

Millions strike in South Africa

BY SAM MANUEL

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) estimated 3 million Black workers joined in the first day of a three-day general strike in South Africa. The June 6-8 strike had been called by the labor federation following a special conference on May 15.

The 1 million-member COSATU is South Africa's largest nonracial trade union federation. The strike call was also supported by the National Congress of Trade Unions.

The African National Congress issued a leaflet in South Africa supporting the strike. The ANC statement called for the "lifting of the state of emergency, removal of all laws aimed at destroying the democratic trade union movement, release of all detainees and political prisoners, and removal of troops and police from the townships and villages."

The ANC is leading the fight to overthrow the apartheid regime and to establish a democratic, nonracial South Africa.

The strike was called to protest emergency measures imposed by the apartheid regime on February 24. The measures effectively banned the activities of COSATU and 16 other major anti-apartheid organizations. The only exception was their carrying out "administrative functions."

In the industrial heartland of the country, known as the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging triangle, the strike got its strongest support. There, 78 percent of Black industrial workers joined the strike, along with 50 percent of commercial workers and 39 percent of transport workers, reported the June 7 London *Guardian*. An estimated 70 percent of the country's population lives in that area.

The strike was even more effective in the auto industry. All seven of the country's major auto assembly plants shut down in face of the strike. In Pretoria, the capital, 50 percent of the workers joined the strike, and buses were reported to be half empty.

The *Guardian* reported that a preliminary survey by the Labour Monitoring Group showed strong support for the strike call among both union and nonunion work-

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U.S. gov't blocks Veterans Peace Convoy to Nicaragua

BY TODD BROWN
AND ALICIA MEREL

LAREDO, Texas — The Veterans Peace Convoy, composed of 37 vehicles and almost 100 people, was prevented today by the U.S. Customs Service from crossing the border into Mexico from here. The convoy has been traveling for two and a half weeks, collecting humanitarian aid — clothing, food and medical supplies, for Nicaragua. It has received support from thousands of U.S. residents in more than 100 cities.

On June 7 at 9:30 p.m., customs agents presented to the convoy a set of what convoy national coordinator Tom Hansen, called "obstructive and punitive conditions which the convoy cannot possibly meet."

In a special set of papers from the U.S. Treasury Department titled "Veterans Peace Convoy Exporter Declaration," the convoy was required to sign a statement assuring that every vehicle would be returned to the United States within 30 days. In addition, a bond must be posted of over \$100,000, the blue book value of all the vehicles.

A reception and rally had been planned by the organizers of a number of solidarity coalitions in Mexico, the first of many rallies planned for the convoy in that country. In order to show their solidarity with their Mexican supporters, convoy participants marched across international bridge Number 1 into Nuevo Laredo, Mexico. Chanting "Feed the children, not the war," the march went down the main street of Nuevo Laredo drawing some raised fists of encouragement from people.

After a brief rally, convoy members marched back across the bridge into Laredo. As the march crossed the bridge, Mexican supporters in solidarity with the veterans stopped all traffic on the bridge exactly on the border in protest of the U.S. customs action. Traffic remained stopped for 15 minutes.

At a news conference later in Laredo, Hansen said that the convoy is prepared to stay here until it is allowed to continue its journey to Nicaragua.

Steve Somerstein, a member of the convoy and also one of its attorneys said, "The Reagan administration has made a big mistake by choosing to pick a fight with veterans over delivery of humanitarian aid to the children of Nicaragua."

Many groups and individuals, including

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Impact Visuals/Rachel Johnson

Veterans Peace Convoy prepares to leave from San Francisco after loading food, clothing, medical supplies, and other material aid for Nicaragua.

Big effort is planned to get out the next 'Militant'

BY NORTON SANDLER

We want to alert our readers and distributors in the United States and around the world that next week's *Militant* will be significantly expanded so that we can run "An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis."

The program will also be featured in the July-August issue of the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The Action Program is based on a report adopted by the Socialist Workers Party National Committee last December in the wake of the October stock market crash. It

reviews how the explosive pressures that have been accumulating in the capitalist world system the past two decades, especially during the 1980s, have already devastated whole regions of the world and the most impoverished layers of the working people.

This is what capitalism has in store for tens of millions more during the coming world depression. Working people in every corner of the globe where the capitalist market reaches will be engulfed by the economic and social crisis.

Outlined in the program is the course of action the labor movement should take to unify working people internationally and strengthen our ability to fight back against the coming employer and government attacks.

Distributors will be making a special effort to get the next issue of the *Militant* and *PM* into the hands of workers, students, and farmers. This will include discussing the Action Program with industrial workers at the plant gates and on the job.

Distributors are also making plans to circulate the program widely in working-class neighborhoods and on campuses, including in outlying areas. To complement this ambitious effort, we are going to extend the current international circulation drive through Friday, June 24.

As we go to press, local and international distributors of the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazine *New International* are already closing in on the combined 9,000 goal for the April-June drive.

Several areas report that they get their best results from discussions with working people and students about the meaning of the October 1987 stock market crash and by raising the proposals being put forward by the SWP presidential ticket of James Warren and Kathleen Mickells.

This has been the case in Los Angeles

Continued on Page 8

Fred Halstead dies Meetings to honor SWP leader's role

Fred Halstead, a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party, died of liver cancer at his home in Los Angeles on June 2. He was 61 years old.

Born in Los Angeles in 1927, Halstead joined the SWP in 1948. He was a member of the party's National Committee for many years and its candidate for president of the United States in 1968.

An active member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union until his death, Halstead participated in many labor strikes and organizing drives. He helped organize support for meat-packers who were on strike against Geo. A. Hormel & Co. in Austin, Minnesota, in 1985-86.

A top-notch journalist, Halstead provided on-the-scene reporting for the *Militant* of the movement to boycott segregated buses in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1956, and on other events in the civil

rights movement.

He was a central leader of the movement against the war in Vietnam during the late 1960s and early 1970s. His book *Out Now:*



A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War was published in 1978.

In New York and Los Angeles, meetings are planned to honor Halstead's contributions to the worldwide struggle of working people. The New York meeting will be held Saturday, June 18, beginning with a reception at 7:00 p.m. Jack Barnes, national secretary of the SWP, and SWP presidential candidate James Warren will speak. The event will be held at Goddard Riverside Center (595 Columbus Avenue, near 88th St. and Broadway).

Barnes will be the principal speaker at the Los Angeles meeting, to be held Sunday, June 19, opening with a reception at 3:30 p.m. It will take place at the National Association of Letter Carriers Hall (774 Valencia Street, corner of Eighth Street and Valencia, 4 blocks west of the Harbor Freeway).

Painting of mural in New York advances; \$30,000 fund opens

BY FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK — With the coming of warm weather, the painting of the six-story mural on the Pathfinder Building is picking up steam again. The mural runs from one end to the other of the building's south wall, clearly visible to the tens of thousands of motorists who drive along the West Side Highway nearby.

Walking along the six-story scaffolding on which the artists work, this reporter noted the sketch of a group of Hyundai auto workers on strike in South Korea. There were also sketches for portraits of such figures as Patrice Lumumba, the murdered leader of the independence struggle in the Belgian Congo (now Zaire) in central Africa; Lucy Parsons, a fighter for union and democratic rights in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the United States; antislavery fighters Frederick Douglass and John Brown; Irish revolutionary James Connolly; and José Martí, the leader of Cuba's fight for independence from Spain.

"More than a dozen artists have already contributed to the mural," Mike Alewitz told the *Militant*. Alewitz is the director of the Pathfinder Mural Project.

One of the most recent was Marcos Byrd, a painter who works in both Mexico and the United States. He painted the figure of the revolutionary Mexican peasant leader Emiliano Zapata.

On June 8 muralist Eva Cockcroft began the portrait of coalfields organizer Mother Jones. Cockcroft is a founder and executive director of Artmakers. She is the author of *Toward a People's Art: the Contemporary Mural Movement*.

In the coming weeks, Salvadoran artist Camilo Minero is scheduled to paint the portrait of Farabundo Martí, the leader of the Salvadoran revolutionary uprising of 1932, and tour several U.S. cities.

An exiled anti-apartheid South African painter will contribute the portrait of Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress of South Africa.

The huge printing press, which constitutes the centerpiece of the mural, is beginning to take shape. Alewitz, who created the design for the mural, explained that portraits of outstanding revolutionary working-class leaders are to be painted on the sheets of paper coming off the press.

The figures of Carlos Fonseca, founder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, and Augusto César Sandino, leader of the war against the U.S. occupation of Nicaragua in the 1920s and 1930s have been completed. Sandino's portrait was painted by the well-known Nicaraguan artist Arnoldo Guillén, and Fonseca's by Guillén and two additional Nicaraguan artists, Bayardo Gámez and Balazar Gutiérrez. Nicaraguan painter Carlos Montenegro painted in the six generals who fought in Sandino's army.

The portraits will include those of Malcolm X, Eugene Debs, Fidel Castro, Maurice Bishop, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Marx, and a group portrait of the central leaders of the Communist International in its early years under V.I. Lenin's leadership. Writings by these revolutionaries are published by Pathfinder, the publishing house whose offices are in the building.

The paper that feeds the press rolls off the banners of masses of workers and farmers in struggle today from South Africa to the United States, from Korea to Haiti. The crowd scenes have also been sketched out.

The creation of the Pathfinder mural is becoming widely known. In the New York area, articles have appeared in the *Amsterdam News*, *Nuevo Diario*, *Downtown* magazine, the *Villager*, and other publications.

The project has been publicized in other parts of the United States, in part through tours by Guillén, Montenegro, and Alewitz.

In Nicaragua, *Barricada Internacional* reported on the plans and progress in both its English and Spanish-language editions.

A letter appealing for funds for the Pathfinder mural has been signed by Eva Cockcroft, folksinger Pete Seeger, filmmaker Emile de Antonio, and poet Sonia Sanchez. The letter cites the view of internationally known painter Rudolf Baranik that the mural is "the most important public art that is going up in New York."

Pathfinder Mural Project staff member Cappy Kidd said that many individuals have contributed money and materials. But

expenses are high. These range from travel expenses for participating artists and the rental for the scaffolding to the legal costs required to fight the city government's attempt to impose \$3,500 in fines for alleged illegal posting of leaflets.

Speaking for the mural project, Andrea Morell told the *Militant* that a drive is now under way to raise \$30,000 from supporters to finance the project to its completion.

"We think that there can and will be a response to this appeal from the wide range of people who are interested in the success of a mural devoted to the struggles of working people around the world," Morell said.

The letter is being sent to artists, supporters of civil liberties, readers of Pathfinder publications, trade union activists, participants in organizations in solidarity with struggles in Central America and Southern Africa, and many others.

To make a contribution or obtain further information, please fill out the coupon below.

Enclosed is my tax-deductible contribution of ☐ \$1,000; ☐ \$500; ☐ \$100; ☐ \$50; ☐ \$25. Other amount \$ _____. Make checks payable to the Anchor Foundation, Inc.

☐ I would like more information about the mural project.

Name _____

Organization/title _____



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Artist Eva Cockcroft has begun painting figure of Mother Jones on Pathfinder Building mural. She cosigned letter urging contributions to finance completion of project.

Street _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Phone _____

Send to: Pathfinder Mural Project, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Phone: (212) 741-0690.

Rallies in Canada back Pathfinder expansion

BY PAUL KOURI

MONTREAL — The eight-week \$8,000 Pathfinder Bookstores Fund Drive to help build and expand Pathfinder bookstores here, in Toronto, and in London, England, is a major success. Supporters in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver have already contributed Canadian \$8,672. Another \$1,000 in pledges remains to be collected. Organizers of the campaign are confident that the campaign will top the \$10,000 mark.

On June 3 and 4 in Montreal and Toronto more than 100 people participated in two successful wind-up fund-raising benefits.

Pathfinder, which is headquartered in New York, publishes the speeches and writings of working-class revolutionary leaders such as Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Malcolm X, Nelson Mandela, and the Nicaraguan Sandinistas.

Those attending the two rallies, included workers and students born in countries such as South Korea, Turkey, El Salvador, Philippines, Burkina Faso, Rwanda, Uganda, South Africa, and the Caribbean

islands. Québécois and French-speaking people from Ontario also participated.

Abdoul Jeeva, a youth leader from South Africa, speaking in Toronto on behalf of the African National Congress, acknowledged the important role Pathfinder plays in getting out the truth about the struggles of oppressed peoples.

The 60 people attending the Toronto rally sent a telegram to the Congress of South African Trade Unions pledging to redouble "our efforts to build international solidarity with your just struggle."

In Montreal, Louise Dubreuil and Reisa Levine, members of the Artifact Women's Collective showed slides of their 1985 trip to Nicaragua where they joined with Nicaraguan workers and peasants in painting four murals in different regions of the country. The Artifact Collective will be going to New York in June to work on the six-story mural being painted on the Pathfinder Building in Lower Manhattan.

Mike Alewitz, director of the Pathfinder Mural Project, presented a slide-show on the project at both rallies.

While in Montreal, Alewitz was able to meet with sculptor Armand Vallancourt, a Kanak from the Pacific island of New Caledonia. Vallancourt expressed his desire to participate in the Pathfinder Mural Project. In written greetings to the rally, he expressed support for today's revolutionary struggles and Pathfinder's contribution to them.

