youth.

Warren compared this racist killing to attacks on Blacks in the United States. In response to a question from one reporter about the kidnapping and rape of Tawana Brawley, a 15-year-old Black woman in upstate New York, he called for pressing Gov. Mario Cuomo and State Attorney General Robert Abrams "to immediately bring to justice those who carried out this violence against Sister Brawley. We call on all supporters of Black rights to mobilize in the broadest possible public actions to force the state authorities to arrest, try, convict, and jail her attackers."

The socialist campaign is also speaking out in defense of the rights of workers in other countries. The day before the news conference, Warren sent a telegram to Joaquín Balaguer, president of the Dominican Republic, to demand the release of Esteban Díaz Jaques, general secretary of the Dominican Workers Party, arrested in that country. (See news story on page 16.)

Warren will be participating in Washington, D.C., in a demonstration in solidarity with the Palestinian struggle on March 13. He will also attend the national convention of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee in Arlington, Virginia.



Tony Savino

Rena Cacoullos, national secretary of Young Socialist Alliance. Campaigning for Socialist Workers Party ticket will be central focus of youth group's activity.

Campaign director Doug Jenness announced that the SWP will seek ballot status in 20 states. Because it is a working-class party, it is denied automatic access to the ballot and is forced to collect massive numbers of signatures, pay high fees, and meet other undemocratic requirements.

Jenness said the socialists will begin petitioning for signatures in Utah and New Jersey in the next couple of weeks. Mickells is flying to Utah to help launch the ballot effort there. She will also attend a rally in Sheridan, Wyoming, for striking coal miners on March 12.

In those states where the socialists meet petitioning requirements "we will still have to fight for our right to get on the ballot," said Jenness. "Nothing's guaranteed. We'll have to fight for each state."

Jenness added that the SWP will also be fielding several dozen candidates for Congress, U.S. Senate, and governor who will help get out the ideas and proposals of the socialist campaign.

Winning youth to campaign

Rena Cacoullos, national secretary of the YSA, said "campaigning for Warren and Mickells will be the principal activity of the YSA from today until November."

"The shock waves of the October stock market crash are creating greater insecurity among young workers and students about their prospects under capitalism. Will there be jobs for us? Will there be opportunities for education? Will there be any future for us? Will we be cannon fodder, sent to fight wars against our brothers and sisters in Latin America, Asia, Africa, or the Middle East?"

"Young people in the factories and schools are looking for ways to defend ourselves. We think we can win many of them to

socialism during this campaign. We in the YSA are proud that the first national campaign rally for Warren and Mickells will be held April 2 at the national youth conference sponsored by the YSA in Pittsburgh."

Cacoullos reported that a team of YSA supporters will hit the road right away to publicize the rally and conference at mine portals, plant gates, and on high school and college campuses in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia.

Warren and Mickells will travel throughout the United States as well as internationally in the coming months, said Jenness. "We also plan to get workers involved in struggles in other countries to come here and share the platform with us."

Volunteers needed

- ☐ Send me more information on the Socialist Workers 1988 National Campaign.
- ☐ I want to help distribute literature and organize meetings for the campaign.
- ☐ I endorse the Socialist Workers 1988 presidential ticket.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Organization _____
Phone _____

Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers 1988 National Campaign, 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone: (212) 226-8474, 334-1110.

Immigration cops raid Iowa factory

BY ELLEN WHITT

DES MOINES, Iowa — Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) cops and other federal agents raided the Swift packinghouse here March 1, arresting 17 Latino workers.

All 17 are charged with felonies for allegedly using false social security cards or other identification before or during the government's so-called "amnesty program" for undocumented workers.

At least five of these workers had actually applied for amnesty before their arrests and were given work permits by the INS.

Latino leaders here say the arrests for alleged use of false social security numbers are the first on this scale to be applied during the amnesty program.

The arrests were the result of a joint investigation conducted by the INS and the Office of the Inspector General for Health and Human Services.

Following the raid, family members and friends immediately gathered outside the jail demanding the men's freedom. But they were not allowed to speak with them.

The arrested meat-packers have since

been moved to various Iowa County jails pending their April 4 trial.

In response, leaders of the Latino community, as well as lawyers for the workers, organized public meetings attended by some 100 people in the Des Moines area. At one meeting, family members and other Swift workers confronted James Cole, district director of the Iowa-Nebraska INS office. They pointed out to Cole that most immigrant workers are forced to use invalid documents in order to work and feed their families. They also explained that the amnesty program is a hoax if these workers are later prosecuted.

Cole responded, "The only ones who will be prosecuted are those who are caught."

A March 12 protest has been called to "focus public attention on government actions against Hispanics at the Swift factory in Des Moines."

Ellen Whitt is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431 at the Swift plant in Des Moines.

Baltimore

Socialist campaign rally & educational conference

Sat., March 19

Educational conference

The World Economic & Political Situation 11 a.m.

Jack Barnes, Socialist Workers Party national secretary.

Meeting of Activist Youth 3 p.m.

Discussion of building Socialist Youth and Activists Conference, a national gathering April 2 & 3 in Pittsburgh.

Campaign rally

7 p.m., reception at 6

Rashaad Ali, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Md.

Sasha Musa, Young Socialist Alliance, high school student.

Cindy Trump, participant in recent construction brigade to Nicaragua.

George Lach, delegate to Baltimore Central Labor Council.

All events held at

Morgan State Univ.

Jenkins Hall Rm 109

Cold Spring & Hillen roads

Donation: \$3 per event or \$5 for entire day. Sponsored by Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign Committee and Morgan State University Department of Philosophy. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

Socialists field working-class ticket

James Mac Warren for U.S. president

James Mac Warren, 36 years old, is a central leader of the Socialist Workers Party and a longtime activist in the Black rights and labor movements.

Warren was born and grew up in Memphis, Tennessee. He was one of 12 children. His father, who was a rail and timber worker, retired after a disabling accident. His mother worked as a domestic servant.

As a youth Warren worked as a field laborer on Arkansas cotton, corn, and soybean farms.

Growing up in the 1950s and '60s, Warren was deeply affected by the civil rights movement, which overturned Jim Crow segregation in the South.

Becoming politically active for the first time in high school, Warren was involved in a successful petition campaign to force his neighborhood YMCA to open its doors to his neighbors.

In 1968 Warren and other students at Hamilton High School shut down their school several times in support of Memphis' striking sanitation workers. The sanitation workers, almost all of whom were Black, conducted a militant strike for union recognition and against racist treatment at the hands of the city government. Their action won the support of Memphis' Black community and drew nationwide attention as a major civil rights and labor battle.

Warren participated in the massive pro-

tests that took place throughout the country following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968 in Memphis. The civil rights leader had been in that city to lend his support to the striking sanitation workers.

The U.S. war against Vietnam also had a big impact on Warren's political development. With Black soldiers suffering a disproportionate percentage of casualties during the war, he saw many of the young men from his own neighborhood return from Vietnam maimed or in body bags.

After graduating from high school in 1970, Warren moved to Grand Rapids, Michigan, where he worked for a radical newspaper, *The Root*, and became active in the movement against the Vietnam War.

Young Socialist Alliance

After joining the Young Socialist Alliance, Warren moved to Atlanta in 1972 where he joined the Socialist Workers Party.

In Atlanta, Warren became active in the movement against police brutality. Responding to the deaths of nearly two dozen young Blacks in a span of 18 months at the hands of Atlanta city cops, a coalition of forces in the Black community there mobilized to demand the resignation of the police chief and an end to racist cop abuse.

In 1975 Warren went to Boston at the request of the National Student Coalition

Against Racism to join in the battle to enforce desegregation of the Boston public schools. Ordered by Judge Arthur Garrity to begin in the fall of 1974, the desegregation order met massive, violent resistance from racist forces in that city. As a leader of the student coalition, Warren helped organize several large pro-desegregation demonstrations and other activities, which were key in turning the tide against the segregationists. He was also a leader of the Coordinated Social Services Council, a coalition of community agencies formed to help implement the desegregation order, and a member of the Boston chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

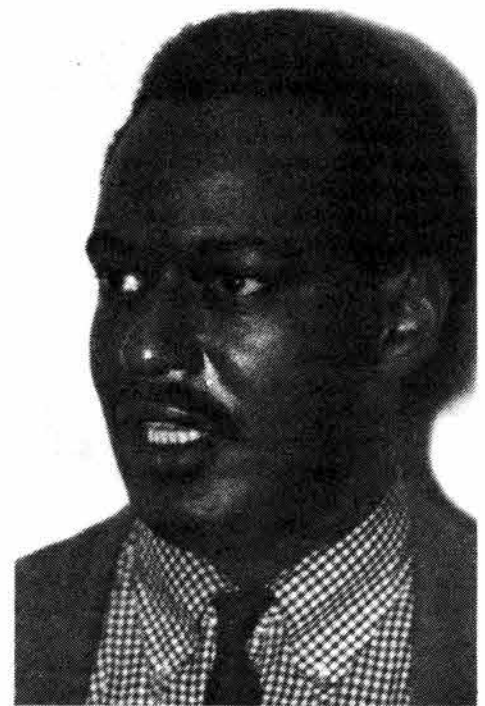
In 1976, during the upsurge in South Africa, Warren helped to organize tours of two South African student leaders.

The same year Warren was the SWP candidate for Congress from the Roxbury district of Boston.

River Rouge plant

Following the desegregation struggle in Boston, Warren spent several years in Detroit, where he was a member of United Auto Workers Local 600 at the giant Ford River Rouge plant.

Warren participated in the National Black Political Assembly conventions in 1972, '74, and '76, defending with other forces the perspective of independent



Militant/Arthur Hughes

James Mac Warren

Black political action.

Warren also participated in founding and leading the National Black Independent Political Party, which was launched at a convention of 1,500 in Philadelphia in November 1980. This vanguard formation, which grew out of the National Black Political Assembly, advanced the perspective that Blacks should break from the Democratic and Republican parties and build their own, independent political party, based on an anticapitalist and anti-imperialist program.

In 1982 Warren was elected national chairperson of the YSA, and served in that position through 1983.

When the union meat-packers at Geo. A. Hormel & Co. went on strike in 1985 in Austin, Minnesota, Warren helped organize solidarity for this important labor battle among unionists and farmers throughout the country. As part of this effort he spent a lot of time in Minnesota, Iowa, and Nebraska discussing and working with meat-packers.

Warren served as the Iowa district organizer of the SWP in 1986 and 1987. The district, which included new party branches in Des Moines, Iowa; Austin, Minnesota; and Omaha, Nebraska, was established so that socialist workers could participate more actively in the struggles taking place in the meat-packing and other industries and among working farmers.

Warren has traveled widely. In 1980 he went with a reporting team to Jamaica to cover the elections there for the *Militant*.

Later Warren visited Grenada, then under the leadership of Maurice Bishop and the New Jewel Movement, to learn more about the revolutionary process in that Caribbean nation.

In 1981 Warren made a two-month tour of New Zealand, speaking on "The fight for Black liberation." He met with Maori and Pacific islander activists who are fighting racism and discrimination in that country. He made several return visits to New Zealand in 1987 and early 1988.

He also visited revolutionary Cuba in 1982, and Nicaragua in 1984 and 1986.

Throughout his political life, Warren has been a champion of democratic rights and civil liberties. Recently he became a target of government victimization himself.

Barred from Canada

In September 1987 Warren was stopped by Canadian and U.S. immigration officials from entering Canada at the Montreal airport and subjected to racist and political harassment, including a strip search. Broad protests from civil liberties supporters on both sides of the border forced immigration officials to allow Warren to travel to Canada five days later without incident. However, Canadian immigration officials now indicate that his readmission was an "error." The campaign against this harassment is continuing.

Warren is the editor of *Independent Black Political Action*, 1954-78 and co-editor of *The National Black Independent Political Party*. Both pamphlets were published by Pathfinder.

Kathleen Mickells for vice-president

Kathleen Mickells, 37, is a coal miner, a union activist, and a longtime women's liberation fighter.

She was the Socialist Workers Party's candidate for U.S. Congress in West Virginia in 1986. Three years earlier, Mickells was the SWP candidate for county commissioner in Washington County, Pennsylvania.

Mickells was born in Omaha, Nebraska. Her father was a rail worker. Her mother worked in the Armour meat-packing plant and as a cook at an Omaha school. Mickells' first job was in an Omaha department store when she was 15.

As a student at the University of Nebraska in Lincoln, Mickells became active in the movement against the Vietnam War.

During summer breaks from college, Mickells worked as an assembler at the Western Electric plant in Omaha. After graduating in 1972, she taught at Ryan High School there.

Increasingly interested in revolutionary politics, Mickells helped publish the *Nebraska Dispatch*, a paper that focused on the struggles of working people in the United States and internationally.

In 1974 a number of activists from the American Indian Movement (AIM) went on trial for their involvement the year before in the occupation at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. Mickells helped organize solidarity for these FBI frame-up victims in the Omaha area. As a member of a political theater troupe, Mickells also helped stage several performances that focused on the victimization of the AIM members.

Backed Equal Rights Amendment

Mickells joined the Revolutionary Marxist Committee in 1975. She moved to Detroit the next year, where she became active in the women's liberation movement, particularly the fight for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. While in Detroit she joined the National Organization for Women (NOW).

The Revolutionary Marxist Committee fused with the SWP in 1977. After the fusion, Mickells moved to Chicago.

She was hired there by the Burlington Northern railroad as a clerk in 1978. Later she was able to force the company to give her a job as the first woman switchperson in its Cicero, Illinois, rail yard.

Following the nuclear accident at the Three Mile Island power plant in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1979, Mickells and other members of the United Transportation Union in Chicago became involved in



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Kathleen Mickells

the fight against nuclear power. They helped organize UTU contingents in antinuclear protests and carried out educational work in the rail union about the dangers of transporting deadly nuclear waste.

While in Chicago, Mickells became active in the Coalition of Labor Union Women and worked on a labor conference for the Equal Rights Amendment, sponsored by the state AFL-CIO.

Mickells also helped organize UTU participation in demonstrations demanding passage of the ERA, and she was labor outreach coordinator for the May 10, 1980, ERA march of 30,000 in Chicago sponsored by NOW.

She moved to Pittsburgh in 1981.

Coal miner

In early 1982, Mickells was hired at U.S. Steel's Cumberland coal mine in Kirby, Pennsylvania. Twenty-five women worked in the mine out of a work force of 600.

Mickells continued to work at Cumberland after moving to Morgantown, West Virginia, in 1984. She is a member of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 2300.

In 1982 she joined the Coal Employment Project (CEP) — an organization that has fought to get women hired and to maintain jobs in the mines.

In October 1984, UMWA members at A.T. Massey Coal Co. mines in southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky were forced on strike. She was active in building UMWA support for the strike. She also helped organize coalfield tours for striking Hormel meat-packers from Austin, Minnesota, in 1986.

Mickells has taken a number of trips to learn about the struggles of working people in other countries and explain the experiences of workers in this country.

She spent a week in Nicaragua in 1981. In both Pittsburgh and Morgantown, Mickells has been active in building support for the Nicaraguan revolution and in opposing the U.S.-backed contra war.

Solidarity with British miners

She first visited Britain in 1984 during the powerful strike by members of the National Union of Mineworkers.

After returning home, Mickells helped organize solidarity for the British strike in the UMWA. She visited Britain again in November 1985, talking to miners and their supporters from Women Against Pit Closures (WAPC).

Mickells and other Coal Employment Project members helped arrange for WAPC activists to participate in the 1986 CEP conference in Paintsville, Kentucky.