Pathfinder representatives Carol Caron in Montreal and Robert Simms in Toronto explained the 60-year contribution of Pathfinder and its predecessors.

Today, this contribution is growing as the thirst for communist literature grows, explained Caron. "You'll find Pathfinder books and pamphlets on literature tables wherever people are struggling. Pathfinder bookstores are meeting places for fighters who want to study, discuss, and act," she concluded.

In Montreal the rally was chaired by Young Socialist leader Rollande Gerard. In Toronto, YS member Catherine Beland in her greetings to the rally explained that "Pathfinder books contribute to unifying the working class to chart a road forward."

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— Madlyn Wohlman

Former director of the Center for Central American Refugees, Plainfield, N.J.

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The Militant

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

Iowa rally to demand justice for Curtis

July 3 event will build support for activist framed up by Des Moines cops

BY BOB MILLER

DES MOINES, Iowa — The Mark Curtis Defense Committee announced that a rally to demand justice for Mark Curtis, a political activist framed up and beaten by the police here, will be held July 3 at the Des Moines Convention Center.

Neo Mnumzana, representative to the United Nations of the African National Congress of South Africa; Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born socialist who has been fighting for 11 years to remain in the United States; and a national leader of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) will speak at the rally along with Curtis.

Curtis, a 29-year-old meat-packer and member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431, was beaten up by the Des Moines cops on March 4. The attack occurred after Curtis left a meeting to protest the arrest of 17 of his coworkers — 16 Mexicans and a Salvadoran worker.

Curtis has been charged with third-degree sexual abuse and first-degree burglary.

His trial has been scheduled for July 6.

As a member of CISPES, Curtis was spied upon by the FBI as part of its disruption and harassment campaign against that organization. The FBI files on Curtis made his name available to cop agencies throughout the country.

In addition to the protest meeting on July 3, the defense committee is organizing a presentation the following morning on the history of government attacks on democratic rights and of police agency frame-ups.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is on a campaign to demand that all charges against Curtis be dropped and that the police beating of him be investigated and those responsible prosecuted. Thousands have signed petitions and sent messages to Des Moines Police Chief William Moulder with these demands.

Bernard Firestone, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Chicago and Central States Joint Board, wrote to Moulder, "The ordeal that Mr. Curtis has been put through appears to be part of a campaign against him and anyone else who has the courage to speak out in defense of the union movement."

Jeff Stansbury, political and education director of the western states region of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, wrote, "The arrest and beating of Mark Curtis by the Des Moines police, and the trumped-up charges on which he will

be brought to trial this July, should serve as a warning and rallying point for all who work on behalf of immigrant workers and workers in general."

The chief steward of air transport Lodge 1894 of the International Association of Machinists in New York, Frank Defilippi, wrote, "The obvious frame-up of Mark Curtis is tantamount to a slap in the face to all the men and women who gave their lives for free speech and workers' rights."

From Canada, the committee received a protest message from a leader of the Vancouver Vocational Institute Students Association. And from Montreal it received a leaflet in French on Curtis' case for distribution in Quebec. The Freedom Socialist Party of Australia demanded all charges against Curtis be dropped and sent a petition signed by 13 unionists and political activists.

Forty-two unionists, Central America solidarity activists, and anti-apartheid youth from Manchester, England, also signed a protest message to Police Chief Moulder. Among the many who recently signed petitions or sent messages in the United States are the Prisoners United for Revolutionary Education from the Goree Prison in Huntsville, Texas; Tom Fentin, executive director of the Michigan Coalition for Human Rights; and Richard Boren of Witness for Peace.

To continue the campaign in defense of

Curtis, who is also a member of the Socialist Workers Party and the former national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, the committee has announced a fund-raising appeal for \$45,000 by July 6. More than \$17,200 has been collected so far.

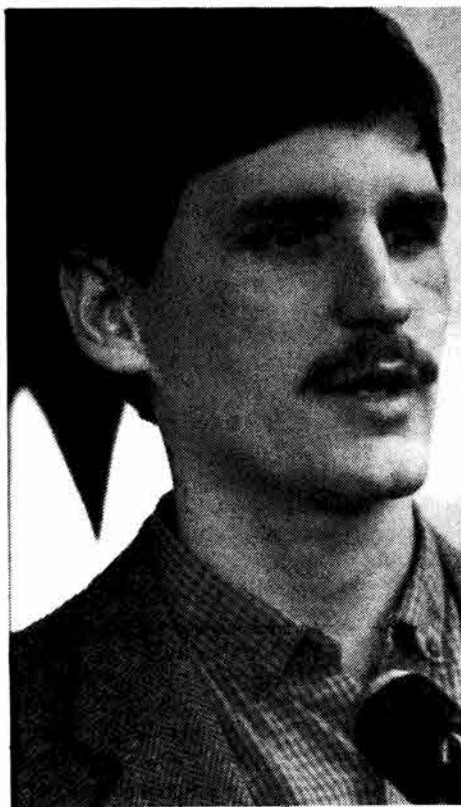
Curtis will be speaking throughout the United States in the coming weeks to explain the case and build support for his defense.

His tour will take him to Newark, New Jersey, June 12-13; Charleston, West Virginia, June 17; Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, June 18, where he will participate in a rally for striking paperworkers; Pittsburgh and Morgantown, West Virginia, June 19-20; Seattle and the Yakima Valley in Washington June 23-25; and Boston June 26-28.

The committee is asking that messages be sent to the Des Moines police demanding that the charges be dropped and the beating of Curtis by the cops be investigated, with those responsible being prosecuted. Petitions and a fact sheet are available from the committee.

Messages should be addressed to Chief of Police William Moulder, 25 E. 1st St., Des Moines, Iowa 50309.

Copies of messages and petitions, along with urgently needed financial contributions, should be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1630.



Militant/Stu Singer

Mark Curtis

Coming in our next issue . . .

Next week we will expand the paper in order to offer our readers several features of special interest. They include:

- **Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis.** Based on a report adopted by the Socialist Workers Party National Committee in December, this document deals with the political consequences for the working class — in the United States and internationally — of the October 1987 stock market crash.

- **Interview with Rafael "Fafa" Taveras,** current president of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America, which will be meeting in Panama June 20-23. Taveras is also general secretary of the Socialist Bloc of the Dominican Republic.

- **Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement.** A firsthand report from Grenada on the first congress of the MBPM.

- **Fred Halstead.** An article on the political contributions of this prominent Socialist Workers Party leader who died June 2. Halstead, a communist fighter for 40 years, was a participant in civil rights, antiwar, and labor struggles.

Marroquín wins new backers in fight for permanent residence in U.S.

BY JOHN STUDER

NEW YORK — A delegation of prominent political figures and defenders of democratic rights will travel with Héctor Marroquín when he goes to Toronto, Canada, on July 6 for an appointment with the U.S. consul general. This is the official responsible for ruling on Marroquín's application for permanent residence, which has been pending for five years. The Mexican-born socialist's application is based on the fact that he is married to a U.S. citizen, Priscilla Schenk-Marroquín.

Marroquín came to the United States from Mexico in 1974 to escape political persecution at the hands of the police there. Since 1977 he has been fighting U.S. government efforts to deport him because of his political activities and membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, which organizes support and raises funds for the Marroquín case, is organizing the delegation to travel with Marroquín to Canada. The committee is also asking supporters to send messages of support that

can be taken to Canada and presented at the interview.

Marroquín's case has received a number of new endorsers over the past few weeks, including Angela Sanbrano, executive director of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES); Yvonne Meléndez and Elías Castro Ramos, defendants in the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15 case; Rafael Anglada López, legal coordinator for the Hartford defendants; Paul O'Dwyer, former New York City Council president; Edith Tiger, director of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; Tom Prewitt, reporter for the *Korea Times*; and Fred Dube, a member of the African National Congress of South Africa. Dube is fighting to regain his job after being fired from his teaching position at the State University of New York at Stony Brook.

Marroquín has stepped up his speaking around the country to publicize the latest turning point in the case and mount pressure on the government to finally grant him residence.

He has won wide support as he has traveled around the country. In the Pacific

Northwest, his defense was endorsed by Fred Nelson of International Woodworkers Association Local 1-357 in Vancouver, Canada, and Juan José Bocanegra of the Committee in Defense of Immigrant Rights in Seattle. In San Diego, California, Khaled Saffuri of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee signed up as an endorser.

An article on Marroquín's fight appeared on the front page of the *Register-Pajaronian* in Watsonville, California. Marroquín visited Watsonville to speak to cannery workers about his case.

While touring in Omaha, Nebraska, Marroquín met with the Chicano Awareness Center. After the meeting, he received a letter from Patrick McKee-Velasquez, the center's executive director, which said: "We had an opportunity to visit Mr. Marroquín in Omaha recently. It is clear that he, like many Chicanos and other Latinos throughout the United States, has suffered the repression of our government."

"We support Héctor Marroquín's right to remain in this country as a legal resident and his right to express his views."

Two dozen endorsers were won for Marroquín's fight at an all-day Community-Labor Conference on Immigration June 4 in New York. The meeting was sponsored by the Hispanic Affairs Committee of District 65 of the United Auto Workers union, Center for Immigrants Rights, Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund, National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, and other organizations.

Among those who signed up were Zoilo Torres, president of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights; Juan Laboriel, international representative of the United Food and Commercial Workers; and Paula Finn, education project director of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers. Darlene Kalke, executive director of the Center for Immigrants Rights; Patricia Pavez, a member of the New York Human Rights Commission; and Aurora Camacho de Schmidt, a long-time supporter of Marroquín's case and the conference keynote speaker, also signed.

Marroquín will continue to travel and win support for his fight up to July 6. To send a statement of support or a much-needed contribution to help cover the expenses of organizing the delegation, write to: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, Box 761, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10007.

Alabama miners stay off job June 9 to protest gov't attack on safety

BY JOHN HAWKINS

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Speaking at a rally here of 1,000, mine union President Richard Trumka announced that every union-organized mine in Alabama would be idled June 9. The action, he said, will voice miners' opposition to impending changes in federal mine safety standards.

The call for United Mine Workers members to take action to defend health and safety on the job was greeted with enthusiasm by unionists and other activists participating in the June 4 Jobs With Justice rally.

Among the proposed changes is a modification in the regulation governing the amount of methane allowed in an underground mine. Methane is an explosive gas that is a common cause of mine explosions. Another proposed change would allow the operators to get away with lowering standards for mine ventilation.

"By backing legislation that significantly alters current safety standards, the Reagan administration is trying to turn back the

clock to the 1930s in the safety area . . . and leave your health and safety to the good intentions of the multinational companies you work for," Trumka told the crowd.

He announced that many miners plan to attend a government hearing here June 9 on the proposed changes in the law.

"They [the multinational mine bosses] are killing miners in South Africa, killing miners in West Germany, and they are killing miners here in the U.S.," Trumka said. "But miners don't beg for anything — that's why we are taking off work Thursday to demand health and safety in the mines."

Also speaking at the Jobs with Justice Rally were officials from the United Rubber Workers and the United Steelworkers of America, and Larry Funk, president of United Paperworkers International Union Local 2650 in Mobile, Alabama. The Mobile paperworkers have been locked out by International Paper Co. since last year.

Sandinista-led unions urge wage hikes to ease inflation impact

Nicaragua's economic crisis deepens

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Under growing pressure from their members, Sandinista-led unions are urging the Nicaraguan government to decree substantial wage increases. Continuing inflation has cut sharply into workers' buying power.

The economic crisis is also being reflected in cutbacks in industrial production, which has fallen by 34 percent in the first part of this year. Both private and state-owned factories suffer from shortages of imported raw materials and spare parts, aging machinery, and shutdowns due to repeated mechanical failures in electric power stations. The harvest of some key crops has also declined compared to 1987.

Inflation is running at about the same rate as last year, when prices increased by 1,300 percent. Pay for all wage earners, whether state or private employees, is regulated by a government-set pay scale.

Wages have not gone up since mid-February. That increase coincided with a package of economic measures that included a sharp devaluation of Nicaragua's currency, making most imported goods more expensive, and projected cuts in state spending to reduce the large budget deficit. The plans called for reducing the work force in many government offices and state-owned industries.

When the package was announced in February, some officials said these measures would stop or drastically reduce inflation, and that wages could therefore be stabilized. Most workers adopted a wait-and-see attitude.

When the new measures were implemented, prices went up sharply. The result was that after the wage increase, most workers could buy just about as much as before.

Since then, however, there has been a further increase of between 100 and 200 percent in the prices of most items in the "basic market basket," including rice, beans, sugar, meat, milk, eggs, soap, and clothing. Up to the beginning of June, there has been no wage increase to compensate for this continued rise in prices. In contrast, during 1987, when the rate of inflation was about the same, there were half a dozen pay increases.

Layoffs of industrial workers

The fall in industrial production has been accompanied by layoffs of workers in both state-owned and private industries. Most of these layoffs have been in Managua, where a majority of the nation's 60,000 industrial workers are located. By mid-May, according to Dámaso Vargas, a leader of the Sandinista Workers Federation, 2,600 industrial workers had been laid off here. About 1,000 of them had found new jobs, he said.

In addition, the government has begun reorganizing some ministries and dismissing some functionaries and other employees in an effort to cut costs and improve efficiency. The government employs about 110,000 people, not including workers at state-owned factories and farms. Two-thirds of these are education and health-care workers, while 4,500 are top-level administrators and functionaries.

Luis Carrión, a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), said that the government reorganization is aimed at "bringing the size of the government more in line with the economic crisis we are facing, reducing the number of ministries and ministers, and reducing the structure and number of posts, especially those that are redundant and that do not fulfill essential functions." Carrión now heads the new Ministry of Industry and Commerce, created by merging the old ministries of industry, foreign trade, and internal commerce.

Reports to date indicate that several thousand government employees have been laid off, but overall figures are not

available. Reductions in staffs of government ministries have gone slower than originally projected, and in some ministries have reportedly barely begun.

In one case where cuts have occurred, the ministry of education has reduced its functionaries from 1,500 to 1,200, offering teaching posts to some of those laid off.

Government leaders say they will not be able to find other state jobs for all those dismissed. The laid-off workers are to receive temporary unemployment benefits, two months at 100 percent of their former salary, and one month at 75 percent.

Farm workers fight for jobs

Although big layoffs have not taken place in agriculture, capitalist rice and cotton farmers are threatening to reduce planting and lay off workers unless the government agrees to raise prices for their products still further.

Capitalist growers control about 40 percent of rice production here. While some rice is sold freely on the market, the government tries to buy as much as it can afford for use in cafeterias in government offices and factories, and for sale to the population at subsidized prices.

On May 21 Edgardo García, general secretary of the Sandinista-led Association of Rural Workers (ATC), told an assembly of ATC members in the northern city of Estelí that the rice growers were withholding their crop from the market, trying to force government negotiators to agree to pay a higher price. When the government refused, García said, the growers replied that they would plant less rice.

"This is a bad sign," he told the workers. "The rice workers are going to have to defend their jobs if they don't want to find themselves out on the street."

Capitalist cotton growers are raising a similar challenge, García said in a May 23 interview with *Barricada*. "The decision to produce is a political one. Anyone who has the means to produce but refuses to do so is trying to starve the country, trying to make the people rise up against the Sandinistas because production has decreased."

"The workers must demand that the goal for planting cotton be at least as high as last year," García declared. "You'd be throwing half the people out of work if you have the possibility of planting more, but don't."

Unions meet with government

The growing gap between wages and prices has spurred workers to insist on a pay hike, and Sandinista-led unions have begun to raise this demand with the government. The ATC has met with Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega and is pressing for a wage increase. The National Association of Nicaraguan Teachers (ANDEN), another Sandinista-led union, has been seeking a pay hike since April.

On May 20 some 500 teachers met with Minister of Education Fernando Cardenal to press their demand. Cardenal initially told the teachers that the government did not have the resources to increase their pay. However, on May 26 he announced that ANDEN and the ministry were presenting a joint proposal, asking for a salary increase for teachers.

The Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), which represents most industrial, construction, and transport workers, has also been raising wage demands. On May 19 *Barricada*, the FSLN daily newspaper, ran a series of interviews with CST leaders at big plants in Managua. They called for a wage increase and said they thought the CST should be more forceful in raising the issue with the government.

The union officers said that wages "had been deeply affected" by the rise in prices, and that "it is now time for the government to raise wages," wrote the Sandinista paper.

"These workers' representatives said that the working class supported the eco-



Running a lathe at metalworking factory in Managua. Inflation is running at 1,300 percent this year. Militant/Roberto Kopeck

nomie measures [taken by the government in February] and believed President Daniel Ortega when he said that wages would be raised along with prices," continued *Barricada*. "However, they said that three months have now gone by and neither the Ministry of Labor nor the CST has explained to the workers why Ortega's promise has not been fulfilled."

Miguel Pérez, CST leader at the EMEMSA trailer assembly plant, added that "the CST should be more concerned about the economic needs of the working class" and "pay attention to see that the government fulfills commitments made to the workers."

The CST has proposed an across-the-board wage increase of 45 percent.

Factory commissaries

Many factories and large farms now have commissaries, where the company is supposed to provide goods for sale to the workers. The prices of some products sold

there, such as rice and powdered milk, are subsidized by the government.

However, factory administrations often do not allocate the money needed to supply the commissaries. The CST and ATC are insisting that a higher priority go to providing basic goods through the commissaries.

At a national assembly of CST-organized construction workers May 23, for instance, workers discussed an agreement on commissaries between the union and the Ministry of Construction. All construction companies are to establish a special fund to purchase goods for sale in the commissaries, and to provide company trucks to transport the goods.

Union members protested the fact that the companies, including state-owned ones, were denying funds and transport for the supplies. Government officials acknowledged that they had been slow in implementing the agreement, but assured the workers that they would instruct the company directors to comply.

Auto union ratifies contract with Chrysler

BY JOE ALLOR

ST. LOUIS — United Auto Workers members recently voted by a 54 percent margin to ratify a new contract with Chrysler Corp. The results of the vote were announced May 12. The new contract covers some 60,000 workers in 15 states.

The agreement, which expires September 1990, contains no hourly wage increases. Workers, in fact, will lose 15 cents from a future cost-of-living adjustment in order to bring Chrysler workers in line with workers at General Motors and Ford. (In 1979, Chrysler workers accepted a series of wage and other concessions in order to help bail out the company, which claimed it was bankrupt and threatened to shut down. The company also got millions in loans from the U.S. government. Until recently, Chrysler workers have been paid less than auto workers at GM and Ford, and, until this agreement, have had a different contract expiration date.)

Instead of a wage hike, the union agreed to a profit-sharing plan and lump sum bonuses — a \$1,000 signing bonus, and two yearly "performance" bonuses of 3 percent. These will amount to about \$1,100 per year for an average assembler.

The profit-sharing plan — Chrysler executives supposedly won't get cash or stock bonuses any year that production workers don't get profit-sharing checks — was touted by the union as a step toward

workers' equality with management.

"We are very proud to have negotiated the removal of this disparity between executives and workers," said Marc Stepp, head of the union's Chrysler department. Last year, Lee Iacocca pulled down \$17.9 million for his job as Chrysler chairman. The average Chrysler worker makes about \$14.50 an hour.

The contract also includes an agreement by the international union to encourage local unions to cooperate with Chrysler in implementing "modern operating agreements" in more plants. These agreements introduce speedup and weaken workers' rights on the job by cutting job classifications, changing work rules, and eroding seniority. There are currently "MOAs" in six of Chrysler's 46 facilities.

The Chrysler contract also contains the same provisions against layoffs contained in the GM and Ford contracts signed last fall. These say that there will be no layoffs unless there is a drop in sales.

Included in the contract is a provision for some 1,200 Chrysler workers at the Kenosha, Wisconsin plant, which is slated to be shut down this fall, to receive supplemental unemployment benefits for six months.

Joe Allor works at Chrysler's Fenton, Missouri, assembly plant, and is a member of United Auto Workers Local 110.

Inside a New York garment sweatshop

Workers face humiliating conditions, low wages, no benefits, long hours

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

NEW YORK — A few blocks west of the Empire State Building lies one of this city's many garment sweatshop districts.

Between about 35th and 39th streets on 8th Avenue the lampposts are covered with hand-lettered help-wanted signs. Written on pieces of cardboard, the signs are tied to the posts with scraps of fabric or elastic waistband tape.

"Necesito Singer, Merrow, Piso" (Singer, Merrow, Floorworkers Needed) is the most common sign, with an address. All single-needle sewing machines are referred to as "Singer" and all lockstitch machines as "Merrow."

Although workers in this district speak many languages, the most common is Spanish, and it is the language of almost all the ads. An occasional sign calling for a patternmaker, or similarly superskilled job, is in English.

In the mornings, men linger in the doorways of the garment hauling companies waiting to get work. Some sip the first of many beers of the day out of a can in a brown paper bag.

During the day, the streets and sidewalks are a jumble of men rushing with carts and dollies and racks — bringing material to the shops and taking away the cheap women's clothing that is produced in the district.

The first thing to assault your senses when you step off one of the dangerous old elevators inside the 10- and 12-story buildings that house the sweatshops is the stench coming from the bathrooms.

The water pressure isn't sufficient to flush toilet paper. So workers throw the used toilet paper on the floors so as not to clog the toilets. Once every two or three days the floors are swept and the area doused with strong smelling ammonia.

When you apply for a job, a boss (if they need a worker that day, and if you can convince them you really need a job) sits you down at a machine to see what you can do. There's no bluffing it at this point — either the stitching comes out right, partway right, or a tangled mess.

It takes years to become a skilled sewing machine operator and a lot of lucky breaks — being asked to do jobs that are just within your skill level. Depending on how well you do and how badly the boss needs to get the work out, they may leave you to work.

If you can hang on long enough you may acquire enough skill to get into a union-organized shop, that is if you're a citizen or have a work permit. Usually, developing skills as a sewing machine operator takes working for a few days or weeks and getting fired from a series of sweatshops.

Straight piece rate

Unless you're a very good operator, there's no discussion of wages at this point. You just start producing. Everything is straight piece rate. Usually an operation on a piece of fabric — sewing in a label, making a seam — is worth a few cents. If you only can manage a few dozen an hour, you'll only be paid about \$1 an hour. One week when I was learning a new job I managed to make \$60 for 40 hours' work.

Most shops pay once a week in cash with no deductions (and therefore no possible collection of benefits). Overall, workers prefer to be paid in cash — the sweatshop paychecks can bounce when deposited.

Every Monday, the boss leaves to go to the bank around 2:00 p.m. She comes back clutching a handbag filled with cash, and a line begins to form in front of her office. It's a fight every week to get paid — a workers' records versus the boss' on how much they produced during the week. With a fancy desktop calculator and a conniving mind, the boss tries to cheat the workers. Those who have difficulties with reading or arithmetic are especially vulnerable. Unlike most other places I've worked, payday isn't something to look forward to in the sweatshops. It leaves you with an immediate sense of having been robbed.

The rates are low and the sweatshops are open from 7:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m. Many workers are forced to work 11 or 12 hours a day to make ends meet.

About half the workers in one garment

shop where I worked are teenagers. A few are 13 or 14, many are between 16 and 18. This is a public fact. Several of the signs out on the street read, "Necesito una muchacha..." ("Girl needed..."). One day I saw the boss reprimanding a young woman from Guatemala for not pressing a seam straight. She showed her the fault by running the end of her pen down it and then struck the worker across the face with the pen. Not hard enough to really hurt, just hard enough to humiliate.

Since the last thing the boss or the workers need is cops running around asking to see people's work papers, the sweatshop is outside the law in many ways besides child labor and below-minimum wage pay. All kinds of tricksters and hustlers wander in and out of the shop — especially at lunchtime after payday.

There is no special place to eat, so workers just push over the material and eat lunch at their sewing machines. The youth doing floor-work just sit on boxes or on the floor. On good days the floor is swept in the mornings, but sometimes the young worker who does it has too much else to do, and the scraps, pattern paper, threads, and chicken bones from previous days' lunches just pile up. It takes quite a while to make your way to the one unlocked door — around the racks and boxes full of work. I don't like to think about what would happen in case of a fire.

One day at the beginning of lunchbreak, a man in an expensive, pale blue linen suit, with fancy white shoes and several big gold chains with heavy medallions around his

neck, came into the shop. He greeted many of the people and sat down by one woman's machine and began to eat lunch with her.

I looked to Maria for an explanation. "Drugs," she said. "That's where that kind of money comes from."

40 years without papers

Maria came to the United States from Honduras 40 years ago. She told me that she works in sweatshops because she doesn't have a work permit. Maria used to work in a union shop with much better wages and working conditions, but now that employers are required by law to ask for proof of everyone's legal right to work in this country, she has been forced into the sweatshops. Maria is very skilled and works fast. She brings home about \$250 a week.

Her response to the drug dealer's presence in the shop revealed the depth of the divisions between workers in the shop. She said, "This new immigration is no good."

I asked her what she meant and she replied, "People like them, from Santo Domingo. I see what they do with their drugs to my neighborhood. When I came to this country I just got a job and worked. They come here, don't work, expect social security and unemployment, and sell drugs."

Many of us in the shop looked alarmed when we saw the man go behind a rack of clothes to talk to the teenagers eating lunch in the presser's area. He was back there for a long time. The boss spent the rest of the

day screaming at the youths because they were high and not doing their work.