That fall she helped organize a tour of Hormel meat-packers to Britain. In 1987 she led a delegation of U.S. women miners on a tour of the British coalfields.

Mickells attended the 1986 conference of the International Miners' Organisation in London. And at the end of 1987 she attended the IMO's Conference on Peace and Disarmament and Against Apartheid in Sydney, Australia.

She was part of the SWP's delegation to the African National Congress' 75th anniversary celebration in late 1987 in Arusha, Tanzania.

After being laid off at Cumberland in 1987, Mickells worked as a seamstress in a garment shop organized by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

Mickells has been organizer of the SWP branches in both Pittsburgh and Morgantown and is a contributor to the *Militant* newspaper.

Arizona socialist wins support

Seeks ballot spot in recall election for governor

BY SUE ADLEY

PHOENIX — After the first couple of weeks of petitioning to get Bernie Senter on the Arizona ballot as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, Senter's supporters report they are getting many positive responses. Senter is seeking a ballot spot in the May 17 election, which was scheduled after nearly 400,000 people signed petitions to recall Gov. Evan Mecham. Mecham, notorious for canceling the Martin Luther King state holiday and for other demonstrations of his bigotry, has been impeached and is being tried by the Arizona Senate.

Senter's supporters are aiming to go well over the 3,336 signatures required by law to place him on the ballot. Already 4,000 have been collected.

Kill-floor workers, meatcutters, and wrappers coming off their shift at Sunland Beef, where Senter works, kept three petitioners busy for a half hour. Fifty-one signed petitions during the afternoon shift change.

"I agree with getting rid of the 'right to work' law in Arizona," said one worker.

"We need a stronger union here."

"I already signed," said another, "but I need to get some petitions to pass around." Another worker asked for a campaign leaflet. Several bought copies of the *Militant* and the socialist Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*.

A team of campaign supporters later headed down to southern Arizona, where they petitioned among pecan workers in Sahuarita, who were recently on strike; in Nogales, near the Mexico border; at the University of Arizona; and in the copper mining town of San Manuel.

In the first two days of petitioning, the team gathered 212 signatures and sold a *Militant* subscription, and 10 single copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. They distributed 700 copies of the campaign flyer, "A program to fight for our rights."

At the 40,000-student University of Arizona campus, students had a variety of reactions to the campaign. Half a dozen said they support Mecham. Several who oppose Mecham wouldn't sign Senter's petition because they were afraid of "splitting

the vote." Many students did sign, though.

"Socialist, all right!" exclaimed one youth when approached with campaign literature. He and several other students were attracted to Senter's campaign platform and wanted more information about the Young Socialist Alliance.

Kathy, a waitress who is going to school at the university, is very concerned about Washington "pushing its political rule on other countries." She also said she doesn't trust the news media to tell the truth.

Absorbed in a discussion with the petitioners, Kathy turned down a friend's invitation to play tennis. "No, I'm getting informed," she said. Kathy wants to help staff a YSA literature table on the campus.

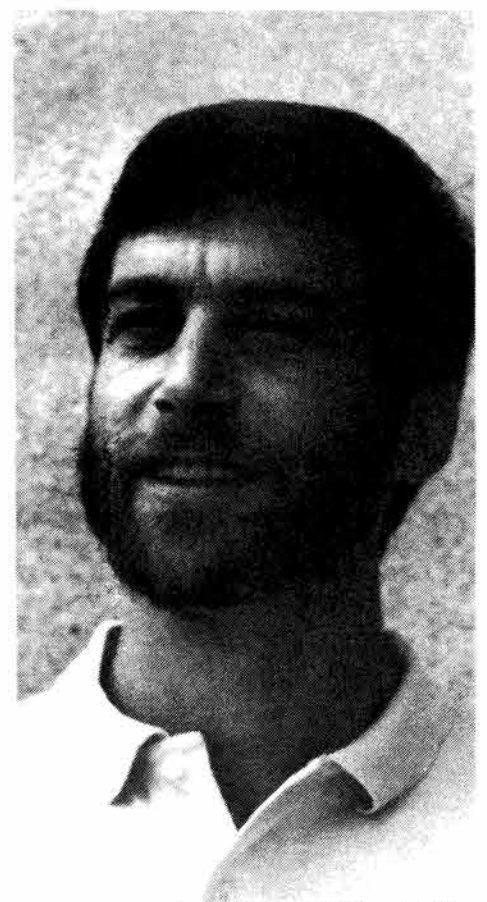
The petition team went on to talk to workers at the Magma copper mine and smelter in San Manuel. It's the largest mine in Arizona, with about 2,500 workers.

"The cars were whizzing by at 45 miles per hour," reported petitioner Barry Fatland. "But we got a couple of cars to stop, and sold some *PMs* and *Militants*."

The team also campaigned in town for an hour and a half and got 12 signatures. Some miners said it didn't matter who won the election — government officials were all against the miners. People in San Manuel recalled how former Democratic Gov. Bruce Babbitt had called out the National Guard against copper miners on strike against Phelps Dodge in Clifton and Ajo, Arizona, several years ago.

"I'm afraid of socialism," said an older Chicano, a former union official.

"But we started to discuss the decline in union power since World War II, and what the unions need to do today to fight more



Militant/Holbrook Mahn
Socialist Workers Party candidate Bernie Senter.

Wash. socialist announces candidacy for U.S. Senate

BY MICHAEL BUTLER

SEATTLE — The campaign of Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Washington, was announced on February 24 at successful news conferences here and in Olympia, the state capital.

Fein is a 42-year-old veteran antiwar activist and unionist. He is currently employed as a truck assembler and is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 289.

Fein's statement to the press denounced the U.S. war against Nicaragua, and the Democrats' congressional contra aid package, which had just been made public.

The same day, Republican businessman Douglas Smith from Everett announced he is also running for the Senate seat, and demonstratively donated \$100 to the contras. The *Seattle Times* ran photos of both Fein and Smith, contrasting their positions on Nicaragua.

On March 4, Fein sent a letter to Wash-

ington Rep. Michael Lowry, challenging him to a debate "any time, any place" on the question of aid to the contras.

Fein blasted Lowry's support for the Democrats' contra aid proposal as a "treacherous betrayal of the U.S. antiwar movement and the Nicaraguan people." For years, Fein explained, Lowry has presented himself as some sort of hero to the peace movement in Seattle.

Fein's campaign got started last month at a one-day conference at which campaign supporters discussed plans for the campaign and a few points in its platform.

A presentation by Fein discussed the meaning of the Oct. 19, 1987, stock market crash. Fein said that the crash "signaled an impending social crisis that will shape the course of world politics in the coming years." Explaining the crash in terms of the long-run development of capitalism, Fein cited intensified competition and the shrinking of world markets as symptoms of the greater crisis of overproduction.

Warren-Mickells campaign sets petition drive in N.J., Utah

The national effort to get James Mac Warren and Kathleen Mickells, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, on the ballot in as many states as possible for the 1988 election will begin March 19.

On that day, supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign will begin gathering the signatures needed to get on the ballot in New Jersey. The requirement is 800 signatures; socialist campaigners plan to get sev-

eral times that amount.

In addition, campaign supporters will be gathering signatures to get Tom Fiske, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from New Jersey, on the ballot, as well as Joan L. Paltrineri and Mindy Brudno, the SWP congressional candidates from the 6th and 10th congressional districts, respectively. An additional 1,000 signatures are required to get these three candidates on the ballot. The New Jersey petition effort will run through April 9.

On the other side of the country, supporters of Warren and Mickells in Utah will begin a petition drive in that state on March 26. Supporters from both Salt Lake City and Price will be working on gathering more than the 300 required signatures. That drive will run through April 14.

Supporters of the socialist candidates will be using the petitioning drives to introduce the Warren-Mickells campaign to workers, farmers and ranchers, students, and others in both states. A special effort will be made to sell single copies and introductory subscriptions to the *Militant* as part of the drives. The *Militant* will be carrying complete coverage of the socialist campaign through the November elections.

Volunteers are needed to help with petitioning. For more information, contact the SWP campaign offices in Newark, New Jersey, and Salt Lake City and Price, Utah, listed in the directory on page 12.



Tom Fiske, socialist candidate for U.S. Senator from New Jersey.

The Young Socialist Alliance invites you to a national

Socialist Youth and Activists Conference

April 2 & 3

University of Pittsburgh

Lawrence Hall

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Join with

other students, young workers, activists

Keynote presentations

The Capitalist Crisis & World Revolutionary Perspectives

Rena Cacoullas, Young Socialist Alliance National Secretary. Sat., April 2, 9:30 a.m.

Building a Socialist Revolutionary Youth Organization

Greg McCartan, YSA National Executive Committee Sun., April 3, 1:30 p.m.;

Also featuring an international youth panel, Sun., April 3, 9:30 a.m.; and classes, workshops.

Special event

Socialist Presidential Campaign Rally

Hear James Mac Warren, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. president, and Kathleen Mickells, candidate for vice-president. Sat., April 2, 7:30 p.m., Benedum Hall Auditorium.

Conference registration \$15, or \$5 for high school and unemployed. Write or call for more information on housing and transportation.

- ☐ I want to attend. Send more information.
- ☐ Send me _____ copies of new conference brochure (10¢ each).
- ☐ I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$4 for 12 weeks of the *Militant*.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Phone () _____ School/organization _____

Clip and mail to YSA, P.O. Box 1235, New York, NY 10013. Tel: (212) 334-1110.

West Bank, Gaza: labor pool for Israel

Capitalists rob Palestinians of land and tools to create wage workers

BY GEORGES SAYAD

The Palestinian revolt in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is shaking the fabric of Israeli society.

As the protests continue, Israel's capitalist economy is taking some blows that reflect the increasingly important role that Palestinians play in it.

"The most visible effect of the disturbances — apart from the nearly 80 dead, hundreds wounded, arrested, and beaten," wrote the British *Guardian's* correspondent in Jerusalem on March 4, "has been the sporadic failure of the large numbers of [West Bank and Gaza Strip] Palestinians, who work inside Israel proper and who form 7 percent of the national labor force, to turn up for their jobs."

This has thrown the country's construction industry, which is most dependent on Palestinian labor, into a crisis.

To try to counter these losses, Israeli bosses are drawing on a growing number of Lebanese workers who commute daily through the Israeli-controlled part of Lebanon.

The current revolt shows that the growing incorporation of Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza into the Israeli working class has made Israel more vulnerable to the Palestinian democratic revolution.

Exploitation, not expulsion

When Israel was first established in 1948, it expelled hundreds of thousands of Palestinians. The initial goal of the Zionist settlers was to establish an exclusively Jewish country in the newly occupied land. To accomplish that, a major drive was made to expel Palestinians. This led to forcing a big proportion of the Palestinian population into refugee camps in neighboring countries.

The expulsion of Palestinians went hand in hand with encouraging Jews from Europe, North America, and the Middle East to emigrate to Israel.

At first many came, but soon the migration slowed down. The pool of Jewish workers was insufficient for the growing needs of Israel's capitalist employers. This, above all, was what drove the Israeli regime to take over the Gaza Strip and the West Bank in 1967.

Unlike the earlier takeovers of Palestinian territory, the populations of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip were not expelled to make room for immigrants. Instead, as capitalists have done repeatedly since this economic system emerged, they drove tens of thousands of Palestinians off their land or out of their trades and forced them to become wage workers.

As of 1980 more than 49 percent of the total active labor force in the West Bank and Gaza was employed across the pre-1967 borders. In the Gaza Strip alone, it is 65 percent.

Today Gaza, a 25-mile strip with one of the world's highest population densities, serves as a base of cheap labor for the Israeli capitalists. And the West Bank is headed in the same direction.

To accomplish this, the farmers and artisans of the recently conquered territories had to be stripped of their land, tools, and



Thousands of West Bank and Gaza Palestinians line up each morning to be taken to jobs in Israeli factories and farms. Unlike in 1948, when Palestinians were expelled from conquered land, Israeli capitalists use territories seized in 1967 as a source of cheap labor.

other means of earning a livelihood. Only then would they have no choice but to accept employment in Israel on the terms offered them.

At the very heart of this process were the Israeli regime's land and water policies, which effectively bankrupted the Palestinian farmers, steadily forcing them out of agriculture and into a cheap wage labor pool.

In 1968 some 50 percent of the West Bank labor force was in agriculture. This was comprised of small farmers who owned their land, sharecroppers, and agricultural workers. By 1980 the figure had dropped to 26.3 percent. This figure also included those employed in agriculture in pre-1967 Israel.

In the Gaza Strip, the level of economic development had been lower than that in the West Bank at the time of conquest. Gaza's economy centered on citrus plantations employing wage labor. Agriculture accounted for 90 percent of exports and 40 percent of employment. In 1980 only 18.3 percent of the work force was in agriculture.

Wholesale land expropriation

After the 1967 conquests, the Israeli military administration began wholesale expropriations of Palestinians' land. By 1981 one-third of the land on the West Bank had been expropriated and taken out of Palestinian hands. In the usual procedure, the army declared an area indispensable to security, sealed it off, and forced the farmers off the land.

Fraudulent sales were engineered, taking advantage of the fact that incomplete record-keeping under the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire and British colonial rule often made it impossible for Palestinians to prove title even though their families had worked the land for generations.

Israeli policies also blocked peasants from using their land, and then confiscated it because it had been left fallow.

Some villages lost half their land to Israeli confiscations. Those farmers who re-

sisted faced arrest for "terrorist activity," destruction of their homes, expulsion from the country, or spraying of their crops with defoliants.

Much of the confiscated land has been turned over to Israeli settlements, which now number 130 in the West Bank and Gaza. In Gaza, one-third of the land has been turned over to some 3,000 settlers.

With military considerations in the forefront, the settlements are built on hilltops overlooking Palestinian villages. Surrounded by huge coils of barbed wire, they resemble forts more than farming communities.

The settlers, often right-wing Zionist émigrés from the United States, are armed. They get aid from the government and from Zionist organizations. They receive large allocations of water, a scarce commodity, at the expense of Palestinian villages. They are strategically located amid clusters of Palestinian villages to keep the latter separated and terrorized.

Land confiscation has also produced a marked deterioration in the quality of the remaining Palestinian-owned land, which is being overgrazed. The declining quality of the land lays the basis for forcing more impoverished peasants off the land and into the bosses' pool of cheap labor.

Discriminatory water policy

Outright confiscation is supplemented by a discriminatory and restrictive water policy.

"Palestinians are strictly forbidden," reports a Palestinian professor, Yusuf Sayigh, in the summer 1986 issue of *Journal of Palestine Studies*, "to develop any springs or other surface or underground water reserves not already tapped and under utilization at the time of occupation in 1967; to utilize any quantities of water in excess of those drawn and utilized in 1967 in already developed sources; or further to develop wells already in use. Thus, while villages are deprived of their vital well and spring water and underground reserves, neighboring Jewish settlements, built on expropriated Palestinian land, can be seen to enjoy the luxury of spacious swimming pools, as well as abundant piped water for agriculture, industry, and domestic use."

In 1985 settlers in Gaza consumed 3,040 cubic yards of water per capita, while Palestinians consumed 161.

The military authorities have also barred the planting of fruit trees on a commercial scale without a permit, and such permits are rarely granted. This especially targets Palestinian olive, citrus, and other fruit farmers who must replace aging orchards, and the citrus growers of the Gaza Strip have been particularly damaged.

Numerous orchards have been uprooted by the military. This is how the Israelis "make the desert bloom."