Parade of jobless

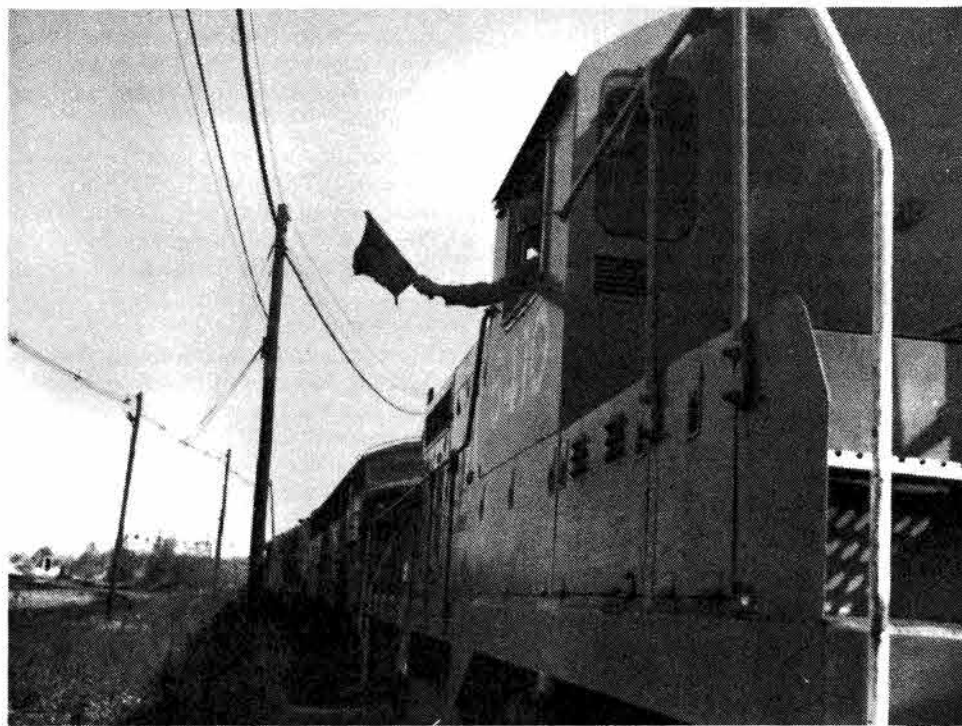
For all the other divisions between us, the biggest pressure on workers who have jobs is the parade of unemployed garment workers who come into the shop at a rate of one about every 15 minutes to plead for a job. If you complain or don't work fast enough, there's always someone who needs your job.

At the same time, the discipline at a piece-rate shop is very different than in a shop where workers are paid by the hour. The drive to produce comes from inside of us, instead of directly from the boss. Sweatshop workers decide for themselves when they come in, whether to work through lunch, and when to leave. Of course by cutting the rates all the time the boss gets a lot more out of us than she ever would if we were paid by the hour.

Another way the boss plays workers against each other is to pay them different rates for the same job. When she gave me my first paycheck, the boss whispered, "I'm paying you 3 cents a piece, but don't tell anyone. I pay the other women 2 cents."

The number of sweatshops like this one is on the rise in the New York City area. In a Nov. 16, 1987, article, the *New York Times* cited an estimate by "industry leaders" of "3,000 sweatshops... from storefront factories in Corona, Queens, to basements in Brooklyn, lofts in Chinatown, and garages in Woodside, Queens."

Midwest rail carrier cuts 1,400 jobs



Militant

Reduction in crew sizes by U.S. rail companies threatens safety of rail workers, and of cities and towns trains pass through.

BY JIM MILES

CHICAGO — The Chicago & Northwestern Railroad, a large midwestern freight carrier, is preparing to deal a sharp blow to union rail workers by eliminating the jobs of at least 1,400 brakemen on August 4. The United Transportation Union, which represents brakemen and some engineers on the railroad, may go on strike on that date in response to the company's attack.

The carrier's move will wipe out the jobs of more than half the 2,200 brakemen currently working for the railroad. That's about 14 percent of Chicago and Northwestern's (CNW) total work force of 9,700.

The jobs of the brakemen aren't all that is being threatened. The safety of the cities and towns through which CNW's trains pass is also jeopardized.

Brakemen, far from being "obsolete" as the company claims, are responsible for the safe movement of mile-long trains that often carry cars full of toxic, radioactive, or explosive chemicals. They monitor track conditions and trackside signals; protect and repair disabled trains; and pick up, set out, switch, and couple cars.

The stage for CNW's massive job elimination was set last year when the union was notified by the company under the federal Railway Labor Act that it was changing the contract in order to cut the size of train crews.

Currently, 70 percent of CNW crews are "full," made up of one conductor, two brakemen, and an engineer. The other 30 percent are "reduced crews" of one conductor, one brakeman, and an engineer. The company says it can't compete with other short-line railroads, such as the Chicago & Central Pacific, which operate trains with crews of one conductor and one engineer only.

Following the CNW's move to scrap the contract, the Railway Labor Act required the United Transportation Union (UTU) to meet with the company under the supervision of a federal mediator to try to come up with an agreement. That process ended in late March when both the union and company rejected binding arbitration. As a result, on April 22 the company was free to implement its contract and work rule changes, and the union was "free" to strike if it objected.

On April 21, however, President Ronald Reagan imposed a "cooling-off" period and appointed an emergency board to conduct hearings. The board will make a non-binding recommendation on July 4 to both parties. If there is still no agreement within 30 days, on August 4 the company will be able to go through with its job elimination plan, and the UTU will legally be able to strike.

In mid-April, the general chairmen of the 14 unions that represent workers on the CNW met and voted unanimously to support the UTU in its fight against the railroad's union-busting efforts. This means that members of the other unions on the CNW will honor the UTU's picket lines.

The CNW, for its part, has hired a scabberding outfit called Railfinders, Inc. to try to keep the railroad running in the event of a strike.

If there is a strike, pickets will also be organized at railroads interchanging freight with the CNW, including the Union Pacific and Conrail.

Stepped-up attacks

Over the past year, CNW workers have had to face other attacks by the company.

One is a plan by the carrier's owners to abandon or sell off to short-line railroads at least one-third of its 6,400 miles of track-age. CNW workers have reason to be concerned about this move, as short-line sales have often been used by new owners to alter or even eliminate union contracts for workers affected by such sales.

In addition, the proposal to abandon hundreds of miles of the carrier's track in Iowa alone — much of it leading to rural grain elevators — would be a disaster for many of the small farmers who depend on the railroad to transport their grain.

In early April CNW workers here got a chance to learn more about this problem when three farmers from Dixon, Illinois, spoke at a meeting of UTU Local 577. They described the effect of railroad abandonments and the plight of small farmers who are being driven off the land. They called for rail workers and farmers to unite against the carriers' attacks. The farmers, who had driven 100 miles to speak at the meeting, got a warm response.

Jim Miles is member of UTU Local 577, and works as a yard switchman in CNW's Chicago Freight Terminal.

Tours by socialist candidates focus on workplaces, campuses

BY SUSAN LaMONT

NEW YORK — "Everywhere we've been on campaign tours this spring we've found that workers, farmers, students, and political activists that we've spoken with take the Socialist Workers campaign and the ideas we are presenting very seriously," said James Warren, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. "SWP vice-presidential candidate Kathleen Mickells and I have already covered a large part of the United States, and made several international trips as well. Whether we're speaking to farm workers in Washington's Yakima Valley, striking paperworkers in Maine, activists fighting for the rights of the homeless in Atlanta, or students at Ohio State University in Columbus, there's tremendous interest in what we have to say."

"Our view of the coming economic and social crisis that was signaled by last fall's stock market crash," Warren continued, "the devastating impact it will have on hundreds of millions of working people worldwide, and the measures we need to fight for to unify ourselves internationally and defend ourselves in the face of the catastrophe — these basic ideas are getting a serious hearing from all kinds of people — and especially workers and farmers."

Warren, who has been on the road since May, stopped in New York for a few days following his trip to Grenada to attend the first convention of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement at the end of May.

He reported to the *Militant* some of his observations about the campaign so far.

Campaigning at plant gates

Warren explained that he and Mickells have spoken with workers at plant gates, picket lines and union gatherings, informal get-togethers in local bars, public meetings, and on street corners.

"In every city, we try to campaign at at least one workplace," Warren said, "often at a shift change. Usually there are socialist campaign supporters working in the plants we've been to, and often the *Militant* has been distributed through weekly sales at the plant gate for some time."

Most shift changes are fairly rushed, with workers hurrying in or out of the plant, so it isn't always easy to get workers to stop and talk with the candidate, Warren explained. "Many will say 'good luck' and shake my hand, but it's hard to have a real discussion."

At some plants, campaign supporters have tried leafleting the workers in advance, to let them know Warren or Mickells will be there on a certain day. "Experience has shown that just leafleting usually isn't enough," Warren said. "Occasionally a worker who hasn't heard about the campaign before will stop by to talk with me if a leaflet is distributed in the plant."

"It's more useful, however," the candidate continued, "for campaign supporters in a plant that we'll be visiting to concentrate on talking with their immediate co-workers — the people they know personally, work with, and have political discussions with on a day-to-day basis, especially those who have subscribed to the *Militant*. These are among the workers who are most likely to be interested in talking with a communist candidate. Then we should set a specific time and place where we can meet and have a discussion."

Other campaign supporters who accompany Warren or Mickells to a plant gate can then continue to distribute campaign literature, sell the *Militant*, and talk to other workers, while the candidate meets with those workers who are most interested.

"When I was in Twin Cities, Minnesota, at the end of May," Warren said, "cam-

paign supporters who work at the Ford truck assembly plant in St. Paul were able to get the plant management to agree to let us campaign inside the plant gate. This made it much easier to talk to the workers."

In mid-May, Mickells visited Atlanta and campaigned at the giant Lockheed plant there. She was able to talk with a small group of workers in the parking lot following the afternoon shift change. Eight thousand workers, members of the International Association of Machinists, are scheduled to be laid off from the plant this year.

Among the workers who came to have a discussion with Mickells were several subscribers to the *Militant*, a woman worker who has been gathering signatures for framed-up Des Moines activist Mark Curtis, and shop committee members. They agreed with Mickells' call to shorten the workweek with no cut in pay in order to create jobs for those who are unemployed now, and the millions of workers who will be thrown out of work as the crisis deepens.

Interest among students

"It's important for Mickells and me to speak on at least one campus in every city we travel to," Warren continued. "Even during study or exam periods, or summer sessions, there are students who will come to a meeting to find out more about communist views. And often these young people will be interested in joining the Young Socialist Alliance." The YSA is the revolutionary youth organization actively back-

ing the SWP campaign.

At Mankato State University in Mankato, Minnesota, for example, nearly 20 students came to a meeting for Warren in mid-May. Some were international students from Namibia, Malawi, and several other countries. The students wanted to know Warren's views on the international drug trade, democratic rights under socialism, and, as one student put it, what could be done to overcome the "feeling of helplessness" that many people have in this country.

"Many young people sense that their future is full of uncertainty — at best," Warren said. "They are thinking seriously about what is going on in the world, and looking for solutions — effective, lasting solutions."

Press coverage

Warren told the *Militant* that in virtually every stop on their tours, they have received significant — and if not always friendly, at least serious — news coverage. "Socialist campaign supporters should be optimistic and aggressive about seeking press coverage from the capitalist media," Warren urged. "Even in cities where it's been difficult to get coverage in the past, there's been a different response this year. Of course, we should make it as easy as possible for the media to cover our campaign — including making the location of news conferences as convenient as possible for the reporters."

Warren also suggested that campaign supporters approach other organizations



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky
Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president.

about hosting a meeting to hear the Socialist Workers candidates. "Union locals, antiwar and anti-apartheid organizations, Black rights groups, organizations of immigrant workers — there are lots of organizations that would be open to hearing our candidates," Warren said.

Both candidates have also campaigned at a number of political demonstrations over the spring. Most recently, Mickells and a group of campaign supporters attended the May 14 union-backed American Family Day demonstration in Washington, D.C., and both candidates are participating in the national antiwar-antinuclear demonstrations being held June 11 in New York and San Francisco.

SWP fights for place on state ballots

BY SAM MANUEL

On June 4 supporters of the Socialist Workers 1988 presidential campaign in Iowa launched a petitioning drive to collect more than 2,800 signatures by June 25. This is almost three times the 1,000 required to obtain ballot status for the SWP presidential ticket in Iowa.

More than 500 signatures were collected at grocery stores, a farmers' market, door to door, and at an art festival in a park. One team went to Ankeny, a town outside Des Moines where a John Deere plant is located.

Kate Kaku, one of the petitioners, told the *Militant*, "It is very easy to get people to sign the petitions. This gave us the confidence to relax and have long political discussions with signers. We discussed with them the coming social and economic crisis signaled by last October's stock market crash. And we talked about the only road forward for working people — unity."

She said the petitioners are also "helping to win support for Mark Curtis," a unionist and member of the SWP who was framed up and beaten by the Des Moines cops for his political activity. The campaign of Nan Bailey, SWP candidate for Congress in Iowa's 4th C.D., is also being publicized.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers 1988 campaign are organizing to get on the ballot in eight states in June and July. In addition to Iowa, they are Nebraska, Alabama, Minnesota, New York, Rhode Island, South Dakota, and Washington.

This is part of an effort to win ballot status in 18 states and Washington, D.C. So far the SWP presidential ticket has been certified in New Jersey and Utah, and petitioning has been completed in Ohio.

James Warren, a central leader of the Socialist Workers Party and a longtime activist in the Black rights and labor movement, is the socialist candidate for U.S. president. Kathleen Mickells, a coal miner, union activist, and fighter for women's rights, is the party's candidate for vice-president.

In most states thousands of signatures must be collected on petitions in order to place the socialist candidates on the ballot. In Washington State, campaign supporters will hold a convention in July to meet the ballot requirements.

The Young Socialist Alliance, which supports the SWP campaign, is organizing

teams of volunteers to help with the effort in many of the states. The YSA is a socialist youth organization of young workers and students.

Plans are under way to launch a massive effort in New York in mid-July. There the socialists are planning to collect between 35,000 and 40,000 signatures to place Warren and Mickells on the ballot, along with senatorial candidate James Harris. State law requires 20,000.