The Israeli regime has imposed a land tax, value-added tax, and export tax on Palestinian agricultural products while Israeli farmers get tax breaks, subsidies, and credit unavailable to Palestinians.

Interest rates on loans to Gaza's Palestinian farmers in 1985 were running at 36 percent per year for borrowing U.S. dol-

lars, and 95 percent for borrowing Israeli shekels. Arab banks have by and large been closed by military order.

With the advent of Israeli military rule, the traditional export markets for products from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip were closed. The regime prohibits exports of West Bank and Gaza products to Western Europe, since these would compete with products made in Israel.

Palestinian industry blocked

Before 1967 there was little industry in the West Bank and Gaza. The Israeli regime has further blocked its development. Credit and markets were denied to the newly occupied areas. High tariffs were instituted on their goods, and permits were denied for the construction and purchase of machinery.

The industrial development that has taken place is in labor-intensive industries, such as garment plants, that obtain semi-finished goods from Israel, finish them, and send them back. These plants make substantial use of the cheap labor of women and children.

Local industry accounted for 6.1 percent of the gross domestic product in 1974. Three years later it had dropped to 5.6 percent. There are less than half a dozen Palestinian firms employing more than 100 workers in the West Bank. The Israeli government is in the process of taking over one of them, the Jerusalem Electric Co.

In 1983 more than 90 percent of all imports came from Israel, a total of \$680 million.

The growth of Israel's market in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is shown by the fact that if it were a foreign market it would be larger than any except the United States.

At the same time, Palestinians who are skilled workers or professionals have been emigrating to other countries, where employment and income opportunities are better.

In 1980 more than 51 percent of West Bank laborers in Israel were employed in construction. Since then there has been a

Continued on Page 13

'Throw out television, à la South Africa,' Kissinger urges Israel

Former U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger has called on the Israeli government to "put down the insurrection" of the Palestinian people "as quickly as possible — overwhelmingly, brutally, and rapidly."

He urged barring the media from the areas where protests are taking place. On March 4, the Israeli government imposed a virtual ban on reporters entering the West Bank.

The advice appears in a February 3 memorandum prepared by Julius Berman, a former chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

Berman was summarizing views Kissinger expressed in a confidential breakfast meeting in early February. Among those present were Berman; Kenneth Bialkin, another former president of the conference of heads of Jewish groups; and Laurence Tisch, president of CBS, Inc.

The *New York Times* obtained a copy of the memorandum, and made its existence public March 5.

In order to proceed with an all-out drive to crush the protests, Kissinger reportedly said, "Israel should bar the media from entry into the territories involved in the present demonstrations."

"The insurrection must be quelled immediately," the former secretary of state in the Nixon and Ford administrations insisted, "and the first step should be to throw out television, à la South Africa. To be sure there will be international criticism of the step, but it will dissipate in short order."

"Mr. Kissinger did not disavow the remarks," the *Times* reported. He voiced outrage at their publication. "It's enough to drive you to drink," he said.

How Israel seized Palestine

Palestine was brought under Israeli domination in three stages.

The United Nations partitioned Palestine in 1947, setting up separate Israeli and Palestinian states. In a 1948 war with neighboring Arab countries, Israel seized further Palestinian lands. In the wake of this war, Israel held more than three-quarters of historic Palestine. More than 700,000 of the Palestinians who had lived there were driven out to make room for vastly expanded Jewish immigration and settlement.

As a result of the 1948 war, the Jordanian monarchy occupied the part of Palestine located to the west of the Jordan River that had not been seized by Israel, administering it until 1967. At the same time, the Egyptian government occupied the Gaza Strip, administering it as a sep-

arate entity, also until 1967.

In the 1967 "six-day war," Israeli forces dealt a crushing setback to the combined armies of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. The Israeli military occupied East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip, and seized the Golan Heights from Syria and the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt. (The latter two areas were not part of historic Palestine.)

Today, more than 2,143,000 Palestinians live under Israeli domination — 645,000 inside the pre-1967 border, 940,000 in the West Bank, and 558,000 in the Gaza Strip.

More than 2.8 million Palestinians live as exiles and refugees in neighboring countries, including Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, and Kuwait.

Nicaragua's economic difficulties spur clashes, debates

Anti-Sandinistas stage provocations

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Nicaragua's worsening economic problems — fueled by Washington's contra war — are the subject of sharpening clashes here. Forces opposed to the Sandinista government are stepping up their reactionary propaganda, demonstrations, and attempts to provoke violent confrontations.

This is posing acutely the question of how defenders of the revolution should respond to these attacks. Over the past six months, the Sandinista government has sought to take advantage of the political opening represented by the Guatemala peace accords signed in August 1987. Central to this was the decision to lift the state of emergency, a step taken in January 1988. This meant that rights guaranteed in the constitution, including the right to strike and the right to demonstrate, were put back into effect.

As part of this political course, leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) called for a "political-ideological offensive" of discussion and debate, rather than reliance on administrative measures, to seek to isolate opponents of the revolution and win over layers of working people who were disaffected from the revolution or influenced by opposition groups.

Implementing this perspective is a big challenge, however. Under pressure from the intensified provocations by right-wing forces, some Sandinista supporters have responded with tactics aimed at physically intimidating opposition groups and have called on the government to deny them the right to demonstrate.

Economic difficulties

Nicaragua, like the rest of the colonial world, suffers from underdevelopment and imperialist domination. On top of this, the U.S.-organized contra war has caused billions of dollars in damage to the nation's resources and forces the government to commit massive funds to defense instead of production.

These problems were made significantly worse this year when a drought destroyed much of the bean and corn crops, and breakdowns in electric power plants forced many factories to cut back production throughout January and February.

On February 15 the government carried out what amounted to a steep devaluation of Nicaragua's currency, the córdoba. Previously, through a form of subsidy, the government had maintained artificially low exchange rates for the purchase of many imports deemed essential to the economy. For instance, it was cheaper to import a tractor than buy a pair of blue jeans.

With the devaluation, the price of imported fuel, chemicals, and machinery is much higher. The price of many consumer goods, whether imported or produced here, has also gone up.

The government has also projected a 10 percent cut in the state budget to reduce the inflation-causing deficit. A new currency was issued, exchanging 1,000 old córdobas for one new córdoba.

Unlike several other Latin American governments that have recently devalued their currency, the Nicaraguan government has taken steps aimed at preventing the devaluation from leading to a worsening of the relative economic position of working people. One such step was a wage increase to help compensate for price increases.

The government has also pledged to make more basic goods available to working people through state distribution outlets. Although most trade is in private hands, the government tries to supply each family with a small amount of rice, sugar, cooking oil, salt, and soap through state-supplied neighborhood stores. There are also special stores for wage workers and peasants. In addition, many factories have stores for their workers.

These government-supplied outlets offer some goods at subsidized prices. The big problem, however, has been that many basic commodities are often not available at these outlets, forcing working people to pay the market price or do without.

Attempts to control prices

When the new monetary measures were taken, government leaders said that they would bring the economy under control and help ease inflation, which reached 1,300 percent in 1987.

The government published a list of prices for a "basic market basket" of 29 items, including rice, beans, sugar, coffee, eggs, meat, chicken, and bread. Police and commerce inspectors then began patrolling the public markets in an attempt to enforce those prices. In some cases, they confiscated goods and revoked the licenses of vendors who sold at higher prices.

The FSLN organized groups of unionists and neighborhood activists to sweep through the markets, driving out unlicensed merchants and confiscating their goods. These groups also surrounded the stalls of licensed merchants, sometimes yelling and forcing them to sell at the official prices. Vendors who sold goods at more than the official prices were denounced as "speculators" and "hoarders."

The price control mobilizations were aimed only at small retailers, who buy their stocks of goods from middlemen. When the official prices were below the wholesale price they had to pay or eliminated their margin of profit, the retailers simply stopped selling those products.

Products disappear from markets

After only a few days, some products disappeared from the marketplaces, and some merchants closed their stalls or shops. At the same time, some of these commodities, such as rice, immediately



Militant/Agnes Chapa

Managua market stall. Amidst U.S.-run war, private vendors, middlemen, and capitalist growers have defied government's price control campaign, leading to confrontations in the marketplace.

became available through black market channels at up to five times the official price.

Capitalist rice growers, who control 40 percent of the national production, stopped selling to the state purchasing agency. Their goal was to force the government to pay the price they were demanding for their product and to agree to allow the sale of rice in the marketplaces at uncontrolled prices.

On March 2, two weeks after announcing the monetary reforms, the government backed off somewhat on the price control campaign. Commerce officials announced that corn, beans, and rice would be allowed to be sold in retail markets at uncontrolled prices, as had been the case before the reforms.

On March 7 government officials announced that they had reached an agreement with rice growers to buy rice at 6 córdobas a pound. The retail price in state-supplied outlets is 4.10 a pound. The difference will be made up by government subsidy.

The Government has also announced it will not resume highway roadblocks to check for food being transported without proper trade licenses. Such roadblocks had been tried earlier, but were abandoned in early 1987 when officials concluded that they only discouraged farm production and drove prices up. Furthermore, the roadblocks had created growing conflicts between travelers and police and government inspectors.

Building trades strike

Opposition political parties with control over some unions have taken advantage of the current difficult economic situation to initiate several strikes.

The largest has been a walkout of building trades workers organized by the General Federation of Workers-Independent (CGTi). This union is led by the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN), which functions in an antigovernment coalition with other opposition parties, including those representing the interests of capitalists and landlords.

The CGTi is demanding the abolition of government wage regulations and a 200 percent wage increase. Estimates of the number of strikers vary from one to several thousand. Workers at most major construction sites have rejected the strike.

The Ministry of Labor ruled that the CGTi had not followed the arbitration and negotiation procedures specified by law. The government declared the construction strike illegal and warned that strikers could be dismissed.

A small number of strikers have been fired. No one has been arrested, however, and no legal action has been taken against the striking unions. Leaders of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) told the *Militant* that the fired workers would be offered jobs on other construction sites later.

Some CST leaders have gone to job sites to try to convince the strikers to return to work. They argued that the strike only re-

duces production, thereby increasing shortages. They have urged the workers to collaborate with the government to produce more and help increase distribution through government channels.

When workers at several key agricultural development projects remained on strike, the CST organized brigades of construction workers to replace them.

Union hall occupied

CST leaders in Managua on one occasion tried to physically intimidate workers who support the strike. On March 3 they organized several hundred workers to barge into a meeting of opposition unions that was being held in the headquarters of the anti-Sandinista Federation of Trade Union Unity and Action (CAUS). While there was no fighting, the CSTers occupied the CAUS hall temporarily and prevented the others from holding the meeting. CST leader Dámaso Vargas said the action was aimed at preventing the opposition unions from holding a planned march to support the building trades strike.

However, such use of muscle is an obstacle to politically winning over those workers who are influenced by the reactionary course of the CGTi leaders. It can also give counterrevolutionary forces an occasion to accuse supporters of the revolution of opposing democratic rights.

A measure of the danger of right-wing provocations under these conditions was the fact that CGTi officials seized the opportunity to claim publicly that they had received death threats from CST members. CGTi spokespeople began urging their members to prepare to fight the "CST mobs," hoping to provoke serious physical clashes.

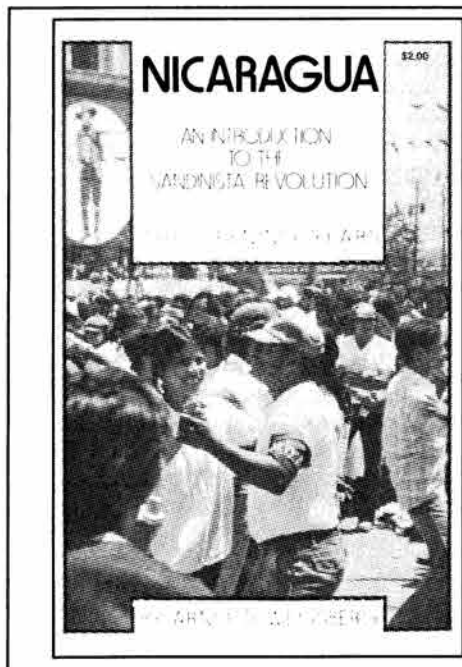
Another serious incident occurred March 6 when the Nicaraguan Democratic Coordinating Committee (CDN) called for an antigovernment march in Masaya, a town about 20 miles from Managua. The CDN, which includes landlord and capitalist parties and works closely with the U.S. embassy here, has held numerous small marches recently.

Sandinista supporters called for a counter-mobilization, and thousands turned out. One of the demands cheered by many was the call for the government to ban further demonstrations by the rightists.

The CDN march drew about 600 people. When it approached the progovernment crowd, some provocateurs among the CDN demonstrators began throwing rocks. A free-for-all broke out, and several people on both sides were injured. The police intervened to protect the CDN marchers.

Pro-Sandinista demonstrators then burned a jeep belonging to CDN leader Erick Ramírez.

According to Radio Sandino, some participants in the Sandinista mobilization later tried to set fire to a movie theater that had been rented by the CDN. This was stopped by the intervention of Federico López, a regional FSLN leader, Radio Sandino said.



From Pathfinder

This popular introduction to the Nicaraguan revolution was originally published during the early years of the revolution, while the author, Arnold Weissberg, was a correspondent for the Nicaragua Bureau of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Now reprinted, with a new preface.

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Nicaragua unions debate perspectives

Fight only for members' needs or advocate measures benefiting all toilers?

BY LARRY SEIGLE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — A group of several hundred construction workers marched through the streets here one recent afternoon. Their mood was angry, their slogans emphatic.

"Death to the National Wage and Productivity Scale!" they shouted. "We demand a wage increase!"

The workers, accompanied by a sound truck, marched to the Ministry of Labor. There they surrounded the entrance gate and held a rally.

Their leaders gave fiery speeches demanding higher wages. "We are starving!" shouted a union official into the microphone. "We can't feed our children. We demand a new contract with more money."

"We are fed up with the lack of response from the Ministry of Labor to our demands for a wage increase," he continued. Antigovernment slogans were chanted by many participants.

The demonstration was organized by the construction workers' union that is affiliated to the General Workers Federation — Independent. This is the union federation led by the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN).

Nicaraguan Socialist Party

The PSN is Nicaragua's traditional Communist Party. It has long had considerable influence in the construction unions, particularly the Managua building trades.

Today the PSN is in a loose alliance with other parties, including the major capitalist and landlord parties, which oppose the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The PSN-led march of construction workers is of interest for a couple of reasons. For one, it is a small sign of the atmosphere of political liberty that exists in Nicaragua today.