Efforts to put the socialist candidate on the ballot in Alabama will run from June 18 through July 19. The goal there is to collect 9,000 signatures — 4,000 more than the required number. The socialists are also running John Hawkins for U.S. Senate. Hawkins is a member of United Mine

Workers of America Local 2368.

In Minnesota the SWP will petition from July 5 through July 19 to put its senatorial and congressional candidates on the ballot, along with Warren and Mickells. Wendy Lyons, a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 653, is the party's candidate for Senate. Craig Honts is running for the 1st C.D. in Austin, and Natasha Terlexis for the 4th C.D. in Minneapolis-St. Paul.

Other petitioning efforts include Nebraska, June 11–July 9; Rhode Island, July 6–18; and South Dakota, July 15–30.

In addition to its presidential ticket, the SWP has to date announced 40 congressional, senatorial, gubernatorial, and mayoral candidates in 20 states.

Mickells supports N. Carolina Indians' demands for rights

BY YVONNE HAYES

GREENSBORO, N.C. — Kathleen Mickells, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, made a trip to Robeson County, North Carolina, as part of her mid-May tour in this area.

Robeson County is the site of the fight to free Timothy Jacobs, Eddie Hatcher, and John Hunt from jail. On February 1 Jacobs and Hatcher, who are Tuscarora Indians, took over the offices of the local newspaper in Lumberton to publicize racism, corruption, and injustice in the county. They also demanded protection for John Hunt, who was being held in the Robeson County jail.

Robeson County, one of the poorest in the nation, has a long history of racist violence and government corruption. The local district attorney, Joe Freeman Britt, has sent more people to death row than any other district attorney in the country.

Recently, Julian Pierce, a Lumbee Indian who was running against Britt for a judgeship, was murdered. Local activists label his killing a political assassination.

At the offices of the Robeson Three Defense Fund, Mickells talked with Eleanor Jacobs, Timothy's mother. She explained that when he was younger, Jacobs had toured the United States as part of a Native American dance troupe. He had also been

active in the fight to keep a toxic waste facility out of Robeson County. "He was always interested in his heritage," she said.

Eleanor Jacobs described to Mickells how the lives of everyone she knew had changed on February 1. Suzanne, an activist staffing the defense fund office, told the socialist candidate that she never used to take much interest in world events. "But now, I not only watch the 6 o'clock news," she said. "I try to stay up for the 11 o'clock news as well. I've started to notice how many other struggles there are going on around the world just like ours."

Hatcher and Jacobs are being held without bail under the 1984 Bail Reform Act and face trial under federal "hostage-taking" laws recently enacted. Mickells said this act is unconstitutional and is being used more frequently against working-class fighters. She cited the case of the Kentucky coal miners who were framed up on murder charges and held without bail under the same law.

In the evening, Mickells met with John McKellar. McKellar is suing county authorities and demanding a full investigation of his son Billy's death. He charges that Billy, a young Black man, died for lack of medical attention in the Robeson County jail.

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Warren kicks off California campaign tour

Los Angeles: youth inspired by socialist candidate's views

BY ANDY COATES

LOS ANGELES — Marjorie Gellhorn Sa'adah chaired the meeting June 4 that began a four-day tour here of the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. president.

"I'm excited to introduce James Warren to you tonight," she said, "because I heard him speak in Pittsburgh, at the Young Socialist Alliance national conference. What I saw and heard then was a worker. A worker who has been affected by his experiences as an activist — in the civil rights movement, in the movement against the war in Vietnam, and as an auto worker. What he said was that we can create our own solution, we can organize, and we can fight back. Welcome to tonight's discussion. This is James Warren."

Sa'adah joined the YSA soon after attending the Socialist Youth and Activists Conference in Pittsburgh in April. Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers candidate for vice-president, and Warren spoke at a public rally there.

Since then, Sa'adah, like other members of the YSA across the country, has been active in the Socialist Workers 1988 campaign. She discussed the campaign and Warren's tour of Los Angeles with the *Militant*.

"The first thing he said was, 'We're facing a huge crisis.' I see it on my job every day," she began. A community health-care worker, Sa'adah is 23 years old.

"The message of the campaign is don't let their solutions to the crisis be imposed on you. And the key thing he said was that

we all need to be able to give the speech he gave," she said.

"It's not a campaign for votes. It's a campaign for — I don't want to say education, because it's more than that. It's a discussion about the world. That's what makes you want to give money to it: to support the kind of discussion we had today, when 15 people get in a room and think things through together," she said.

Sa'adah was referring to a Sunday afternoon meeting for Warren and young activists hosted by Karla Peña, a member of the YSA who is a high school student.

"At first I thought it was a campaign to go all around the country — to Jay, Maine, and the Yakima Valley, to Grenada, and just kind of weave a web from struggle to struggle. But it's not. It's just a campaign to have exactly the kind of discussion we had on Saturday night," she said.

"It's about what the world is today, and the crisis that's beginning. How we will live in it, act out of it, and organize out of it. It was great what he said that we're not going to find the answer for the working class, or show it to the working class after we do it, or give a solution to the working class — no, we are going to be the working class. That's a very radical thing." Sa'adah continued, "We're educated — in everything we're taught — about how not to fight back. We're taught nothing about politics. We're really taught to embrace the system. Their solutions, capitalist solutions, to the crisis are really just diversions. We need to create our own solutions. I think there are a lot of people struggling for this today."



Militant/Andy Coates

Young activists, including high school students, attended an informal discussion with Warren in Los Angeles, hosted by the Young Socialist Alliance.

San Diego: 'Our only promise — we will fight alongside you'

BY ANDY COATES

SAN DIEGO — James Warren began the West Coast leg of his tour on June 3 by meeting here with a group of campaign supporters.

The talk by Warren, and the discussion that followed it, centered on the course of capitalist development over the past 60 years and the situation working people of all countries face as capitalism heads into a great depression.

"We can only promise one thing," he said. "We will fight alongside you to prevent them from imposing their solutions to this crisis on our class."

Warren explained that the Socialist Workers Party's political perspectives begin from the interests of working people, the vast majority of humanity. This approach to politics stands in opposition to other candidates currently running for president, Warren pointed out.

What is fundamentally different about

his campaign, Warren said, is the effort and time he takes to explain the process of millions of people in struggle demanding justice, the movements that have shaped human history over the past six decades.

One participant in the meeting talked about discussions he has had recently at work. Many of those have focused on the meaning of the October 1987 stock market crash and the social crisis it signals, he said.

"When I talk with people at work," he said, "people see it. They see a crisis beginning. There are several books out about the meaning of the stock market crash. Many of my coworkers have picked up one of those books."

"It's amazing to me how people have sensed it," he said. "And their confidence in the government is getting shaky. None of the other candidates talk about this. None of them address the crisis in the economy. It makes it hard for workers to take them seriously."

Warren to attend meeting in Panama June 20-23

BY SAM MANUEL

James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president, will leave for Panama on June 19 to participate in a Caribbean-wide conference in defense of Panamanian sovereignty.

Panama has been the target of a drive by the Reagan administration, Congress, and U.S. government agencies, aimed at bringing down the Panamanian government. Warren and SWP vice-presidential candidate Kathleen Mickells have been the only presidential candidates to oppose U.S. intervention in Panama.

The June 20-23 conference is sponsored by the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America. The organization encompasses some 37 political parties and groups from 22 countries in the region.

An important but expensive part of the socialist campaign is participation in such international gatherings of working-class fighters. From the start the socialist candidates have presented a perspective that takes as its starting point the struggles of the international working class. Meeting, discussing, and exchanging views with fighting working people from around the world enhances the ability of the socialist candidates to explain the common interests of workers internationally.

In order to continue taking advantage of such opportunities, supporters of the SWP 1988 campaign need to take immediate steps to organize, collect, and send in financial contributions. Collecting a significant portion of the \$50,000 campaign fund now is vital.

Last month Warren attended the first convention of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM) of Grenada. The MBPM was organized in the aftermath of the overthrow of the People's Revolution-

ary Government of Grenada. The government was led by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, who was slain in the counter-revolutionary coup.

In March the socialist leader traveled to Canada where he participated in a protest march of 1,000 people against the murder of a Black youth by Montreal cops. Warren himself was the victim of racist abuse and deportation from Canada by Canadian and U.S. immigration officials last September. A political fight against this attack on Warren's rights has won him the right to travel to Canada unhindered.

Mickells traveled to Britain at the end of May. There she participated in a rally to raise funds for a new Pathfinder bookstore to be opened in central London soon.

Since the campaign was launched in March, the candidates have already traveled to 25 cities in 19 states. They have marched and discussed with striking paperworkers in Maine, with farm workers in the Yakima Valley in Washington, and with miners in Pennsylvania. They have also spoken to young people on many college campuses.

Moreover, campaign supporters carried out a major effort to get the presidential ticket on the ballot in Ohio.

But in accomplishing all this, the campaign has spent more money than has been raised.

Funds are needed to insure that adequate supplies of campaign literature are available and new materials can be printed. The campaign needs to immediately reprint 50,000 more copies of the English-language biographies of the candidates. Of the 50,000 biographies printed initially, all but 3,000 have been distributed. Half of an additional 25,000 biographies in Spanish have also been given out.

Over the next two months the campaign will face the challenge of organizing its supporters to collect tens of thousands of signatures on petitions to place the socialist candidates on the ballot in seven more states. In addition to the cost of printing petitions and other campaign materials, money will be needed to support teams of petitioners and pay filing fees.

Your help is needed . . .

1988 Socialist Workers Party \$50,000 campaign fund drive

May 21 — July 9

Supporters of the socialist ticket in 32 cities have set goals to make the fund a success. Below are the figures for each area.

	Goal	Collected
Atlanta	1,450	0
Austin, Minn.	500	0
Baltimore	1,150	0
Birmingham, Ala.	950	0
Boston	1,750	0
Charleston, W.V.	1,000	0
Chicago	2,200	0
Cleveland	1,150	300
Des Moines, Iowa	750	0
Detroit	1,350	0
Greensboro, N.C.	800	0
Houston	1,150	0
Kansas City	750	0
Los Angeles	3,250	0
Miami	1,450	0
Milwaukee	950	0
Morgantown, W.V.	1,150	0
New York	7,000	515
Newark, N.J.	3,000	465
Oakland, Calif.	1,700	0
Omaha, Neb.	1,100	0
Philadelphia	1,650	0
Phoenix	1,150	0
Pittsburgh	1,600	0

	Goal	Collected
Portland, Ore.	900	0
Price, Utah	600	0
Salt Lake City	800	250
San Francisco	2,000	0
Seattle	1,250	375
St. Louis	1,600	500
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,900	0
Washington, D.C.	1,750	0
Other	—	560
Total	50,000	2,965

To make a contribution, please fill out the coupon below, and mail to Socialist Workers 1988 National Campaign Committee, 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013.

Enclosed is a check or money order for: \$200 \$100 \$50 \$10 other

☐ I endorse the Warren-Mickells ticket.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

School/Organization _____

This ad has been paid for by the Socialist Workers 1988 National Campaign Committee, 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013.

Labor news in the *Militant*

The *Militant* stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. You won't miss them if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2 for subscription rates.

Drive planned to get out next 'Militant'

Continued from front page

where Warren-Mickells supporters are anticipating going well over the goal they set at the beginning of the drive. José Alvarado reports that as of June 8, Los Angeles distributors have already exceeded their *New International* goal of 100 and are closing in on the *PM* and *Militant* goals.

Newark supporters of the Warren-Mickells campaign have also made their *New International* goal and are close to making the other goals. Candace Wagner reports that 11 *Militant* subscriptions were sold to participants in a Union of Palestinian Women's Associations conference June 3-5 in Elizabeth, New Jersey.

In New York a combined total of 124 subscriptions were sold during the first two days of the circulation drive countdown period. Twenty-four subscriptions were sold at a Palestinian rights demonstration on June 4. A lunchtime team in the busy garment district in Manhattan on June 3 sold a combined total of nine subscriptions and individual copies of *New International*. That team also sold more than \$30 in Pathfinder literature.

Many campaign supporters will be participating in the June 11 antiwar and anti-nuclear weapons marches in New York and San Francisco. Distributors in Newark and New York, Boston, and other cities are anticipating that they will be close to making their combined goals by the end of that day.

Several areas have made big jumps on the scoreboard in recent weeks. One of the biggest has been registered in Morgantown, West Virginia. Paul Mailhot wrote to let us know they have had good results

selling door to door to coal miners and other working people in the Morgantown area. Mailhot says several campaign supporters recently traveled to Ohio University in Athens where they joined members of the Young Socialist Alliance there in selling 16 subscriptions and a copy of *New International*. Another team from Morgantown sold eight subscriptions in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania. About half were to paperworkers on strike at the International Paper Co. mill.

Phoenix has also made a big jump. Danny Booher explained that they sold seven *Militant* and three *PM* subscriptions in the copper-mining towns of San Manuel, Hayden, Mammoth, and Superior.

Salt Lake City supporters sold 12 subscriptions to striking coal miners and to rail workers in Sheridan, Wyoming.

Two national Warren-Mickells campaign teams have just gotten on the road in Maine and Texas. The Maine team is beginning in paper mill towns near the Canadian border and will work its way down the state.