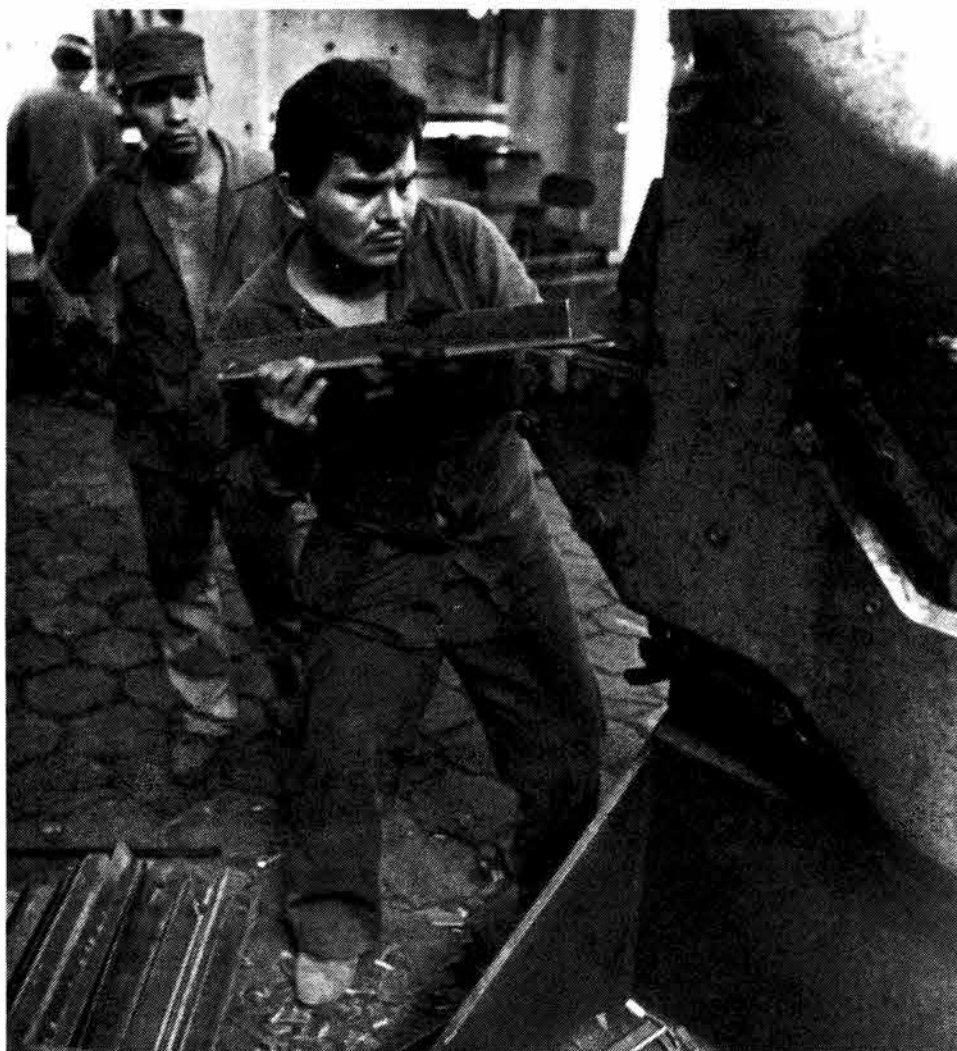
A lot of demonstrations in the streets and other political activities are taking place these days. Most of these, and the biggest, are organized by supporters of the FSLN. But opponents of the government are also seeking to mobilize support.

The construction workers' march is also of interest because it reflects one point of view in a debate taking place within the Nicaraguan labor movement.

Two counterposed positions are being put forward. One argues that the central goal of a labor union is to fight for higher wages and better conditions for its members. Advocates of this perspective say it was valid under the Somoza dictatorship and remains valid today under the Sandinista government. Trade unionists who follow the line of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party consistently advance this point of view.

FSLN perspective

A different position is defended by union leaders who support the FSLN. They argue that the unions should fight for measures benefiting not only their own members, but all working people. Top priority should



Workers at IMEP metallurgical foundry in Managua

Militant/Roberto Kopeck

go to improving the conditions of those toilers who are worst off, in particular the poor peasants. This is the only way to strengthen the unity of the working class, and to consolidate the alliance between the workers and the peasants, on which the revolutionary government is based.

Wages are a big issue for all workers because inflation — which reached 1,300 percent last year — has not been fully matched by wage increases.

The government sets official wages for all workers through its National Wage and Productivity Scale. One of the purposes of this scale is to prevent a widening of the gap in buying power between the lowest-paid and the highest-paid employees. Periodic across-the-board wage increases are needed to help keep up with rising prices.

Inflation is caused primarily by the deficit in the government's budget. Increasing production in industry and agriculture can reduce that deficit and help reverse the decline in real wages.

The biggest obstacle to expanding production is the U.S.-organized contra war, which drains government resources and inflicts heavy damage on economic targets. Nonetheless, important steps forward are possible.

This is what the Sandinista union leaders are trying to achieve. By strengthening union control over the organization of work, and raising the political and social consciousness of the workers, more can be produced.

This social point of view has a political corollary: the need to defend and strengthen the revolutionary government that the workers and peasants have put in power. Before the 1979 revolution, workers had only their unions with which to fight to protect their interests. Now they have another, and more powerful, weapon: the workers' and peasants' government.

Before 1979, union misleaders here — like their counterparts in many other countries — urged workers to confine their perspectives to the struggle for better wages and working conditions. They rejected the idea that the working class should strive to lead all the oppressed and exploited in a revolutionary struggle to overthrow the government of the employers and landlords as a step toward ending the system of exploitation of wage labor.

These misleaders got a hearing within the relatively privileged sectors of the working class, who formed their base in the labor movement. As the PSN-led march illus-

trates, many still have their backs turned to the question of political power.

Sandinista union assembly

Some of these points were raised at a national assembly of construction workers affiliated to the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST). They held their meeting in Sebaco, 70 miles north of Managua, where a huge food-processing plant is being built by the government.

Several workers at the assembly took the floor to argue that the key problem the union leadership should concentrate on is higher wages. Others disagreed. They pointed to more union-organized volunteer work on government projects — such as the canning factory they are building in Sebaco — together with more efficient use of resources and better organization of work, as ways to improve conditions for all working people.

Lucío Jiménez, the CST general secretary, was particularly direct in his remarks at the close of the meeting. He began by frankly acknowledging the disagreements that had come up in the assembly.

"The fact is that we are not all in agreement here," Jiménez said. "There are those who think that in order to be able to work, we first have to fully provide for ourselves. That is a point of view that was expressed today in this assembly: to work more we have to get more, and better, goods."

Focusing on "more" for construction workers doesn't point in the direction of defending the standard of living of all working people. And it doesn't advance the use of union control over work to increase productivity.

Alliance of workers and peasants

The starting point for the unions, Jiménez argued, must be that of the interests of the revolution as a whole — "the interests of the peasants, the workers, the fundamental forces who carry on their shoulders the weight of the Sandinista revolution."

"Before the revolution," Jiménez stressed, "the peasants had no land to live on. And if they had land, if they were in a good place for farming, they were expropriated. The Somozaist landlords and latifundio owners stole their land."

"With the revolution a new unity developed, the unity between the workers and the peasants. Unity in defense of the revolution so that the peasants will never again be driven off their land. And unity between the workers and the peasants, so that we workers will never again be trampled underfoot as we were by the Somozaist National Guard before the revolution."

Jiménez then discussed the PSN-led march in Managua. His approach to it emphasized that what is involved is a difference of opinion within the working-class movement, one that must be confronted politically.

"The day before yesterday there was a march of construction workers," said Jiménez. "Brothers of ours held a march. And some of them — it wasn't only the leaders, we can't ignore the facts — some of them shouted, with a definite ignorance of reality, 'Down with the Sandinista dictatorship.'"

"Some of these compañeros — brothers of ours, fellow construction workers, members of the family of construction workers — said in the streets of Managua the other day that the 'Sandinista dictatorship' must be overthrown."

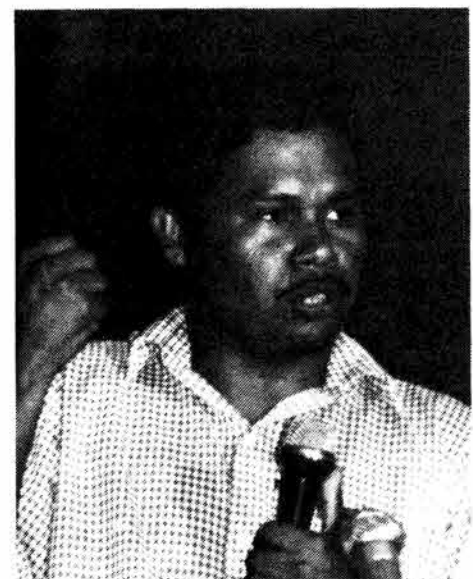
'Historically miseducated'

How was this possible? he asked. Because these workers and their leaders historically were not educated to look at problems from the point of view of the working class. "Instead, they were educated to demand more wages. They were educated exclusively in economist demands."

"And they were so badly educated that it has not dawned on them that we have overthrown the Somozaist dictatorship and that we are building and developing the power of the working people."

"I urge you, compañeros, to seek them out in their houses, in their centers of work, and tell them that we have taken power! They must take this into account."

Our starting point, Jiménez continued, must be that of "workers who are aware that the stage of the fight for political power is behind us. Now we are in the middle of the fight to defend that power, fighting to survive until we can achieve and consolidate peace in Nicaragua."



Militant/Harvey McArthur

Lucío Jiménez, Sandinista Workers Federation general secretary, told construction workers that starting point for unions in revolutionary Nicaragua must be interests of peasants and workers as a whole.



New International

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This response to slanders against Maurice Bishop, murdered prime minister of Grenada, also takes up

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What 1979 Grenada revolution meant for Cuba and Caribbean

BY STEVE CLARK

Meetings are being held this month in several countries to celebrate the ninth anniversary of the March 13, 1979, revolution in Grenada. Events will take place in Grenada, Cuba, Nicaragua, the United States, Britain, the Netherlands, and elsewhere.

Why are the accomplishments of the Grenada revolution still being celebrated nearly five years after the October 1983 counterrevolution and subsequent U.S. invasion? What lessons can be drawn from that revolution today by workers and farmers involved in struggles for national liberation and socialism?

On March 13, 1979, the New Jewel Movement (NJM) in Grenada organized a successful insurrection against the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Eric Gairy. Thousands of people took to the streets answering a radio appeal by NJM leader Maurice Bishop, who became prime minister of the People's Revolutionary Government.

The new workers' and farmers' government repealed Gairy's repressive legislation, guaranteed labor rights, and advanced women's equality. It instituted free medical care, built schools and clinics, established free public education and adult literacy programs, lowered prices of food and other necessities, improved housing, and aided working farmers and farm laborers.

The government began to deepen participation by workers and farmers in the island's economic and political life. New unions and mass organizations of women and youth were launched. A popular militia was established to defend the revolution from U.S.-organized aggression and reactionary forces in Grenada and the Caribbean.

Grenadians of all ages organized to carry out volunteer work projects to maintain roads and public facilities, build community centers and clinics, and conduct literacy classes. By 1981 councils were launched in villages, neighborhoods, and workplaces as a forum for working people to meet government officials and raise proposals and grievances.

Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba

March 13, 1979, marked the first revolutionary victory in the Americas since the

triumph in Cuba two decades earlier. It was followed some four months later by the Sandinista-led revolution against the U.S.-backed Somoza tyranny in Nicaragua.

"The success of our revolution cannot be an isolated event," Bishop told a mass rally in Nicaragua in February 1980. "The very worldwide nature of imperialism attests to the need for revolutionary solidarity among oppressed peoples everywhere."

The Grenada and Nicaraguan revolutions broke through the isolation in the Western Hemisphere that Washington sought to impose on socialist Cuba. Commenting on these victories in a March 1980 speech, Cuban President Fidel Castro asked:

"Why shouldn't the peoples of our continent have the right to freedom and independence? There were too many centuries of colonial and imperialist oppression, and it simply wasn't going to last forever."

One "must have a sense of history," Castro said, "to know what... revolution means here, next to the imperialist monster; yes, what the Cuban revolution and its firm, unwavering line has meant."

"One needs a sense of history and of realities to understand the merit of the Sandinista revolution, the merit of the Grenadian revolution. Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba are three giants rising up to defend their right to independence, sovereignty, and justice, on the very threshold of imperialism."

Maurice Bishop, too, frequently explained the close ties between the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Grenada revolutions. Sharing the platform with Castro and Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega at a May 1980 rally in Havana, Bishop explained that "without the Cuban revolution of 1959 there could have been no Grenadian revolution, nor Nicaraguan revolution in 1979."

Counterweight to imperialist pressures

But the relationship among these revolutions was not a one-way street, Castro stressed. It wasn't just that Nicaragua and Grenada benefited from the example and active solidarity of the Cuban revolution and its leadership.

The 1979 victories, Castro said, were vital to maintaining communist consciousness, internationalist commitment, and



July 26, 1981, march in Las Tunas, Cuba. The 1979 victories in Grenada, Nicaragua inspired Cuban workers and farmers and helped deepen Cuban revolution.

revolutionary fiber in Cuba, as well.

These victories were a counterweight to the economic, military, and political pressures bearing down on Cuba from U.S. imperialism. The wearing effects of these pressures had intensified in the wake of defeats and setbacks to revolutionary struggles in Latin America in the late 1960s and early '70s.

The victories in 1979 bolstered the political confidence of the most revolutionary-minded and internationalist working people in Cuba. These advances reinforced the positive effects of Cuba's internationalist commitment to Angola, where Cuban volunteers have been helping since 1975 to defend that African nation against efforts to overthrow it by the South African regime and CIA.

The Grenada and Nicaraguan revolutions helped counter the political influence in Cuba of those most worn down by the years of isolation and disappointment; those most ready to turn their backs on internationalist solidarity in hopes of dodging Washington's line of fire; and those most susceptible to the lures of bureaucratic privilege and corruption.

In his speech to a mass rally in Cuba on July 26, 1979, Castro stressed that the new victories in the Americas stimulated "us in our own efforts, in our own struggle, because they help us to improve, to overcome our own shortcomings."

"They stimulate us in our task of perfecting our work, perfecting our revolution, in the uncompromising struggle against weaknesses, against errors, against things badly done; this struggle is not a temporary campaign, a matter of one day, one week, one month, or one year, but rather a struggle that we must go on waging for many years."

These questions are today at the center of what the Cuban people call their process of rectification. The Communist Party leadership is leading Cuba's workers and farmers to deepen the revolution through their collective creativity and productive capacities.

Cuba's rectification process was made possible by the 1979 victories in Grenada and Nicaragua.

Involvement of working people

Maurice Bishop acted on an unshakable confidence in the capacities of working people to begin building a new Grenada and to reach out to fellow toilers to change the world.

"As we worked together to safeguard and consolidate our victory," Bishop said on the revolution's third anniversary in 1982, "our people's genius was set free and began to sparkle with brilliance."

"For as we began, as a people, to confirm concretely that organization was our greatest weapon, our conviction became doubly reinforced that it was only mass participation and revolutionary democracy that could genuinely move us forward."

A Stalinist faction organized by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard, however, followed an opposite course. It approached the workers and farmers as objects of policy, not the engine of the revolution. As the Coard faction's influence grew, more and more decisions affecting the government, mass organizations, and the majority of the population became concentrated in the hands of this small, self-selected group.

Coard and his supporters succeeded in

keeping the New Jewel Movement small and isolated from the workers and farmers who were taking on growing leadership responsibility in the revolution. (How this happened is detailed in "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop," by Steve Clark, in *New Internationalist* No. 6, 1987.)

Coard's counterrevolution

Coard's efforts to marginalize working people from political involvement culminated in October 1983 in the overthrow of the revolutionary government. When up to one-quarter of Grenada's population poured into the streets on October 19 to reverse the counterrevolution, troops loyal to Coard murdered Bishop and many other Grenadian revolutionaries.

Coard's bloody coup paved the way for the U.S. invasion and occupation of Grenada one week later. The U.S.-imposed government there has become among the most subservient in the Americas. It has dismantled the revolution's health, educational, and other social programs. Rampant unemployment, cop brutality, the drug trade, and prostitution have returned to Grenada.

The Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, led by fighters who backed Bishop's course and opposed Coard's counterrevolution, are today organizing against the regime's reactionary policies and U.S. domination.

Bishop's political legacy

In a May 1980 speech, Fidel Castro told the Cuban people:

"Do you know what makes us really strong — us, Nicaragua, and Grenada? The fact that ours are people's revolutions, revolutions with deep roots and great support among the people."

In the eight years since then, the success or failure in drawing more and more working people into politics emerged as a decisive factor in each of these three revolutions.

In Cuba the rectification process launched last year is strengthening the communist political consciousness, participation, and internationalism of the working people. The Communist Party is continuing to bring more workers, peasants, women, and Afro-Cubans into its membership and leadership.

In Nicaragua new possibilities are opening for the Sandinista leadership to mobilize workers and peasants to continue pushing forward land reform and other of the social and political goals of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. This is the fruit of revolutionary Nicaragua's military success — registered by the Guatemala peace accords and end of the state of emergency — in blocking the U.S.-organized contras from achieving their counterrevolutionary goals.

In Grenada, the efforts by Maurice Bishop to draw the working people into political life and administration of their economy and state were sabotaged and ultimately destroyed by the Stalinist course of the Coard faction.

Despite the defeat in Grenada, however, the example of that revolution's achievements and of Maurice Bishop's political contributions is a lasting conquest of the world workers' movement. That legacy is well worth celebrating this March 13 and many more to come.

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20,000 on Philippines march demand rights

BY RUSSELL JOHNSON

MANILA, Philippines — Some 20,000 demonstrators turned out along the Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (EDSA) here February 24 to protest the attacks on the rights of workers and peasants that have been escalating under the Aquino government. The demonstration spilled out over the entire highway, jamming up the traffic for several hours on this major thoroughfare.

The protest was planned by the Bayan coalition as a march to Camp Crame and Camp Aguinaldo. The final millions-strong mobilizations that brought down the military dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos in February 1986 were sparked by a military mutiny at these bases.

Under the impetus of these mass mobilizations, the new regime headed by Corazon Aquino released hundreds of political prisoners. Aquino promised to bring a just and lasting social peace to the Philippines by implementing comprehensive land reform, raising the conditions of life of the urban and rural working people, dismantling paramilitary groups, and establishing the supremacy of elected civilian government over the military.

However, shaken by a series of right-wing military revolts, the government of President Aquino increasingly turned to a policy of openly using military and paramilitary force to repress workers' and peasants' struggles and imposed austerity policies demanded by the International Monetary Fund. At the same time, it foot-dragged on its promises of land reform.

Bayan is an alliance of union, farmer, student and other groups that came together as a component of the mass struggle against the Marcos regime. It has continued to oppose the proimperialist and antidemocratic course taken by the Aquino government.

A central component of Bayan is the May 1 Movement (KMU) union federation. Perhaps 80 percent of the February 24 demonstration consisted of workers who had been organized by the KMU to walk off their jobs and come to the protest in contingents. Their union banners and hand-lettered placards were everywhere.

A large part of the remainder were college students mobilized by the League of Filipino Students. The LFS reported that groups of students boycotted classes at a dozen Metro Manila campuses.

Prominent among the red flags were banners denouncing the "U.S.-Aquino regime" and drawing parallels between Aquino and Marcos. "Cory, closet dictator," read one.

Another prominent theme was to demand the dismantling of the 21 U.S. bases and military facilities in the Philippines. Negotiations over the future of the bases are due to begin with Washington this year.

The demonstrators were prevented from reaching the gates of the military camps when 100 riot police, backed by water cannons and fire trucks, blocked the avenue. After negotiations between march organizers and the military, however, a rally was

able to be held, using the back of two trucks as a platform.

Bayan president and KMU chairman, Crispin Beltran, denounced Aquino for betraying the mandate the people gave her by reneging on the promises she made when campaigning against Marcos.

Lidynaida Nakpil-Alejandro, widow of assassinated Bayan Secretary-General Leandro Alejandro, denounced U.S. interference in the Philippines and the "fascist" Aquino government. Alejandro was shot down outside his office last September shortly after calling a press conference to announce a September 21 Bayan rally. His murder led the leaders of Bayan and other similar organizations to virtually drop from public view.

The government's official celebration of the Marcos overthrow the following day was significantly smaller than that of 1987, reflecting the erosion of popular support for Aquino. Nevertheless, tens of thousands of working people came to the Epifanio de los Santos Avenue February 25, for which they had been given a day off work.

There was a carnival atmosphere outside camps Crame and Aguinaldo that day, with entire families turning out for the all-day celebrations that included dance bands and cultural groups performing from eight stages set up along the EDSA.

The most political note in an otherwise depoliticized affair was struck by Manila Archbishop Cardinal Sin when he urged the government to begin implementing a land reform. Sin had come under criticism recently when he publicly endorsed the vigilante groups the army had organized in many rural areas to terrorize peasants fighting for land rights. He also had denounced as "communist fronts" a number of human rights groups connected to the churches which have been highlighting vigilante and military abuses.

Meanwhile, a few blocks from the official celebrations, several thousand people gathered under the banner of the newly formed National Movement for Civil Liberties (NMCL) to march away from the celebrations for several miles to the Malacañang presidential palace to rally against the government's course.

NMCL is supported by Bayan, but also includes broader forces that formerly supported Aquino, such as former secretary of labor Augusto Sanchez, fired from the government in late 1986, and some non-KMU trade unionists. The NMCL said in a statement, "We march today to declare our position and commitment: the extravagance at EDSA today is nothing but an empty celebration of victory snatched from the people. We cannot pause to congratulate nor will we stoop to commemorate those who betrayed that dream."

The spirited march contained many trade union banners as well as some from the Philippine Peasant Movement. But the holiday meant that the KMU was not able to mobilize contingents from the work



March that took place under dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos demanded democracy. Two years after upsurge toppled Marcos, Philippine people face rising repression by government, vigilantes.

places the way they had the previous day. Banners called for things such as "Land, not vigilantes," "Peace with justice," "No foreign military aid," and "Down with the U.S.-Aquino regime."

All week, the army had been placed on red alert. The military high command

claimed that New People's Army guerrillas were planning to launch a military offensive inside Manila to disrupt the anniversary. In a blatant attempt to intimidate participants in the NMCL-sponsored march, they claimed that NPA urban units would use it as a cover to foment violence.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Madrid to talk with Basque nationalists

The government of Spain has agreed to open formal peace talks with the Basque nationalist group ETA. The organization's initials stand for Basque Homeland and Liberty, in the Basque language. It has been in the forefront of a 20-year armed campaign for autonomy from Spain. On January 28 the ETA made an offer for a 60-day truce and proposed that talks be held.

Nearly 2 million Basques live in the northern Spanish provinces of Alava, Guipuzcoa, and Vizcaya. They include some of the chief industrial and agricultural centers of the country.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Spanish civil war in 1936, the Republican government granted autonomy to the three provinces. Most Basques defended the Republican government against the fascist forces of Gen. Francisco Franco. When the Francoists came to power, they abolished Basque autonomy. Since Franco's death the Basques have continued their fight for autonomy.

Madrid announced its agreement to hold talks on February 21. No date or place was set. Neither is there agreement on what topics will be discussed. The government says it is only willing to discuss pardons for individual members of the ETA.

The ETA wants to discuss self-determination and the withdrawal of the national police from the Basque region in addition to amnesty.

Native American land-rights fight in Canada

Protests by a group of Cree Indians put a crimp in the white-hat, good-guy cowboy image that Calgary presented to the world during the 15th Winter Olympic Games held in that Canadian city last month. A 48-year-old battle for land, lucrative oil, and timber rights has pitted the federal and Alberta provincial governments against the Cree of the Lubicon Lake area.

In a hurried attempt to settle the dispute before the Olympics began, the provincial government offered the Cree 25.4 square miles of the lake area. The Cree rejected the offer, saying they are

entitled to much more.

A few days before the games, the provincial government heightened the confrontation by announcing that it was granting a timber lease to a Japanese timber company to construct a huge mill on the traditional hunting ground of the Cree.

The Cree stalked the 11,000-mile pre-Olympic torch relay around Canada. The theme of the run, sponsored by the government-owned oil company Petro-Canada, a foe of the Cree, was "Share the flame." Cree protesters along the route of the run carried signs that read, "Share the shame."

Fort Calgary was established by Northwest Mounted Police Col. James Macleod in 1875. The completion of the cross-Canada railway at the turn of the century increased white settlement of the area. Native Americans were restricted to the reserves and could not leave without a pass. They had to have government permission to farm.

Death from tuberculosis was rampant. The Native American population, which numbered around 15,000 at the turn of the century, fell to 6,000 by the end of World War I.

Sugar workers end strike in Guyana

A four-week-old strike by sugar workers in Guyana ended February 26 with union leaders advising members to return to work. The Guyana Agricultural and General Workers' Union called the strike last month to back its demands for the equivalent of eight days' wages as annual production incentive for last year. The state-owned Guyana Sugar Corp. declared that the workers were only entitled to two days' incentive pay based on last year's production.

The union decided to return to work when the company unilaterally decided to pay the workers three days' annual incentive across the board. Union leaders said the pay dispute remained but that they felt confident a settlement could be reached.

According to the Caribbean News Agency, union leaders also said they decided to call off the strike because the union was "conscious of its responsibilities and concern for the sugar industry and the interest of all workers."

Iowa rally protests cop racism

BY TED LEONARD

CLIVE, Iowa — "Our organizations are here to put everyone on notice that wherever racism rears its head and ugly fangs, we will face it," said Alfredo Alvarez, chairperson of the Des Moines Human Rights Commission. He was addressing a February 20 rally of nearly 400 people here, who braved the cold to protest a racist police flier.

Earlier in the month the Clive police department distributed fliers to block captains in Neighborhood Watch areas. The flier told of a burglary that had occurred and described the burglar as a large Black man.

The notice included the sentence: "Also, if you see a black male in your neighborhood at night, please call the Clive police immediately so that we can try to find out who the individual is."

The march and rally were called on only few days' notice. Participants brought handmade signs that declared, "Stop racism," "Say no to racism," "America should be free — so let's make it," "Clive, next step Howard Beach," and posters of Martin

Luther King and Rosa Parks.

Roy Swann, head of the Black Ministerial Alliance in Des Moines, pointed out, "The problem is bigger than Clive, bigger than Des Moines. It engulfs the whole state of Iowa." He gave some statistics to make his point: "In a state with a Black population of less than 2 percent, 40 percent of the males in prison are Black. Black youth unemployment is 40 percent, while statewide unemployment is 7 percent."

There has been a fight in the Des Moines area to rename University Avenue after Martin Luther King. Rudy Simms, director of the Des Moines National Council of Christians and Jews, addressed that fight in his comments to the rally. "We need Martin Luther King Street," he said. "University Avenue ties us all together, and renaming it Martin Luther King would be a symbol of our interdependence."

There were also speakers at the rally from the Hispanic Political Caucus, League of Latin American Citizens, Tiny Tots Child Care Center, Des Moines Gay Coalition, American Friends Service Committee, and Iowa United Professionals.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

International Women's Day 1988: Where Do We Stand in the Fight for Women's Rights? Speaker: Betsy Farley, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 12, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Protest Against Israeli Prime Minister Shamir's Visit. Fri., March 18, 12 noon. Century Plaza Hotel, 2025 Avenue of the Stars, Century City. For more information call (213) 413-2935.

San Francisco

Stop FBI Crimes! A Political Rights Defense Rally. Speakers: Yvonne Meléndez, Hartford 15 defendant; John Studer, executive director, Political Rights Defense Fund; representative of Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. Sun., March 13, 7 p.m. International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 34, 4 Berry St. (off Embarcadero). Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (415) 648-3469.

Art and Revolution in Nicaragua. A talk with slides by Carlos Montenegro Altamirano, award-winning Nicaraguan painter; others. Sat., March 19, 7 p.m. Mission Cultural Center, 2658 Mission St. (at 25th). Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Pathfinder Mural Project. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

Dance: Baile. Help Maestros por la Paz send teachers and material aid to Nicaragua. Latin rhythms, rumba, merengue, salsa. Sat., March 19, 8 p.m. 362 Capp St. (between 18 and 19 St.). Donation: Sliding \$3-\$5. Sponsor: Maestros por la Paz. For more information call (415) 824-9380.

FLORIDA

Miami

Recent Advances in the Cuban Revolution. A slideshow presentation on a recent trip to Cuba, followed by a discussion on current developments in Cuba. Sat., March 19, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Brigades Help Build the New Nicaragua. Speak-out against U.S.-backed contra war. Speakers: Deidre Fitzgerald, Carrie Nelson, Chicago-area high school students who went to Nicaragua in December; Brooke Webster; representative of Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., March 19, 7:30 p.m. Open house and dinner, 6 p.m. 6826 S Stony Island Ave. Donation: \$2, dinner \$3. Sponsor: YSA. For more information call (312) 363-7322.

United States Economic and Social Crisis: What's Coming After the Stock Market Crash. Speaker: Omari Musa, National Committee Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 26, 7:30 p.m. Dinner and open house at 6 p.m. 6826 S Stony Island Ave. Donation: \$2, dinner, \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 363-7322 or 363-7136.

IOWA

Des Moines

U.S. Hands Off Panama! Speakers: Ellen Whitt, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 431, antiwar activist. Sat., March 19, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

A Tribute to Nora Astorga. Speakers: Catherine Monahan, Socialist Workers Party; Robin Lewy, member, Central American Solidarity Committee; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 12, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

U.S. Hands Off Panama! Speaker: Jon Hillson, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sun., March 13, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

Defend Democratic Rights, Rally to Stop Police Spying. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, Political Rights Defense Fund representative; Michael Avery, National Lawyers Guild; Franz Minuty, Committee in Solidarity with Haiti; Elías Castro, Hartford 15 defendant; representative from Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts; representative from New England Central America Network. Sat., March 19, 7:30 p.m. Service Employees International Union Local 285, 145 Tremont St., 7th floor. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Defend Irish Political Prisoners. Speaker: Eileen McIlkenny, Irish activist interned in Armagh prison in Northern Ireland; video on strip searches. Sun., March 20, 7:30 p.m. 5019½ Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

Grand Opening of Pathfinder Bookstore. Sat., March 26, Noon to 6, videos on South Africa, labor, Malcolm X, Cuba, and Ireland; 7:30 p.m., program of greetings from Gina Aranki, Palestine Aid Society; Kathy Gonzalez, Nicaraguan solidarity activist; Emirene Mendoza, Guatemalan Solidarity Committee; Joannette Nitz, Michigan Coalition for Human Rights; Dick Soble, National Lawyers Guild; and Jackson Swarz, South West Africa People's Organisation. 5019½ Woodward Ave. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

MINNESOTA

Austin

The Farm Crisis Is Not Over. Speakers: Carl Benson; Don Gooden, farmer, Emmons; Norm Larson, farm activist, Worthington; Henry Zamarron, Socialist Workers Party, former farm worker, member United Auto Workers; representative of Groundswell. Sat., March 12, 7 p.m. 407½ N Main St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

Minneapolis

Benefit for the Progressive Student Organization. Raise money for legal expenses for lawsuit against University of Minnesota for its harassment of Progressive Student Organization. Speakers: Meridel LeSeur, Jim Guyette, others. Music by the Maroons. People's Center, 2000 S. 5th St. Sat., March 19, 7 p.m. Donation: \$5-\$10. For more information call (612) 724-4128.