A four-person Texas team participated in a welcoming rally in San Antonio for the Veterans Peace Convoy that is traveling to Nicaragua. The team will accompany the convoy to the border town of Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, where another welcoming rallying will be held. The team will then concentrate on campaigning among farm workers in the Rio Grande Valley.

If you would like to help in getting out next week's issue with the Action Program, look us up in the directory on page 16 or contact our business office at (212) 929-3486.



Militant/Greg McCartan

Pathfinder literature table at May youth congress in Dominican Republic. Basic socialist literature, such as Karl Marx's writings, were popular.

Socialists at London meeting discuss sales in Britain

BY ANDY BUCHANAN

LONDON — Supporters of the *Militant*, *New International*, and *Perspectiva Mundial* in Britain are going all out to reach their sales target for the three publications as part of contributing to the international goal of winning 9,000 new readers.

This was a major decision of a socialist activist and education conference hosted here May 28-30 by distributors of the three publications.

The participants decided to make a special effort to distribute the publications to coal miners attending the Scottish, Welsh, and Yorkshire miners' galas on June 11 and 18. The galas are annual marches and outdoor festivals that attract miners, their families, and other working people. They also decided to sell the publications to the tens of thousands of youths who will mobilize over the coming weeks to demand freedom for Nelson Mandela during this year of his 70th birthday. Mandela is a leader of the African National Congress of South Africa imprisoned by the apartheid regime for more than 25 years.

Mobilizing support for the month-long Mandela march, which leaves Glasgow, Scotland, on June 12 and arrives in London on July 17, was discussed by those attending the conference. The socialist activists also decided to campaign for the British and U.S. governments to provide massive aid for Nicaragua following the defeat of the U.S.-run contras.

The bulk of the 114 conference participants are members of the rail, engineering, and telecommunications unions. Meetings of workers in these unions took place during the conference. A special workshop was held to discuss making contact with and establishing sales among coal miners organized in the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

"Maintaining an orientation to the coalfields remains vital," explained Brian Grogan, national secretary of the Communist League. "Despite the setbacks imposed on the miners following the 1984-85 strike, NUM members still have a significantly greater degree of control over their union than other workers," Grogan said.

In the major talk at the conference, Grogan also stressed the implications for work-

ing people in Britain and around the world of the October 1987 stock market crash which he said demonstrated the instability of the world capitalist economy and raised the specter of an impending depression with dire social consequences for working people.

Grogan reviewed the progress made by the Communist League since its conference in January. "A central task now facing the league," he said, "is to begin raising the need for the industrial unions to adopt an international action program to protect working people from the coming crisis."

Workers from Canada, Sweden, and the United States also participated in the discussions on this question.

A presentation on the fight for democratic rights was given by *Militant* editor Margaret Jayko. She explained the importance of the historic victory scored by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance in their 15-year lawsuit against FBI spying and disruption. She urged participants to campaign in defense of political activist Mark Curtis who faces 25 years in jail as a result of charges brought by police in Des Moines, Iowa.

A special presentation was made under this point by political activist Paul Davidson who was fired by Ford Motor Co. in April after only a few days on the job. Conference participants decided to deepen the fight to demand Davidson's reinstatement.

A rally to promote the new Pathfinder bookstore being constructed in central London was held in the evening on May 28. It featured African National Congress representative Paul Joseph and Kathleen Mickells, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president. A workshop was also held on the new bookshop and the importance of increasing the distribution of Pathfinder literature.

Militant editor Jayko gave a class on the political situation in Nicaragua, and Ann Fiander, who had been on a recent brigade to Cuba, took part in a panel discussion on the "rectification process" in that country.

More than 50 people at the conference signed up to attend the Socialist Workers Party national convention and active workers and international educational conference to be held in Ohio August 6-11.

Sales Drive Progress

Area	Drive Totals			Militant subscriptions		New International single copies		Perspectiva Mundial subscriptions	
	Goal	Sold	%Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
Los Angeles	600	547	91	340	298	100	104	160	145
Morgantown, Wv	135	118	87	115	103	15	13	5	2
Newark, NJ	460	383	83	275	203	85	81	100	99
Birmingham, Ala	185	151	82	145	115	30	30	10	6
New York	1,200	968	81	600	472	300	286	300	210
Phoenix	240	192	80	135	88	30	40	75	64
Miami	225	172	76	145	123	40	20	40	29
Boston	350	262	75	240	175	50	37	60	50
Seattle	275	196	71	200	136	25	21	50	39
Greensboro, NC	125	89	71	100	76	15	10	10	3
Omaha, Neb	125	89	71	80	61	25	25	20	3
Twin Cities, Minn	285	198	69	230	159	35	23	20	16
Milwaukee	150	104	69	100	74	25	14	25	16
Chicago	350	216	62	215	139	60	48	75	29
Detroit	250	149	60	185	124	40	15	25	10
Atlanta	205	121	59	150	94	40	14	15	13
Austin, Minn	90	53	59	65	45	15	6	10	2
Philadelphia	210	122	58	140	76	30	10	40	36
Kansas City	130	75	58	90	58	20	7	20	10
Portland, Ore	140	79	56	100	54	25	18	15	7
Cleveland	145	79	54	110	60	20	7	15	12
Washington, DC	250	136	54	170	75	50	26	30	35
Pittsburgh	250	126	50	185	104	45	14	20	8
Price, Utah	60	29	48	40	24	10	1	10	4
San Francisco	350	167	48	200	113	75	17	75	37
Salt Lake City	150	70	47	115	44	20	17	15	9
Baltimore	185	86	46	150	69	30	12	5	5
Des Moines, Iowa	195	90	46	140	67	30	19	25	4
Oakland, Calif	265	120	45	150	81	50	25	65	14
Houston	215	88	41	140	66	30	4	45	18
St. Louis	250	99	40	190	76	50	22	10	1
Charleston, Wv	120	33	28	100	25	15	8	5	0
* National Team	-	97	-	-	82	-	2	-	13
Cincinnati	18	11	61	18	11	-	-	-	-
Louisville	5	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-
Other U.S.	-	23	-	-	22	-	-	-	1
U.S. totals	8,188	5,538	68	5,363	3,592	1,430	996	1,395	950
London	62	51	82	45	41	8	6	9	4
South Yorks	45	32	71	30	27	5	3	10	2
South Wales	40	22	55	27	16	10	5	3	1
Manchester	34	15	44	24	12	5	1	5	2
Nottingham	39	15	38	24	13	12	2	3	0
Other Britain	-	20	-	-	6	-	14	-	-
Britain totals	220	155	70	150	115	40	31	30	9
Toronto	240	233	97	150	142	50	40	40	51
Montreal	180	112	62	80	52	50	25	50	35
Vancouver	25	11	44	15	7	5	1	5	3
Other Canada	10	3	30	5	3	5	0	-	-
Canada totals	455	359	79	250	204	110	66	95	89
Australia	27	8	30	15	6	6	1	6	1
Iceland	15	13	87	15	13	-	-	-	-
New Zealand	220	184	84	180	155	30	21	10	8
* Puerto Rico	-	17	-	-	4	-	1	-	12
Other Internat'l	-	49	-	-	25	-	22	-	2
Totals	9,125	6,323	70%	5,973	4,114	1,616	1,138	1,536	1,071
Drive Goals	9,000			6,000		1,500		1,500	
Should be		8,073	90%						

International Socialist Review

Supplement to the Militant June 1988

'Trying to pay the debt is immoral . . . and is a political mistake'

Cuban leader Carlos Rafael Rodríguez speaks to debt conference in Brazil

The following speech was given May 3, 1988, by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez at a conference held in Brasília, Brazil, on the foreign debt owed to imperialist banks by semicolonial countries in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. Rodríguez is the vice-president of the Cuban Councils of State and of Ministers.

The conference was sponsored by the Third World Foundation, a London-based group that organizes educational efforts on the problem of the foreign debt and seeks to promote more just economic relations between industrialized and semicolonial countries. The speech is reprinted from the May 15, 1988, English-language edition of *Granma Weekly Review*, the newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party.

Cuba has expressed its view on the foreign debt. It is unpayable. As long as the idea of returning the principal is upheld, no form of payment, no combination of time or grace period will solve the problem. The idea of writing off the principal but paying the interests amounts to plunder. It makes us debtors for life.

We have also said that paying the debt is immoral. Peoples have little to do with that debt. They were plunged into debt by a jubilant combination of rulers willing to receive and waste and bankers anxious to give in a period of excess liquidity when money lay idle in the banks.

We also maintain that trying to pay the debt is a political mistake because it places governments who try to do so in ever more violent contradiction with their peoples, who are the ones that, as a result of efforts to pay, suffer the consequences of a debt that others entered into.

For Latin America the issue is more dramatic because the debts grew under military dictatorships with no accounting to the people. And they must be paid for by governments who were elected by the people, incipient and reorganized democracies that run the risk of growing further away from their peoples as they are obliged to demand from them social sacrifices, put off hopes for an acceptable standard of living, and renounce development efforts. The foreign debt is the largest obstacle to such efforts.

Debt multiplies tenfold

Data on the Latin American foreign debt confirm what we have been saying. Fifteen years ago it was barely \$42 billion. It has increased virtually tenfold, and in 1987 it stood at \$409.805 billion, according to data from the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA).

In recent years the growth of the debt has not been in any way related even to the apparently nominal investment efforts. In some cases the debt has increased because the falling dollar has increased its international cost and because while interest rates went up, the prices of our export articles dropped sharply.

In the last seven years Latin America has handed over more than \$200 billion in repatriated profits and interest rate payments. While the debt grew by \$120 billion, the net transfer of resources was \$159 billion.

To balance its balance of payments, Latin America has sharply curtailed imports and thus reduced the standard of living of its peoples. But this has not accomplished much because in spite of increased efforts to export and the temporary success scored by some countries, the

value of Latin American exports decreased by 11.7 percent in 1984; 5.9 percent in 1985; and 14.8 percent in 1986.

It looked as though matters would improve for Latin America starting in 1986 because the debt was growing at a slower pace as of mid-1986 while interest rates dropped, and the U.S. dollar, the currency in which the foreign debt is measured, was devaluated. But the effects were not evident. If we analyze the situation in 1987, the foreign debt continued to grow from \$392.9 to \$409.8 billion. Interest payments in 1987 amounted to \$32.3 billion, much the same as in previous years, while the debt-to-export ratio remained at 387 percent.

This occurred in spite of the situation in Venezuela and Mexico, and the reduction of the debt in Brazil, Costa Rica, Chile, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic.

Regional economic crisis

Thus the Latin American effort in reducing imports from 98.7 billion in 1981 to 59.7 billion in 1986 has barely borne fruit. Restoring continental growth rates as of 1984 only meant a 10 percent increase in real terms over the figure for 1980, eight years ago, while the per capita internal product was down from 945.6 pesos to 892.1 pesos and the population increased by 60 million during that same period. This is not to mention the yearly inflation rate, which, although it dropped from 275.3 percent in 1985 to 187 percent, is now three times greater than it was seven years ago.

Depending on the year, Latin America must dedicate 30 to 35 percent of its total exports of goods and services to pay interest, while we started to have net negative transfers, that is, decapitalization, as of 1982.

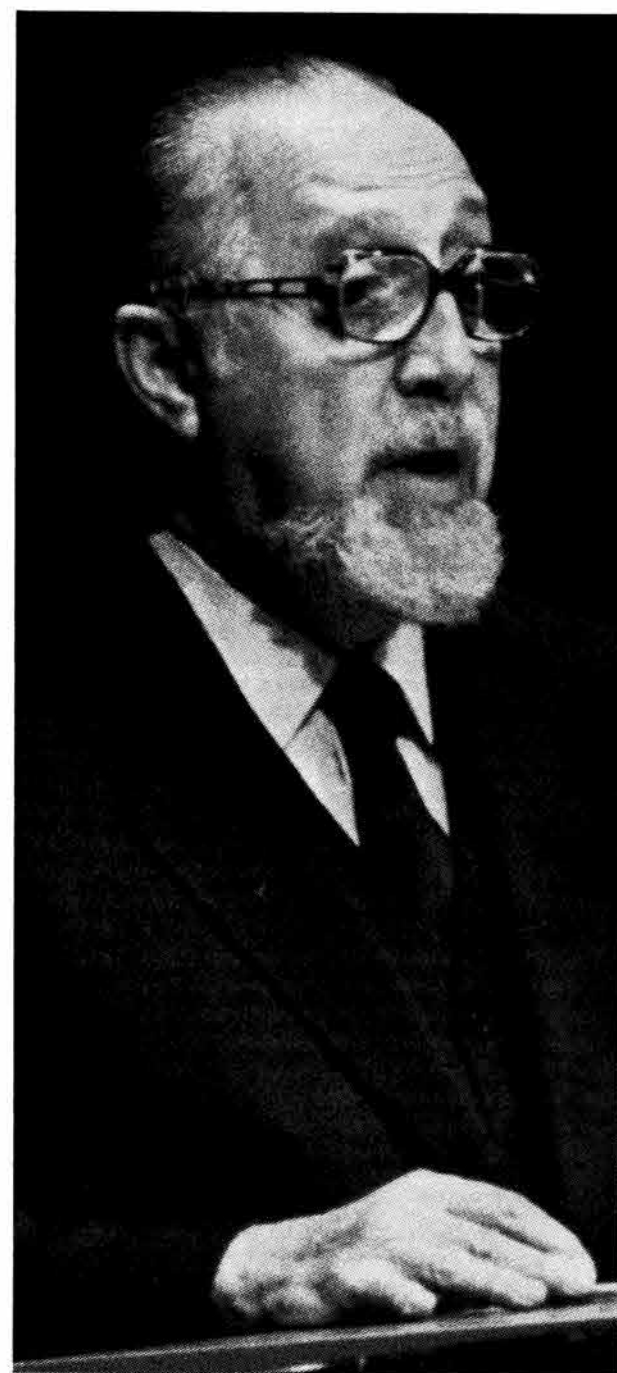
If we add to this the specific weight on our economies of the fall in prices of basic products, which has meant a net loss for Latin America of more than \$72 billion in the last seven years, there is no need for rhetoric to show that the situation is really tragic.