Fiesta El Salvador. In commemoration of Archbishop Oscar Romero. Speaker: Gustavo Acosta, representative of Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. Salvadoran dinner, music. Sat., March 26, 6:30 p.m. Holy Trinity Church,

2730 E 31st St. Also, at same location at 5 p.m., Mirna Anaya, Salvadoran human rights activist, will speak. A former judge and lawyer for political prisoners, she is the widow of Herbert Anaya, human rights leader who was assassinated by the death squads last October. Donation: \$3.

St. Paul

Support Self-determination: End U.S. Intervention in Central America. Rally, march, and commemorative service. Sun., March 27, Assemble at State Capitol 5 p.m.; rally 5:30 sharp, march to Cathedral of St. Paul 6:15; service at 7 p.m. Sponsor: Central America Week/Peace Action Committee. For more information call (612) 378-1460 or 379-8799.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

The Fight Against Racist Attacks Today. A panel discussion with Kansas University students and Missouri union members. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 12, 4 p.m. 4725 Troost. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0224.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

United Mine Workers of America On Strike. Eyewitness report on March 12 solidarity rally in Sheridan, Wyoming. Panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 19, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Panama, Haiti, Caricom, and the United States. Speakers: Philip Agee, former CIA operative; attorney Colin Moore; Prof. Archie Singham; Dr. Coleen Clay; Joachim Mark. Sun., March 13, 4 p.m. P.S. 166, 1025 Eastern Parkway (corner of Schenectady Ave.) For more information call (718) 856-2014.

Manhattan

U.S. Hands Off Panama! Speaker: Osborne Hart, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 18, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Young Socialist Alliance Fundraising Party. Raise money for transportation to national Socialist Youth and Activists Conference in Pittsburgh. Sat., March 19, 8 p.m. DJ Fitz Polard with rock, salsa, reggae, merengue, disco, and other music; Orientación, cultural group of young Dominicans; Kevin O'Keefe, a juggler who just returned from Nicaragua, member Ventana and Bread and Puppet Theater. A short presentation will describe the conference. Donation: \$5 or \$2 for unemployed and students. 79 Leonard St. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 219-3679.

Give Peace A Dance. Benefit for tecNICA and the Nicaragua Medical Aid Campaign. Afro-Caribbean music with the Harp Band. Sat., March 26, 10 p.m. Manhattan Plaza, 66 E 4th St. Donation: \$10 in advance, \$12 at door. For more information call (212) 496-6945.

OHIO

Cleveland

The Fight for Abortion Rights Today. Speakers: Diane Underwood, director, Cleveland Abortion Rights Action League; Martha Pettit, Socialist Workers Party and member International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 300. Sat., March 12, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market

9th anniversary Grenada revolution

New York City: Celebrate the Ninth Anniversary of the Grenada Revolution: Political Lessons for Today. Speakers: Wilton DeCoteau, Grenada Foundation; Roderick Thurton, professor Queens College; Steve Clark, author, "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop"; others. March 12, 7:30 p.m. Medgar Evers College Cafeteria, 1150 Carroll St., Brooklyn. For more information: Grenada Foundation, (718) 629-2019, (718) 941-2087. Translation into Spanish and French.

Washington, D.C.: Grenada and Haiti. March 13. Festival, 2 p.m.; panel discussion, 4 p.m. Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Q. Street, N.W. (DuPont Circle). Sponsors: Grenada Foundation and U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society. For more information: (202) 462-1065 (Grenada Foundation); (202) 234-9382 (Institute for Policy Studies).

London, England: Celebrate Ninth Anniversary of the Grenada Revolution. Speakers: George Louison, Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement and former minister in People's Revolutionary Government; slide-show. March 13, 6 p.m. Center for Urban Educational Studies, Lawn Lane, London.

Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Stop FBI Spying! Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, Political Rights Defense Fund; Lance Rogers, district chairman, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks TCU and Local 1472; Father Paul Washington, retired president, Church of the Advocate. Sat., March 12, 7 p.m. Arch Street Methodist Church (corner Broad and Arch). Donation: \$3. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

U.S. Hands Off Panama! Speaker: Bill Arth, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 12, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Rosie the Riveter: How Women Broke Into Industrial Work Force. Speaker: Jeanne Porter, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers. Sat., March 12, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Behind the U.S. Drive Against Panama. Speaker: Bill Breihan, longtime socialist and labor activist; others to be announced. Sat., March 19, 7:30 pm. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 2732 NE Union. Zip: 97212. Tel: (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, c/o Mark Mateja, Edinboro University of Pa. Zip:

How in hell will ya fight terrorism? — Before his demise, CIA Director Casey vetoed a proposition to make it a crime to plot



Harry Ring

the murder or assault of people in other countries. A current directive bars federal employees from participating in foreign assassinations, but there are no criminal sanctions. Casey was assured the

proposed bill did not bar "authorized" assassinations, but he said, not good enough.

Dispensing with justice — Last year, in Bridgeport, Connecticut, the collapse of a building took the lives of 28 construction workers. A federal probe found deficient design, willful disregard for safety rules, and sloppy construction contributed to the collapse. The state attorney says there's no grounds for prosecution.

Funniest statement of the week — "The salesman has to be a caring giver. He has to view each person who walks into the show-

room as an opportunity to make a friend for life." — John Downes, a consultant to car dealers.

Matter of priorities — A Liggett tobacco company spokesperson said inventor James Mold doesn't get the big picture. Mold recently disclosed he invented a cigarette, patented by Liggett in 1977, which reduces the incidence of cancer. Liggett decided that marketing it would constitute a costly admission that the present product is a killer.

For sure — "We're not in the medical business." K.v.R. Dey, president of Liggett's, explaining why the company never hired a

physician to study the various reports linking cancer to smoking.

Rough assignment — Richard Sinnott, retired Boston licensing chief, is trying to have a reporter put in jail for refusing to reveal the source of his story about Sinnott's disability pension application. In the application, Sinnott said he suffered emotional distress as the result of attending a licensing board meeting and two rock concerts.

Seems obvious — A survey found that the median cost of a home doubled in the past decade, and an increased number of families need two incomes to pay the mortgage. But, assures the

U.S. League of Savings Institutions, which did the survey, "There is ample housing available for a wide range of incomes."

Silver lining dep't — A Houston firm is doing a lucrative business making environmental risk assessments for banks. That's so they can clean up contaminated areas? No. To determine if its worth foreclosing a piece of property where they might get hit with a big cleanup bill.

A thought — If the Israelis want to reduce the incidence of Palestinian youths throwing stones at Israeli cars, why don't they stop issuing license plates of a different color to Palestinians?

West Bank, Gaza: source of cheap labor for Israel

Continued from Page 7

shift in the employment pattern toward industry. Of the Gaza labor force in 1985, 21.2 percent were employed in Israeli agriculture, 19 percent in industry, and 42.3 percent in construction.

"Our workers are rented for labor in Israeli production," Palestinian labor leader George Hazboun told this reporter during a 1983 interview in Bethlehem. "In the last census it was shown that 85,000 West Bank workers were employed in Israeli production. Of those, 30,000 work in Israel without permits.

"These workers are taxed exactly as any Israeli worker, including the tax for Peace for Galilee [financing the costs for the invasion and occupation of Lebanon]. But whereas Israeli workers have social security, health insurance, pensions, etc., Palestinians have none of these."

Back home by sundown

Since legally these workers cannot remain in Israel overnight, they must commute daily from Gaza or the West Bank. Travel eats up a substantial portion of their income. Those that stay overnight illegally are often locked in at the work site overnight by the bosses. Some have died in fires while locked in.

Thousands employed as day workers assemble at 4 a.m. at various sites in the territories known as "slave markets." They are selected by bosses and herded into pickup trucks headed for a job site.

The Histadrut, the Zionist organization that doubles as a big business and union federation, refuses to organize Palestinian workers from the territories. A giant construction firm owned by the Histadrut, Solel Boneh, is one of the largest employers of these workers.

The Israeli agricultural cooperatives, known as kibbutzim and moshavim, in the south employ large numbers of children from the Gaza Strip.

The superexploitation of Palestinian workers makes it possible to squeeze more profits out of other workers in Israel. "The availability of large resources of labor has had a stabilizing effect on wages inside Israel and in periods of recession has acted as a repository for surplus labor," explained Sara Roy in the autumn 1987 *Journal of Palestine Studies*.

In addition to the forced proletarianization of much of the population, the Israeli government has sought to dismantle the refugee camps that they saw as centers of opposition. Sections of the Gaza refugee camps were bulldozed by the army to crush military resistance led by the Palestine Lib-

eration Organization in the early 1970s.

Today only about 350,000 of the 1.5 million Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza live in refugee camps.

Palestinians reknit ties

With the occupation of all of Palestine in 1967, the Palestinians who remained in Israel after 1948 began to be reunited, albeit under occupation, with the Palestinian people in the newly conquered territories. Today more than 2 million Palestinians live under Israeli rule in their homeland — 42 percent of the Palestinian people. As the December one-day general strike by all the

Palestinians showed, they have the potential to become a formidable force.

Palestinian labor unions are being formed and have joined in the struggle for national liberation, despite arrests and deportations. West Bank unions participated in the 1976 municipal elections on the PLO slate that swept to victory all over the West Bank. Strikes have become an important expression of resistance to occupation.

Even in Gaza, where repression is most intense and union organization weakest, unions are advancing. The first successful union election took place on Feb. 21, 1987.

Washington steps up attack on Panama

Continued from front page

February 25. Delvalle, whom the U.S. media says is in hiding in Panama, is recognized by Washington as the president. He has ordered all Panamanian assets frozen.

Using Delvalle as a front, Washington has imposed a series of measures aimed at economically strangling Panama. The *New York Times* reported March 3 that Delvalle's economic war against Panama is actually being coordinated from Washington by former State Department official William Rogers.

Washington called on U.S. banks March 2 to withhold funds from Panama since the State Department does not recognize the government led by Noriega as legitimate. As the courts and banks have gone along with this, about \$50 million in Panamanian assets have effectively been ripped from Panamanian control.

These blows have been especially devastating since Panama has no currency of its own and uses the U.S. dollar (called the balboa) as its currency. The government was forced to order banks closed March 4 to halt panic withdrawals by depositors. As we go to press, they have not reopened.

Thousands of elderly people and retirees reportedly protested in Panama City March 7 when they were unable to cash their pension checks.

This protest, a direct effect of Washington's economic attack, contrasted with the relatively small protests usually organized by the business-dominated National Civic Crusade, which has been organizing anti-Noriega actions. On March 8 the government dispersed a gathering of 200 people, organized by the NCC at a church in the city's financial district to demand the ouster of the government.

The economic squeeze has been deepened by a shutdown of businesses, fac-

tories, and stores, organized by layers of the country's employing class. The shutdown is portrayed as a strike in the U.S. media.

In addition, Washington is planning to place the \$7 million monthly operations fee it owes on the Panama Canal in an escrow account until a government approved by Washington is installed.

A Panamanian official explained, "Millions of dollars in canal revenues are being used for unauthorized purposes" by the U.S. government. "Either they are stealing the money or improperly channeling it to overthrow the government of Panama."

In an interview with an NBC news correspondent that was aired February 28, Cuban President Fidel Castro explained his government's support to Panama.

"It is not the person of Noriega," he

Despite an Israeli ban on the voting and the use of troops to seal off the hall, members of the Builders and Carpenters Union broke through the army barricades and held their elections. Since then, many other unions have succeeded in doing the same.

As a result of the integration of West Bank and Gaza into Israel's economy, the Israeli rulers no longer face only refugees scattered in many countries but 2 million Palestinians in their homeland. This is a youthful and increasingly working-class population, many of whom have known nothing but the iron fist of Israeli military rule.

said. "That's not what is important. What is important is the independence, the sovereignty of Panama, the rights of Panama over the canal."

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega told Noriega, the February 26 Managua daily *Barricada* reported, that "the Panamanian people, facing threats, blackmail, and the danger of American troop intervention, could count on the militant and combative solidarity of the people of Sandino."

Peruvian President Alan García has also criticized the escalating U.S. aggression. He pointed to Washington as a "great power" with designs on the canal "that wants to meddle in Panama. . . . We, as Latin Americans, tell them that the only thing they should and must do is return the canal to Panama, and return to Latin America its destiny."

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25¢
March 17, 1978

President James Carter's use of the Taft-Hartley "slave labor" act against 160,000 striking coal miners poses a deadly threat to the entire labor movement and to the rights of all working people.

The miners democratically voted in their overwhelming majority to reject the contract terms offered by the coal operators. By ordering the miners to give up their only weapon — the right to strike — and return to work, Carter is trampling on their democratic right to decide for themselves what are acceptable conditions of employment.

Carter is trying to divide the miners — to isolate them from other workers and to foster divisions within the United Mine Workers union itself. The divide-and-rule offensive is proceeding on several fronts:

- The employers, the government, and the news media have stepped up their scare campaign to blame the miners for layoffs, school closings, and power cutbacks. The miners are made the scapegoats for everything from rising prices to the decline of the dollar.

- Provocative warnings about "violence" and threats of federal force to protect scabs are designed to create the false impression that intimidation by a minority

— rather than the solidarity of the vast majority — is keeping the mines closed.

- The White House says it will cut off food stamps for the strikers.

- Carter further threatens to impound local union treasuries and to fine or jail union officers, hoping to whip some locals into submission and split the union.

THE MILITANT
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MINNEAPOLIS — When the Albion French Lake Co-operative Creamery in West Albion signed a contract with the National Farmers Organization, the militant new farm movement, Land O' Lakes Creamery here in Minneapolis refused to process its milk.

Something had to be done with the milk that had accumulated at the creamery. So the NFO scheduled a rally for 1:00 p.m. the next day, March 7, to witness the dumping of this milk into a pothole.

Automobile convoys entered West Albion shortly before the scheduled demonstration. Cars were lined up for three-quarters of a mile in both directions on the highway going through the tiny town. Some 2,000 farmers from at least 16 counties had congregated.

Pa. miners force bosses to retreat

Continued from back page

tion canceling campaign against the local newspaper, they began to get more objective coverage of their strike and the issues that had drawn them out. But they had to stand firm against company threats against their "illegal" action, as well as violence-baiting. This included a massive police presence in Indiana on February 27, following rumors that the miners planned a solidarity rally with rubber workers.

R&P has agreed to scrap the program that led to the strike and to discuss the issues with the union. They now face a more united and confident United Mine Workers, one that has caught the attention and won the support of other miners in the area, as well as unionists facing battles in other industries.

Kipp Dawson is a member of UMWA District 5 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

U.S. lies about rights in Cuba

The government that is guilty of the most human rights violations in the world is waging a slanderous campaign in the United Nations against the government that is the most consistent defender of human rights.

That, in a nutshell, describes Washington's attempt in Geneva, Switzerland, to get the UN Human Rights Commission to pass a resolution charging Havana with carrying out arbitrary arrests, forced labor, torture, and executions.

The government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in Britain was the first to add its voice to Washington's disinformation campaign. Not surprisingly, given London's disregard for civil rights. The latest example was the shooting to death by British cops of three unarmed Irish nationalists in Gibraltar on March 6.

And on March 8, these two self-proclaimed champions of human rights vetoed a UN Security Council resolution that would have imposed sanctions against the South African government for its recent crackdown on anti-apartheid organizations.

Washington desperately wants a UN condemnation of the Cuban government as a notorious violator of human rights in order to lessen the inspiring example that socialist Cuba provides to workers and peasants around the globe, as well as to justify U.S. military, economic, and political aggression against the Cuban people.