What can be done since world economic trends are not being reversed? For there is nothing in the foreseeable future that would indicate a favorable change in the relation between the depressed prices of our products and those of the industrial commodities we must import, which were already inflationary in the previous years of world trade.

At the ceremonies marking the 40th anniversary of ECLA in Rio, I mentioned that the countries of the European Economic Community have stockpiled several million tons of dairy products and cereals. If they are destroyed, as some have suggested, it would be a grievous crime against humanity. And if they are dumped on the market, this would further impoverish Latin America, which would get even less for its goods.

However, this realistic view cannot lead us to suicidal inaction. The struggle to increase the prices of basic commodities and the effort to prevent the developed capitalist countries from continuing to produce food that is placed on the world market subsidized by the profits obtained from the export of expensive industrial goods are part of the struggle for the New International Economic Order and must not cease. But they can only yield long-term results, too long for the peoples to wait.

While we arrive at the solutions that the South requires, while we achieve the economic integration of Latin America and promote trade ties between countries of the South, a process now only in a very incipient stage, we must come to grips with the most serious obstacle to



Carlos Rafael Rodríguez

development at this time, which is the problem of the foreign debt. We must start by going from individual efforts to collective action.

The first multilateral debt renegotiation was in Argentina in 1956. From 1956 to 1981 there were 12 debt renegotiations in Latin America and the Caribbean, covering a total of \$561.1 million. The worsening situation is shown by the fact that just in the last five years, 1982 to 1987, there have been 20 renegotiations of the Latin American debt, covering \$842.8 million.

In all these renegotiations the conditions have improved, but only slightly, and not in keeping with the gravity and urgency of the problem. The LIBOR margin has dropped but is still 0.80 or 1.5 depending on the case.¹ Although Mexico has been given 20 years, which is clearly inadequate, most countries are still only given 10, 12, and 15 years. Grace periods are running in the order of four or five years.

We often hear expressions of satisfaction over agreements that have been reached, but the temporary, fleeting jubilation always gives way when the new report arrives: the country can't pay, the situation has become even worse.

I remember that at the continental meeting on the debt held in Havana in 1985 a distinguished banker from a certain Latin American country told me that with the debt renegotiation held a few days previously, his country had averted the crisis. I replied that all they had done was to pass on the situation to the new government that was to take power three years later. We didn't have to wait that long. The combination of falling oil prices and unexpected natural disasters forced that country to nonfulfillment of the conditions they felt were favorable.

Meanwhile, capitalization and the transformation of debts into investments by the transnationals only heightens our dependence.

In our view, the leading conclusion to be derived from

Continued on ISR/5

1. LIBOR stands for London Inter-Bank Rate, the rate at which banks borrow from each other.

The struggle for independence, democ

New Caledonia shot back into world headlines in April. The independence struggle in the French South Pacific colony first became a major focus of world attention in late 1984. The following article reviews developments in the colony over the past several years and the background of the struggle for independence from France.

George Fyson has been a frequent visitor to New Caledonia over the past five years and has reported on events in that country for the *Militant* and for the New Zealand biweekly *Socialist Action*.

BY GEORGE FYSON

The current situation in New Caledonia is perhaps symbolized by the outcome of a trial in the capital, Nouméa, on Oct. 29, 1987. Seven men, who admitted to having massacred 10 independence activists, all Kanaks, in December 1984, were acquitted by a jury on the grounds of "justifiable homicide."

The seven had set an ambush near Hienghene (pronounced "Yang-gen") on the east coast and attempted to kill all 17 occupants of two trucks, who were returning from a late night meeting of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS). The trucks were dynamited. The wounded survivors were pursued through the bush with dogs and spotlights, and riddled with bullets at close range. Only seven managed to escape.

Although the firing came entirely from one side, French officials labeled the event a "shoot-out." An initial hearing came to an end in 1986 with a judge declaring that there was "no case to answer." He ruled that the assassins acted in "self-defense," given the "state of tension" in the colony at the time.

An outcry around the world, including in France, greeted this decision, forcing the authorities to hold the subsequent jury trial.

During the trial the courtroom was packed by rightist supporters of French rule, who openly vented their racism against Kanaks. For example, when one of the FLNKS activists who had escaped the fusillade gave evidence of his wounds, someone remarked in a loud voice, "Next time you'll be shot in the head, monkey!" And when the "innocent" verdict was reached, shouts of joy rang out, and hundreds celebrated in central Nouméa well into the night.

In total contrast to this was the colonial authorities' reaction to statements by FLNKS leaders following the trial. The FLNKS had pointed out that the verdict represented a "license to kill Kanaks," and proposed that Kanaks should now legally obtain weapons in order to defend themselves. Summonses were immediately issued against FLNKS President Jean-Marie Tjibaou and FLNKS radio station director Octave Togna for simply making, and reporting, these remarks.

For many years now, the Kanak people of New Caledonia, together with a layer of fighters from among

the other peoples of the territory, have been conducting a courageous struggle for independence from French colonial rule.

Solidarity needed

This struggle has won growing admiration and support among working people and supporters of social justice throughout the Pacific region and around the world. Translating this into effective international solidarity action remains a central responsibility for all supporters of an independent and nuclear-free Pacific.

French imperialism is clearly prepared to invest major resources, and to defy the peoples of the region and world opinion, in order to hang on to its South Pacific colony. Paris regards New Caledonia as integral to maintaining its military, economic, and political presence in the area.

The French navy patrols the world's oceans, based on a chain of strategically located bases in French colonies. Its naval forces are second only to those of the United States among the imperialist powers.

The French government's determination is equally underlined by its continuation of nuclear weapons-testing at Moruroa and Fangataufa atolls, near Tahiti in French Polynesia. Its decision to blow up the antinuclear protest ship *Rainbow Warrior* in Auckland, New Zealand, in July 1985, murdering a crew member, underlines this determination as well.

This article aims to clarify for those who have been drawn to support the struggle against French colonialism in New Caledonia just what the stakes are in this fight. It discusses the road forward in this battle, and its place in the worldwide struggle of workers and farmers against imperialist domination and exploitation.

Results of referendum

On Sept. 13, 1987, a referendum organized by the French government was held in New Caledonia. Voters were asked to answer yes or no to independence from France.

This referendum registered the real blows that French imperialism has been able to deliver against the anticolonial movement over the past several years.

The result was little different than had been predicted. Fifty-nine percent of registered voters participated, of whom 98 percent voted for New Caledonia to remain part of France.

In response to a boycott call by the FLNKS, some 83 percent of registered voters among the indigenous Kanak population, and a small number of others, abstained from voting.

But the referendum did serve to demonstrate that French colonialism is still able to command the political support of the majority of the non-Kanak population.

This was particularly shown at two anti-independence rallies that were held in Nouméa immediately prior to and following the referendum. Crowds were estimated at

30,000 strong, furiously waving the red, white and blue French flag, while French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac proclaimed France the benefactor of the Pacific and champion of democracy and multiracialism.

Thousands of working people of diverse origins took part in these mass rallies, including thousands of immigrants, or descendants of immigrants, from France's other Pacific Island colonies of Wallis, Futuna, and Tahiti, and from Indonesia and Vietnam.

The French government was able to use the referendum to score a political victory — a victory since reflected in the increased confidence and aggressiveness of the right wing and the French military in New Caledonia. The government's success culminated a series of setbacks for the independence movement since the high point of the mass mobilizations in late 1984 and early 1985.

1984-85 upsurge

At that time, thousands of Kanaks mobilized against the Territorial Assembly elections held on Nov. 18, 1984, which the FLNKS was boycotting. The mobilizations continued over the weeks that followed. Mass demonstrations took place throughout the country, including in Nouméa. Towns and villages were occupied; roadblocks and barricades were set up.

This upsurge of the Kanak population followed the refusal of the government of François Mitterrand to move toward independence, and it brought the struggle in New Caledonia to world attention.

The central leader of those actions was Eloi Machoro, general secretary of the Caledonian Union (UC), the largest grouping in the FLNKS. Under his leadership, the FLNKS had been forged in September 1984 around a perspective of mobilizing the Kanak people against French colonial rule and winning support from other potential opponents of French colonialism at home and abroad.

The FLNKS declared in its founding charter: "All the signatories of this Charter: Kanak independence fighters and anticolonialist non-Kanaks, organizations, unions, movements, associations, churches ... making up the FLNKS are its active members. ..."

"The FLNKS is therefore the union of the living forces which have as their goal the achievement of Kanak socialist independence. That is to say, a Liberation Front for freeing the Kanak land of colonialism, capitalism, and imperialism. ... It is directed first and foremost against the colonial oppressor, the French colonial power."

Along the lines of this perspective, proindependence fighters had already founded the Kanak and Exploited Workers Union (USTKE) in December 1981, as a vehicle both to fight for the rights of Kanak workers and to reach beyond the Kanak communities and unite with the immigrant and other non-Kanak workers.

French gov't tries to save face after massacre of Kanaks

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Outrage over the massacre of 19 Kanak independence fighters by French armed forces in New Caledonia on May 5 has forced the French government to take several face-saving steps to cover up the extent of its butchery.

The massacre took place on Ouvéa, one of the islands that makes up New Caledonia. French paramilitary forces had been sent to the island to put down independence protests before the first round of voting in the French presidential elections April 24. Some 35 French cops were then taken hostage by the Kanaks, who demanded that French occupation forces be withdrawn from Ouvéa and a government mediator be sent to hold talks with the FLNKS. The purpose of the May 5 assault, which occurred three days before the final round of voting in the French elections, was to free the hostages.

Protests against the massacre occurred in several South Pacific countries, including New Caledonia itself, in the days following May 5. Several demonstrations — including one of 5,000 — also took place in Paris, fueled by reports in the big-business daily *Le Monde* that after the Kanaks had surrendered to the French forces, they were simply lined up against a wall and executed.

Eyewitnesses to the massacre have since given detailed reports to the press of how two leaders of the Kanaks' protest, along with a third Kanak youth, were

murdered after they had surrendered unarmed to the French forces.

One of the Kanak leaders, Alphonse Dianou, was shot in the leg after he surrendered. "Injured, Alphonse was taken away on a stretcher where an army doctor attended to him," described one eyewitness. "He fixed tubes to put him on an [intravenous] drip. But then other soldiers came up and wrenched the tubes away and turned the stretcher over. Alphonse rolled on the stones and was kicked and hit with rifle butts." Military officials say Dianou died of a heart attack.

The second leader, Wenceslas Lavelloi, was led away by French forces after he too surrendered unarmed. An eyewitness described how others who were being held heard a shot, and then a soldier say, "Lavelloi's turn is over. Next."

The Kanak youth, Waïna Amossa, was told to stand by a soldier. "As he got up, he was shot and he collapsed," said the eyewitness.

Le Monde reported in late May that the French government had considered using heavy weaponry, including a 500-pound laser-guided bomb, helicopters with cannons, and napalm to free the hostages.

On May 30 French Defense Minister Jean-Pierre Chevènement announced that an officer in charge of the assault was being suspended for "acts contrary to military duty." The suspension was the result of a Defense Ministry investigation carried out by two generals. A Justice Ministry investigation has also been ordered to determine whether any criminal charges will be filed

against the military in the deaths of the three Kanaks who were slain after they surrendered.

"All those who may have impugned the honor of the army will be mercilessly pursued," said Chevènement. "They will be severely punished." He went on to add that the "honor of the army" was *not* involved, however, only individual soldiers. "There do not appear to have been any summary executions," Chevènement said.

Leaders of the Kanak independence movement refused to meet with a French government delegation May 24, after another Kanak was gunned down by a French soldier. The delegation was sent to New Caledonia by Prime Minister Michel Rocard, who was appointed after Socialist Party candidate François Mitterrand was elected to a second term as president May 8.

The previous prime minister, Jacques Chirac of the conservative Rally for the Republic Party, ordered the May 5 assault on Ouvéa. Defenders of the action say that Mitterrand also approved the decision.

Defense Minister Chevènement, appointed by Mitterrand after the elections, said May 30 that the attack was ordered "without all the possibilities of negotiations having been explored to the fullest." The May 5 massacre was an important issue in the first round of French legislative elections, held June 5.

Meanwhile, a French military occupation force of more than 10,000 remains in New Caledonia, whose population numbers some 150,000.

Democracy, and equality in New Caledonia



Kanak-led protest demanding independence from France. Banner reads, "Colonial law: enemy of the struggling Kanak people."

The mobilizations led by Machoro in late 1984 began to demonstrate the potential to win over sections of the non-Kanak exploited working population to the independence movement.