But Washington faces a big obstacle in this crusade: it has no evidence to support its claim that Cuba is a totalitarian dungeon whose people live in fear and loathing. It is so obvious that the U.S.-initiated resolution has nothing to do with human rights and everything to do with the U.S. rulers' 30-year-long aggression against Cuba, that it is difficult for even some of Washington's allies to go along with it, especially those in the semi-colonial countries.

Hundreds of millions of people around the world are aware that it is the U.S. government that provides aid and comfort to virtually every torturer and dictator, from Gen. Augusto Pinochet in Chile to the military junta in Haiti.

A small portion of the U.S. rulers' current human rights violations includes: trying to overthrow the Panamanian government; backing the contra murderers in Nicaragua; funding Israeli killings of Palestinians; and supporting South Africa's war against Angola, while thousands of prisoners rot in U.S. jails and racist killer cops go free.

Last year Washington lost the vote on condemning Cuba at the UN Human Rights Commission meeting.

A key piece in its planned comeback was the appointment of Armando Valladares, a former cop during Fulgencio Batista's rule, as the U.S. representative to the commission. The counterrevolutionary Cuban exile, who was jailed in Cuba for his role in a terrorist bomb plot, fraudulently claims he was imprisoned for expressing dissident political views.

Valladares was released in 1982 in response to an international campaign on his behalf.

Washington's use of Valladares as the point man in its anti-Cuba campaign appears to be backfiring. This is due in no small part to the Cuban government's vigorous international effort to answer Valladares' slanders against Cuba.

In response, the U.S. State Department felt compelled to issue a "confidential" document last November, addressed to all "diplomatic and consular posts." The document was an "action request" to "refute disinformation concerning Valladares should it surface locally."

The Cuban government got a hold of the memo. Havana published it as a pamphlet in English and Spanish, titled, *15 Lies of the State Department Concerning Valladares*. In addition to the memo, the pamphlet contains a factual rebuttal to each of the 15 lies, and reprints of documents proving the Cubans' case.

So thin is his credibility that all the Latin American delegations in Geneva refused to give Valladares a formal welcome — except for the representatives of Chilean tyrant Pinochet.

While this year's anti-Cuba resolution is toned down somewhat from last year's in a bid to get the extra votes needed, the bully boys from Washington continue to use the tactic they know best: brute force.

A group of prominent Argentinians associated with the Anti-Imperialist Tribunal of Latin America issued a declaration in Buenos Aires denouncing the U.S. campaign against Cuba and the pressure to line up behind it.

Even delegates from imperialist Sweden and Germany have complained about being strong-armed by the U.S. delegation.

As part of its campaign to rebuff Washington's slanders, the Cuban government has recently allowed a number of international delegations to visit Cuban prisons.

The treatment of those who are convicted of breaking the law says a lot about the state of human rights in a country. U.S. prisons are filled to overflowing with working people, a high percentage of whom are Black and Latino. Despite their formal title as "correctional" facilities, brutality, racist and sexist harassment, neglect, and humiliation are the norm in U.S. prisons.

In socialist Cuba, the goal of imprisonment is to rehabilitate people. And to do that, prisoners are educated, given productive work — which they are paid for — and an amount of freedom of movement and respect that would astound anyone who's ever been jailed in the United States.

A U.S. group called the Human Rights Project toured three different Cuban prisons in 1987, including Boniato prison, which the *Miami Herald* claimed has been "long regarded as one of the most notorious of Cuba's jails."

They found no political prisoners. And the prisoners looked healthy and well-treated.

Could anyone honestly say the same after a visit to Attica, or to the Atlanta penitentiary, where thousands of Cubans were held for the last several years despite the fact that many had either committed no crimes or already served their sentences?

On the back page of this week's *Militant*, we have a news story about an important picket line that took place in New York on March 6 defending Cuba against the U.S. slanders and pointing to Washington as the "No. 1 human rights violator." Every supporter of democratic rights, peace, and social justice has the obligation to protest the U.S. campaign against Cuba and to demand that the embargo and travel ban be lifted and relations be normalized.

Is there really a debate on trade in the elections?

BY DOUG JENNESS

Two days before the "Super Tuesday" caucuses and primary elections, *Washington Post* reporter Stuart Auerbach wrote that "trade has emerged as one of the few substantive points that candidates have found to argue about."

It's hard to quarrel with the judgment that the Democratic and Republican presidential contenders' debates have had little substance. In fact, I'd go further and say

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

that these debates have not revealed *any* substantial disagreements. And that goes for the trade issue too.

This is not to say that important disputes don't occur in capitalist ruling circles, but so far they haven't found expression in the 1988 primary races.

Auerbach and many other correspondents contend that Rep. Richard Gephardt from Missouri has forced a sharp debate on trade with his strong "protectionist" stance. Gephardt is the sponsor of an amendment to the Omnibus Trade Bill now pending in Congress that would impose penalties on countries running "excessive" trade surpluses with the United States.

Gephardt has without a doubt attempted to present a tough posture against import tariffs imposed by countries the United States trades with.

Hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent on a television ad, for example, in which Gephardt claims South Korea's import tariffs would make a U.S.-made Chrysler K-car cost \$48,000 there, and that if he were president, the South Koreans might face the possibility of a Hyundai costing \$48,000 in the United States.

But while Gephardt has established a reputation as the most strident in what he says in favor of restrictive trade legislation, he is not the only one among the Democratic and Republican contenders assuming this posture.

Both Kansas Sen. Robert Dole and evangelist Pat Robertson are demanding tighter restrictions on textile imports. Dole, sounding like Gephardt, said on a nationally televised debate, "An Alabama watermelon would cost you \$55 in Tokyo. Let's be sensible, let's be realistic. We're talking about American jobs."

Democratic hopeful Jesse Jackson has also sounded this chauvinist theme. His particular angle is that U.S. multinational corporations should help save "American" jobs by opening plants in the United States and closing them down in other countries. He rails against these companies using low-wage "slave labor" abroad instead of "free labor" at home, as if workers in the United States, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and other countries aren't all exploited by the same system of capitalist wage slavery.

Sen. Albert Gore from Tennessee and Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis insist that plenty of legislation already exists for the president to retaliate against trade barriers imposed by other governments. Gore states that "forceful presidential leadership" is needed "to remove unfair trade barriers overseas."

Dukakis emphasizes, "We need a president who will take action under the authority you've already given them."

Vice-president George Bush sounds a similar note. "If we can enforce existing laws, our people can compete with anybody," he states.

The fact is that all the Democratic and Republican contenders defend some form of protective measures for U.S. industry, and at the same time none of them promote a trade war with other countries. Their differences center over which industries to protect, what measures to use, and when. And most important of all how much to emphasize this issue to win votes in the primaries. What the candidates are saying now doesn't necessarily have much to do with what measures they would enforce if elected.

While the Gephardt amendment has been assailed on the grounds that it could lead to a trade war, its provisions are actually rather modest. It doesn't guarantee any particular industry relief and its proposed penalties are relatively small. It would not add much to the legal measures that are already in place for government officials to retaliate against imports from other countries.

As the price competition between capitalist exporters from different countries continues to intensify, pressures for more protectionist measures will mount. But at the present time, the prevailing view in U.S. ruling circles is not to launch policies that could trigger a destructive and destabilizing trade war. That's why there's not much of a gap between any of the candidates on this issue.

For working people, the demagogic calls by capitalist politicians to protect "American" industry and "American" jobs are an obstacle to seeing ourselves as part of an international class of workers who face a common exploitation.

We are not "American," "Korean," or "Japanese" workers; nor are we "free" and "slave" workers. We are workers who live in the United States, South Korea, and Japan and are all exploited as wage slaves by the same international class of capitalist profiteers.

Int'l fight for abortion rights

The international struggle over the right of all women to have access to safe, legal abortions is heating up, especially in Britain, Canada, and the United States.

The fight for abortion rights is international because the conditions that spark the fight are international: the entry of large numbers of women into the work force, which poses sharply the need and right of women to be able to control their reproductive functions.

In Britain, the House of Commons is considering a bill lowering the maximum time limit for legal abortions to 18 weeks from the current limit of 28 weeks. An abortion rights demonstration has been called for March 19, the date the legislation is scheduled for a final vote in Parliament. The Trades Union Congress, Britain's labor federation, is a sponsor of the action.

In Canada, the Supreme Court ruled on January 28 that the 1969 antiabortion law is unconstitutional. The Canadian ruling class immediately launched an offensive aimed at reversing this significant victory. The government of Conservative Party Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has announced it will draft a new law to limit abortion rights.

In the United States, an important victory was won when the Reagan administration's attempt to prevent federally financed family planning clinics from helping women obtain abortions was set back.

On March 3 — the day the regulations were supposed to go into effect — a federal district judge in Boston issued a nationwide injunction permanently prohibiting enforcement of the restrictions.

If passed, they would have meant that 4,000 family planning clinics that serve 4.5 million women would lose their federal funding if they so much as told a patient about the option to have an abortion and where she might get that abortion.

A new attack on abortion rights has just whizzed through Congress, however. It is in the form of an amendment to a civil rights bill.

On Feb. 28, 1984, the Supreme Court ruled that a federal law barring sex discrimination at schools receiving federal aid applied only to the specific program or activity receiving such aid. This meant federally funded institutions were in much less danger of being penalized for racist or sexist discrimination.

Soon after this court decision, the Civil Rights Restoration Act was introduced into Congress. Its goal was to return the situation to what had existed before the Grove City ruling.

The bill was opposed by Reagan and many Republican congresspeople. In order to sweeten the pot, an antiabortion amendment was attached. It states that institutions receiving federal aid cannot be required to provide or pay for abortions. The bill is now on Reagan's desk. He says he will veto it in spite of the antiabortion rider.

While congressional liberals downplay the importance of the antiabortion amendment, Molly Yard, president of the National Organization for Women, acknowledged its significance, saying it "put abortion language into civil rights law for the first time and, by making a substantive change in law, limits a woman's constitutional right to abortion."

If it passed, federally funded hospitals whose administrators oppose abortion wouldn't have to perform them. School administrators could delete abortion coverage from employees' insurance plans.

This amendment is a blow to abortion rights and should be opposed by all working people.

Rail workers shafted when branch lines reorganized

BY JAMES THORNTON

Like millions of other workers, rail workers have been hard hit in recent years by industry restructuring, demands for wage and other concessions, lay-offs, erosion of safety and working conditions, and other attacks that have weakened the rail unions.

One method the superrich owners of the railroads have come up with to go after the rail unions involves what are called "short lines" and regional railroads.

Traditionally, a short line railroad takes over a branch line that the former operator — usually a large rail system

UNION TALK

such as Conrail or Burlington Northern — can't make enough money on and wants to abandon. Many of these branch lines, though, are much needed by farmers and other small producers to ship their products, regardless of how much money the branch makes for the carrier.

Over the past decade, major rail systems have stepped up the sale of branch and trunk lines. Hundreds of miles of track and sometimes hundreds of union workers are affected by the sales.

When the lines are sold, the new owners often make changes that amount to tearing up existing union contracts. Either new, worse labor agreements are forced on the workers, or the owners simply do away with the unions altogether and run an open shop.

For example, when the Chicago, Central and Pacific

railroad took over 750 miles of Illinois Central Gulf lines west of Chicago, the crew sizes were cut in half, and two crew changes were eliminated. A two-person crew must now work up to 11 hours running a train 275 miles from Chicago to Waterloo, Iowa, including picking up and setting out rail cars along the way.

Since 1982, Guilford Transportation Industries of New England has transferred two of its three railroads to another carrier, Springfield Terminal. ST then forced the United Transportation Union to accept a contract that allows smaller train crews and pays wages as low as \$7 an hour — about half the industry standard. (The Interstate Commerce Commission ruled in February that Guilford's reorganization "substantially injured" the unions. Rail workers have been on strike against the carrier since last November over safety questions.)

Springfield Terminal was originally a 5.4-mile line in New Hampshire, but now its system includes hundreds of miles of secondary lines in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut.

Rail workers are also being affected by the sales of entire rail systems.

Last September, for example, 750 workers on the Pittsburgh and Lake Erie railroad struck over the proposed sale of the line to another carrier, which wanted to eliminate up to 500 jobs and place all remaining employees in one union or run a nonunion shop.

In October, rail workers in Montana struck briefly to protest the sale by Burlington Northern of 900 miles of rail line in that state to a new short line that will remain linked to BN.

Rail union officials have also taken a few steps to counter the wave of new short lines and regional railroads. They have sued the American Association of Railroads, an industry lobby, to halt line transfers and sales until some protection for union members is provided. Unemployment pay equal to several years' wages and/or the right to be hired by other lines is the type of relief the officials are demanding. A bill has also been introduced in Congress to require railroads to pay up to \$30,000 to each worker displaced by a line sale or transfer.

Government regulatory agencies such as the Interstate Commerce Commission, Federal Railroad Administration, and various state bodies generally act on the railroads' behalf, and have done little to halt line sales or enforce safety rules.

Some railroad owners are cutting back on maintenance of equipment, signals, and track. This results in more hazardous operations, delays and breakdowns due to equipment, and signal failures and deteriorated track.

As rail workers begin to organize and fight back against these attacks, they can expect to win broad public support. People who live in communities where rail accidents have occurred, passengers who want — or need — to use rail transportation, farmers who require rail service to ship their products, and other unionists are among the millions that would back such a fight.

James Thornton is a member of Transportation-Communications Union Local 1472 in Philadelphia and works for the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority as a terminal attendant.

LETTERS

'Amnesty'

The Immigration and Naturalization Service is having a hard time getting immigrant workers without documents to apply for "amnesty." Not surprisingly, though, since they make it virtually impossible for the majority of them to qualify given the tremendous burden of proof demanded and the hundreds of dollars in expenses.

In an effort to convince people to apply, *la migra* came up with an idea it thinks will work.

According to the February 21 *New York Times*, "The government is sending messages in tortilla packages to remind illegal aliens about the deadline to apply for immigration amnesty. The Immigration and Naturalization Service has printed 80,000 Spanish-language reminders on 4-by-6 inch pieces of paper, and next week it plans to send them to tortilla factories in Brownfield, Odessa, and Lovington, New Mexico, where they will be inserted in packages."

Brilliant! Brilliant in its show of chauvinist arrogance.

Who is *la migra* to decide that people who eat tortillas are "illegal aliens"? Why not people dressed in green uniforms with aviator glasses?

Carrying this to its logical conclusions, *la migra* may just decide to continue by inserting their "reminders" in spaghetti boxes, pizzas, fortune cookies, or chop suey, hot dog, and potatoes packaging. Perhaps the only place you may be safe from suspicion would be at a McDonald's or Wendy's.

Instead of printing tons of such "reminders," *la migra* could just print millions of residence cards and give them to whoever wants one. Easier than that, they could dissolve themselves and open the borders for anyone who wants to immigrate or emigrate to or from the United States.

Héctor Marroquín
Newark, New Jersey

A new breed

With each new election we shuffle different politicians in and out of power. Though differing in name and party preference, these officials once elected jell into the same mold.

In America's democracy we do have periodically free elections. But these free elections are based on rules made by our two largest political parties, and usually those parties' candidates are the only

ones on the ballot. Many of what should be considered important issues are purposely disregarded or downplayed.

Many alternative candidates and activists who are trying to educate the masses are financially unable to get their message heard.

A change for the better will occur when the farmers, workers, and all minorities are knowledgeable of the issues and know they have an alternative to the Republicans and Democrats. If workers, farmers, and minorities stand as one, we will begin to see a new breed of elected officials.

These new representatives must be determined and unswervingly committed to make all people unquestionably equal in America and around the globe.

It will not be easy and it won't be fast. But I think it's worth a try.

M.G.
Hampton, Virginia

More on South Africa

Good reading material. A bit slanted, but no more than the right-wing slants of the capitalist newspapers. Keep up the great work.

Also, please do more on South Africa and apartheid, if possible.

(It's already great coverage, though.)

J.O.
Tempe, Arizona

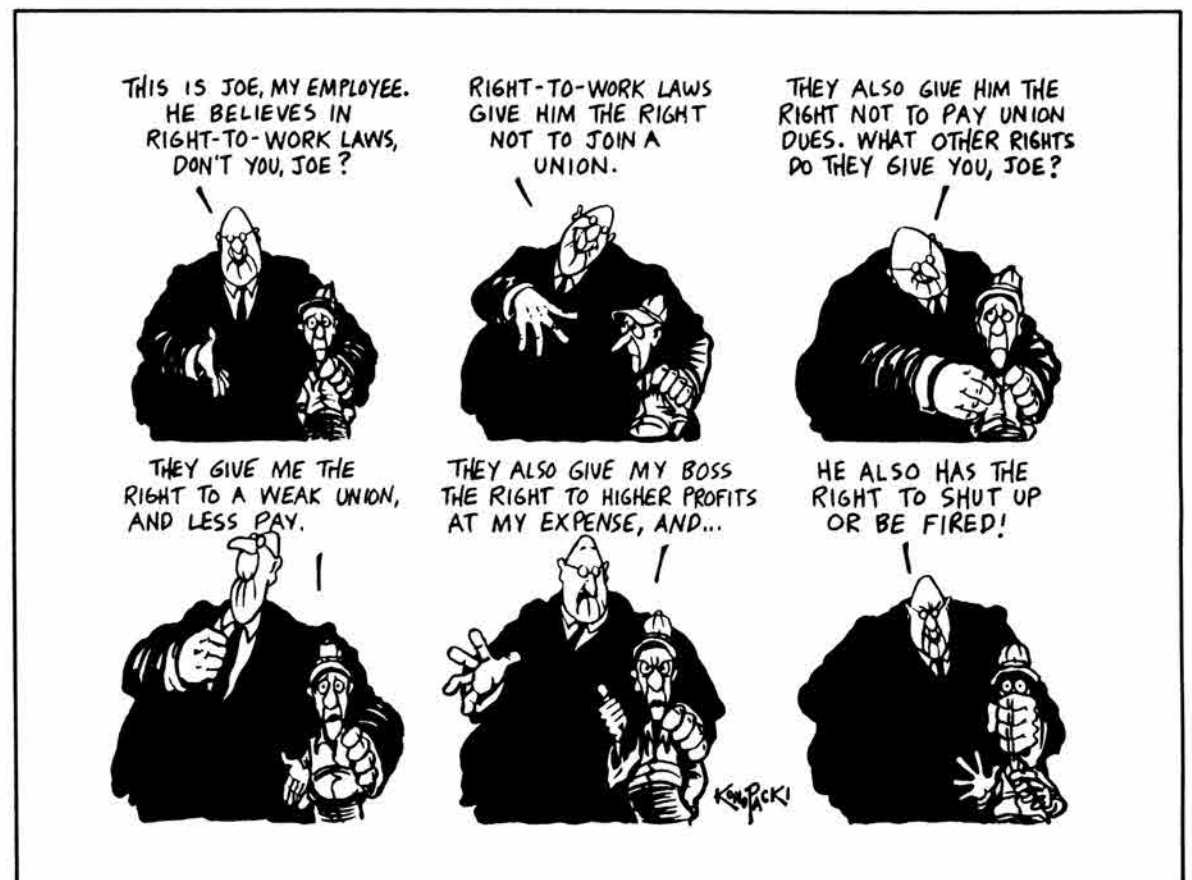
Drug testing

Important victories for workers' rights have been won in recent court decisions barring drug and alcohol testing of rail workers.

The U.S. appeals court in San Francisco on February 11 struck down as unconstitutional a federal requirement that rail workers involved in accidents be tested. Just two weeks earlier, federal Judge Edmund Ludwig issued a permanent injunction against the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) barring it from engaging in random testing of rail workers or testing employees when they return to work after illness or vacation.

SEPTA went on the offensive a year ago and began randomly pulling crews from trains and taking them to a back room where they were forced to give blood and urine under threat of being fired.

One conductor at SEPTA told me, "It's about time our rights were recognized. This drug testing thing has just been a way for them to cover up their own failings." An



engineer said, "If I'm impaired at work, it's because of the long hours, lack of rest, and harassment from SEPTA."

The federal government has vowed to reverse the court of appeals in San Francisco. The injunction against random testing at SEPTA is worded so as to be permanent "until such time as SEPTA and the United Transportation Union negotiate an agreement of this issue in accordance with the Railway Labor Act." Clearly, this is intended as an opening for SEPTA to attempt to force a concession from the union.

The recent victory is one our unions must fight to defend and expand.

Michael Carper
Melrose Park, Pennsylvania

Can't wait

The *Militant* is indispensable for the information it provides. No matter what the issue may be (the stock market crash, government attempts to interfere with Panamanian sovereignty, the Palestinian revolution, etc.), every week I cannot wait to read the *Militant* to find out what's really going on.

J.S.
Chicago, Illinois

AIDS

I thought the article on AIDS

and the government's brutal neglect of drug addicts (*Militant* February 5) was excellent overall. I disagree, however, with the way it counterposed the distribution of free needles to the call for expanding rehabilitation programs.

For one thing, many of the groups working to reach drug users with needles or bottles of bleach are among the sharpest critics of the government's failure to act on drug treatment. By contrast, most of the public officials who oppose free needles as sanctioning drug abuse don't have the slightest interest in helping those already hooked.

More importantly, by counterposing treatment to distribution of sterile needles, in effect, we demand protection from AIDS only for those who are right now willing and able to quit using. This cuts across our ability to fight the confusion and prejudice fostered by those who blame the problem on the victims and their "underclass subculture," rather than on the social system.

Addiction, once set in motion, is a powerful disease, and addicts have good reason to be cynical about the rehab programs offered by the government and private hospitals. It's clear that even with a 10-fold increase in treatment centers, many folks still would not use them.

Breaking the grip of drug addiction is a long-term struggle that needs to start right now. But eliminating the threat of AIDS from dirty needles could be done so quickly, even by this government, that not to do it is criminal.

Johanna Ryan
Chicago, Illinois

Aryan Nations

While reading the January 29 issue of the *Militant* I "noticed" that white racist groups such as the Aryan Nations still exist against Blacks, and Mexicans, and Jews and other minority Americans. It's just like the 1950s and '60s all over again.

So I say to all my brothers and sisters of color across America, we should be trying to formulate and articulate the aspirations and needs of our oppressed people in the United States and South Africa.

A prisoner
Tennessee Colony, Texas

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.

'Stop the lies against Cuba!'

N.Y. picket answers U.S. slander

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

NEW YORK — "Stop the lies, stop the threats; U.S. hands off Cuba!" This message — in chants, placards, and speeches — rang out loud and clear as 150 people demonstrated in midtown Manhattan March 6.

Together the marchers represented more than a dozen organizations. They gathered to protest efforts by Washington to slanderously misrepresent revolutionary Cuba's record on human rights.

Washington's latest ploy has been to use Armando Valladares, a cop during Fulgen-

An editorial on the U.S. government slander campaign against Cuba appears on page 14.

cio Batista's dictatorship, which was overthrown in 1959.

Rechristened a "political prisoner" and "dissident poet," Valladares has now been sent as U.S. representative to a United Nations conclave on human rights, in Geneva, Switzerland, to trumpet more lies about Cuba.

"We are here to protest those lies," Carlos Moncada of Casa de las Americas, one of the main organizers of the action, told the protesters.

"I came to the United States more than 40 years ago," Moncada said. "I know the Cuba of before the revolution and the Cuba of today. Valladares was a Batista policeman — tried and convicted for acts of terrorism."

The reason Washington hates Cuba so much?

Because "Cuba is a model of respect for humankind," Moncada said. "Cuba has free medical care, low-cost housing," and, he continued, pointing to nearby welfare hotels, "no homeless people living in the street."

Several speakers referred to the monumental hypocrisy of the slander campaign against Cuba by Washington. As one placard in the crowd proclaimed: "U.S. No. 1 human rights violator." Another blasted Washington's current drive to topple the sovereign government of Panama.

Protests urged to free workers' leaders in Dominican Republic

BY MIKE TABER

On March 8 the government of the Dominican Republic arrested Esteban Díaz Jaques, general secretary of the Dominican Workers Party. In addition, José González Espinosa, the party's chairman, is also being sought.

These actions, part of a series of arrests, have been the Dominican government's response to the wave of popular protests that have shaken the country in the last couple of weeks, including strikes, demonstrations, and street battles.

In the working-class barrios of the capital city of Santo Domingo and in other cities and rural areas, working people and peasants have been protesting rising prices of food and other necessities, as well as the devastating social conditions caused by the policies imposed on their country by the International Monetary Fund. Already several protesters have been killed by police.

Supporters of Díaz and González are asking that telegrams protesting the government's victimization be sent to: Sr. Joaquín Balaguer, President of the Republic, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic; and to El Nacional de Hora, Ave. San Martín #236, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.

Marta Fernandez of the Palestine Solidarity Committee denounced U.S. support for the murderous Israeli regime. She urged participants to join and help publicize a march in Washington, D.C., on March 13, in solidarity with the Palestinian struggle.

Estela Vasquez of the Latino Coalition for Social Justice blasted the outrage of honoring Valladares while Washington turns away thousands of genuine political refugees from U.S.-backed tyrannies.

Esmeralda Brown of the Women's Workshop in the Americas suggested: "Let's go to the Indian reservations in this country to see how the U.S. really respects human rights."

Teresa Walsh of the Venceremos Brigade, an organization that helps young volunteer workers travel to Cuba, was applauded by the crowd when she denounced U.S. travel restrictions.

"It's the U.S. government," she pointed out, "not Cuba, that keeps us from going there to see the truth for ourselves."

Rena Cacoullos, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, pointed to an aspect of Cuba's support for human rights that angers Washington the most — Cuba's support for the independence and sovereignty of Nicaragua, Angola, and Ethiopia.

Pa. miners' strike forces boss to retreat

BY KIPP DAWSON

INDIANA, Pa. — Some 2,500 United Mine Workers returned to work February 29 at 15 deep mines and three coal preparation plants near here after a successful one-week, 100 percent-solid strike against Rochester and Pittsburgh Coal.

R&P, centered in Indiana County in District 2 of the United Mine Workers, is Pennsylvania's largest coal operator. This strike was the first to ever shut down all of the coal company's underground facilities through "wildcat" action, that is, over anything besides a national contract dispute.

On February 27 R&P backed down from new rules they had threatened that had provoked the strike. These included new restrictions on when miners could use their contractually provided days off. But the most serious issue, striking miners reported, was the company's intention to take disciplinary action against miners who reported injuries suffered on the job. If a miner suffered two accidents, and reported them, during any 12-month period, he or she would go into a program, which, if repeated, would label the miner a "chronic repeater" and lead to his or her firing.

Miners became aware of the company's intentions when they picked up their paychecks February 18 and 19. When miners at one of R&P's mines decided to take action against what many saw as the latest in a series of provocations, quick coordination among the United Mine Workers (UMWA) locals led to the solid strike by the following Monday, February 22.

With all of R&P's deep mines shut down, a delegation of 150 strikers went to UMWA District 2 headquarters to meet with district officials on Monday. On Tuesday, 1,000 striking miners and their families rallied outside R&P corporate headquarters in Indiana.

Jeff Duncan is the president of UMWA Local 2299 at R&P's Urling No. 2 mine. He is also the elected spokesperson for a coordinating body the 15 mine union locals have organized over the last period to better respond in unity to company provocations against the union. Many miners I spoke with said this close union coordina-



Militant/Selva Nebbia

Some 150 people joined March 6 picket line to protest U.S. government attempts to slander Cuba as violator of human rights.

Other speakers included Jose Alfaro of the Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression; Merle Ratner of the Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos; Enrique Gutierrez of the Committee in Solidarity with Colombia; Neville Edwards of the Workers World Party; and Pat

Taran of the Peace and Solidarity Alliance.

For more than two hours the picket dominated a large traffic island in the center of bustling Times Square. It drew a largely friendly response from passersby, many of whom stopped to find out what was being discussed.

tion was a major reason for such quick, united action.

Referring to the new UMWA national contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, which R&P mines now work under, Duncan told the Tuesday rally, "Our membership ratified the new contract, which includes provisions that will strengthen the position of signatory operators in the coal market. We are prepared to live by these new provisions. We cannot live under these new company policies," he said.

Duncan explained miners' anger about the punitive program against injured workers, calling the proposal the "most ridiculous" of the new policies. He quoted the federal mine safety laws, which require that every mine accident be reported, and said that "under the terms of this new pol-

icy, a miner, in obeying the law, would put his job in jeopardy."

Many of the striking locals have recently helped organize solidarity meetings and activities for striking miners at the Canterbury mine nearby, as well as with rubber workers now in their third year of a strike against McCreary Tire; meat-packers who struck the Hormel company in Austin, Minnesota, in 1985-86; and others.

When they were forced on strike, the R&P miners began to receive offers of solidarity from striking paperworkers in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania; rubber workers; and other unionists, as well as from students and faculty at nearby Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

After miners organized a mass subscrip-

Continued on Page 13

Montreal antiracist rally set

BY JOANNE PRITCHARD

MONTREAL — Momentum is building for a March 19 rally to protest the February 24 acquittal of Constable Allan Gosset on the charge of manslaughter for the killing of Anthony Griffin, a Black teenager.

The rally, organized by the Black Community Council of Quebec and other Black student and community organizations, will be joined by demonstrators from Toronto, Ottawa, and other cities.

In Toronto, the Anthony Griffin Committee for Justice is organizing an Anthony Griffin Freedom Ride to Montreal. Buses have been rented, and thousands of leaflets have been distributed demanding, "Justice yes, racism no."

Gosset shot Griffin in the forehead at a distance of 23 feet in the parking lot of a Montreal police station, after arresting him for allegedly having refused to pay a cab fare.

At the trial, the prosecuting attorneys were barred from raising the issue of Gosset's record of racist behavior, despite the Quebec Human Rights Commission's ruling in 1981 that Gosset was guilty of anti-Black violence.

As a result, an all-white jury accepted

the defense argument that Griffin's killing was an accident.

On February 27, almost 1,000 people led by Black students marched to the No. 15 Police Station where Griffin was murdered. Demonstrators raised clenched fists and carried placards declaring, "Stop police racism now."

Other placards bore the names of Blacks who have been killed or imprisoned for fighting for justice: Malcolm X and Martin Luther King; South Africans Steve Biko and Nelson Mandela; and Haitian fighter Jean Robert Cius.

Herbert Marx, minister of justice of Quebec Province, met with Black community leaders March 7. He said he would support the hiring of more Black police officers and adding more civilians to a police review board.

Outside Montreal's courthouse, where the meeting took place, 60 demonstrators picketed. They chanted, "Dialogue cannot end racism."

For further details about the March 19 action, contact the Anthony Griffin Committee at (416) 657-1472. In Montreal contact the Black Community Council of Quebec at (514) 482-8802.