This was illustrated by events in Thio, the center of the nickel-mining industry. The following is a description of these events by the FLNKS representative in New Zealand, Susanna Ounei:

"[On] Nov. 18, 1984, in the [mobilization against the] elections, the FLNKS in Thio were in control of this area. The majority of the people who work in Thio are Wallisians, Tahitians, or whites. The FLNKS, led by Eloi Machoro, went to meet the Wallisians to tell them that they were not our enemies.

"We explained the problem of capitalism and colonialism to them — how it divides us in order to control our resources. We also explained this to the whites who have no resources, no riches, in New Caledonia and who work for a boss. We said to them that we are not racist, and we want to build up New Caledonia with them — with all the people who live in our country. . . .

"[We] must work together and make the international links against capitalism, and build solidarity between the workers and those of us in the tribes who have no jobs.

"The caldoches [European and mixed-race descendants of French settlers] refused to follow us and the army came to Thio with their helicopters and took them away to Nouméa. But the majority of the Wallisians . . . came in to support our struggles. They came to help in the barricades. That was really encouraging for us." (*For Kanak Independence: The Fight Against French Rule in New Caledonia*, by Susanna Ounei. Pilot Books, Auckland, 1985.)

This was a new development in the struggle, revealing the potential for winning allies among the non-Kanak workers and youth. The vast majority of Tahitian, Wallisian, and other non-Kanak Pacific Islander workers in New Caledonia today are under the influence of the right wing and the French presence.

Unleashing repression

French imperialism responded to the 1984 anticolonial upsurge by wielding its military might against the independence movement, bringing in thousands of troops and unleashing a wave of repression.

Dozens of independence activists were arrested and jailed. A number were murdered by the military and right-wing thugs, such as in the December 1984 Hienne massacre.

In January 1985, Machoro and his close aide Marcel Nonaro were gunned down near Thio by French military sharpshooters, on the instructions of top French officials.

This represented a cold-blooded decision by the colonial authorities to behead the independence movement and break the growing unity in struggle of the victims of French colonialism behind the FLNKS, by cutting down its central organizer and inspirer.

The assassination of Machoro was a turning point in the struggle. It marked the beginning of a counteroffensive mounted by the French government that, over the past few years, has succeeded in reversing the momentum of the anticolonial struggle. This is what the trium-

phant right-wing rallies during the 1987 referendum registered.

At the same time as it murdered Machoro, the French government presented the FLNKS with its own proposal for a system of limited regional autonomy, as an alternative to full independence. The plan focused on dividing New Caledonia into four administrative regions. The FLNKS could be expected to achieve electoral majorities in at least two of these.

After considerable debate, the FLNKS agreed to participate in elections for these regional governments, and succeeded in winning control over three of them in September 1985. For the next two years, the Front's attention was taken up with the administration of the regional governments.

At the same time, the French colonial thugs in uniform, as well as right-wing terrorist gangs, continued to aim their fire at the independence movement. Independence fighters continued to be jailed and deprived of civil rights. Activists had their cars and homes bombed; several were murdered in different incidents.

An intense propaganda campaign was mounted by the French authorities to try to isolate the FLNKS internationally. In particular, they sought to pressure the FLNKS against developing relations with other liberation movements and with Third World countries by using such ties to smear the Front as "terrorist."

Despite the blows dealt by the French counter-offensive against the struggle, progress was made during this period in forging new voices of the independence movement, in particular the mass-circulation newspaper *Bwenando* and the radio station Radio Djiido.

Leading up to the Sept. 13, 1987, referendum, the French authorities did everything they could to block a renewed mobilization of the anticolonial struggle.

A mass march that had been planned by the FLNKS to start in the north of the mainland and end in Nouméa in the south was banned. Police and soldiers were deployed throughout the territory to prevent any significant gathering of proindependence demonstrators, and to break up those that did occur. A peaceful sit-down protest by FLNKS supporters in central Nouméa, for example, was clubbed and tear-gassed.

The French government's ability to utilize the referendum to its advantage was demonstrated the following month by the reduced vote in the United Nations General Assembly for maintaining New Caledonia on the decolonization list. Sixty-nine countries voted to reaffirm New Caledonia's inclusion on the list, with 27 against and 46 abstaining. The previous year, when New Caledonia was placed on the UN list, 89 countries had voted in favor. Paris waged a vigorous campaign for a no vote, especially exerting pressure on the delegates from former French colonies in Africa to vote for France or to abstain.

In the face of the setbacks to the struggle, independence fighters in New Caledonia now confront a new and more difficult stage in the construction of the anticolonial movement.

Oppression of Kanaks

The modern independence struggle in New Caledonia has been developing for more than 30 years. The indigenous Kanak people have been the central motor force of this struggle.

Until the early 1950s, the Kanak people of the colony lived under restrictive conditions comparable to apartheid in South Africa, or to those facing the Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders in the nearby Australian state of Queensland.

They were confined to small reservations of land, where they carried on subsistence agriculture, hunting, and fishing. These "tribal" land reserves had been created by the colonial authorities in the second half of the 19th century. Through this system, individual or family ownership of land, on which to develop commercial farming, was denied to Kanaks.

Kanaks living on the reservations had to perform forced labor on roads and other public works. The right to leave the tribal areas was severely restricted. For example, Kanaks were excluded altogether from towns after dusk.

While they made up a clear majority of the population, Kanaks had no right to vote. They received no education. Racial discrimination was thus institutionalized throughout New Caledonian society.

As a result, almost no Kanaks were drawn into the colonial economy as farmers producing for the market or as wage workers in the mines and plantations.

Anticolonial upsurge

But developments during and following World War II had their impact on all the people of New Caledonia. This began with the political and economic impact of 100,000 U.S., Australian, and New Zealand troops, including many Black U.S. soldiers, who were stationed in the territory during 1941-45.

The post-war rise of the anticolonial revolution throughout Asia and Africa helped to prompt the formation of the first political organization to involve Kanaks as well as descendants of French settlers. This was the origin of the Caledonian Union (UC), which demanded "internal autonomy" for New Caledonia. (The UC retained substantial European support until the early 1960s, and remains the largest component of the FLNKS today.)

One reflection of the worldwide anticolonial struggle coming out of World War II was the establishment of the UN committee on decolonization, which included New Caledonia on its list of territories requiring independence. Paris' response was to demand the removal of New Caledonia from the list, declaring that it was not a colony but an integral "part of France."

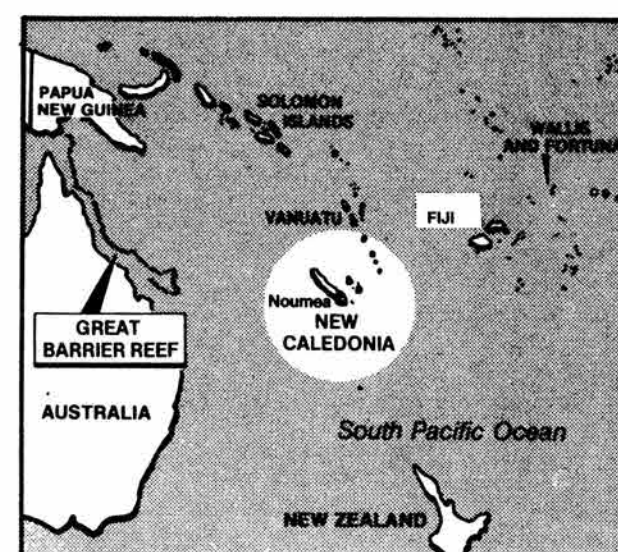
As part of arguing this, the French government was obliged to grant Kanaks the right to vote, and a UC local government was elected in 1951.

During the 1950s, this government pushed through a number of political and economic reforms. These included ending the restrictions on movement by Kanaks, bringing them into the education system for the first time, and turning over a certain amount of land to enlarge the crowded reservations. Small amounts of land were also made available to Kanaks on an individual basis for family farming.

Despite this, by the end of the 1970s the inequality in land ownership between Kanaks and non-Kanaks was still dramatic: 2,700 settlers (many of them absentee landowners) and 20 mineowners held a total of 1,617,850 acres, including all of the best agricultural land, while on the mainland 24,000 Kanaks existed on 412,490 acres. This represents nine times as many Kanaks as Europeans, on a land area one-quarter the size.

Today, 70 percent of the Kanak people still make their living largely from subsistence farming — that is, gardening to grow food crops primarily for their own consumption — as well as from fishing and hunting. Only about 7,000 were wage or salary earners at the time of the 1983 census, 40 percent of these being domestic ser-

Continued on next page



The struggle for independence in New Caledonia

Continued from ISR/2
vants.

However, the number of Kanaks employed in the modern capitalist sectors of the economy has been growing.

Rise of independence struggle

The first wave of Kanaks to go through the schools during the 1960s gained further confidence to demand an end to French colonialism. Advances in worldwide struggles, such as the civil rights movement in the United States, the Vietnamese people's liberation struggle, and the rise of radical youth rebellions in France, also had an impact.

The 1960s saw the emergence of a new Kanak nationalism, including the adoption of the name "Kanak," which previously had been a term of racist abuse. The revolutionary Black rights and working-class leader Malcolm X described a similar process occurring in the United States at the time as the first step in "waking the people up . . . to their humanity, to their own worth, and to their heritage." (*Malcolm X Speaks*, Grove Press, New York, 1966.)

New political groupings of young Kanaks emerged, demanding immediate independence from France. By the late 1970s their growth and combined pressure had won over the UC itself to demand independence.

Another important influence throughout this period was the anticolonial movement in the Pacific itself, which saw its first victory with the independence of Western Samoa from New Zealand in 1962.

A major spur to the independence movement was the success of the mass popular struggle in the neighboring joint French-British colony of the New Hebrides, which became the independent state of Vanuatu in 1980. The new Vanuatu government has acted as an inspirer and firm ally of the struggle in New Caledonia. This was the first Pacific Island colony that Paris had been forced to give up.

Then in mid-1981 came the electoral victory in France of the Socialist and Communist Party-dominated government of President Mitterrand. The UC and a number of smaller proindependence parties had campaigned for a vote for Mitterrand, who prior to the elections had promised independence for New Caledonia.

Pierre Declercq assassinated

Pierre Declercq, a French-born priest who was the general secretary of the UC in this period, was assassinated by a right-wing colonist in September 1981. (Nobody has been convicted of this murder either.) This act provoked the first big Kanak mobilizations throughout the colony.

It was in this context that, in July 1982, the Independence Front, an electoral coalition of five proindependence parties, including the UC, became the governing formation in New Caledonia's Territorial Assembly. This provided a further boost to the independence movement.

As it became clear that the Mitterrand government was determined to hang on to New Caledonia and was not going to implement changes demanded by the independence movement, the independence struggle continued to grow, giving rise to the formation of the FLNKS and the massive upheaval in 1984-85.

So far, however, the major barrier to the independence movement's progress has been French imperialism's ability to persuade the vast majority of non-Kanak workers and farmers that their interests lie with the maintenance of French rule.

For more than a century immigrant workers have played a major part in the development of New Caledonia and the extraction of its rich resources for the benefit of French capitalism.

Some of these immigrants were bureaucrats, businesspeople, and planters fleeing from the ouster of French colonialism in Algeria, Indochina, and Vanuatu. But the vast majority were brought to New Caledonia to toil in the mines and fields under harsh conditions.

In their ranks must be included the more than 20,000 prisoners from France transported to New Caledonia, which was a French penal colony from 1864 to the turn of the century.

In 1872, some 4,400 working-class fighters, survivors of the Paris people's uprising of the previous year known as the Paris Commune, were sent to New Caledonia to perform hard labor. It was their work, together with forced labor by the Kanak tribespeople, which first established a system of roads in the rugged mainland. Some of these prisoners' descendants are supporters of the independence movement today, while others are opposed.

Imported thousands of workers

The discovery of minerals in the early 1860s led France to import workers from across the globe, from countries where capitalist penetration had begun pushing peasants off the land, creating an impoverished layer of working people, forced to toil for low wages.

Hundreds of Arabs, Indians, Chinese, and Malabars (from France's island colonies in the Indian Ocean) were brought to New Caledonia in the last century, to be followed by many thousands of Vietnamese (from the French colony of Indochina), Javanese (from the Dutch colony known as the East Indies, now Indonesia), and Japanese.

These people worked in the massive mining industry, which for more than a century has extracted thousands of tons of gold, copper, lead, zinc, silver, manganese, chrome, iron, and especially nickel for the benefit of French capitalism.

The proportion of immigrant workers in the colony was large. For instance, in the mid 1920s the Javanese and Vietnamese alone exceeded the number of Europeans in New Caledonia.

These workers existed under a system of contract labor not that far removed from slavery. They had no citizenship or other civil rights, and were often expelled en masse from the colony, even after they and their families had lived there for many decades.

For example, 1,500 Japanese were expelled on the outbreak of the Pacific war in 1941. Most of the 9,000 Javanese were "repatriated" in 1948 at the time of the Indonesian independence war. In 1960 some 4,000 Vietnamese, out of a population of 5,000, were also "repatriated" by a right-wing local government.

Immigration of Pacific Islanders

Since the 1950s, immigrant workers from the Pacific Islands have come to dominate in factory, mining, and construction labor. Today, out of a population of 145,000 (1983 census), with Kanaks making up 43 percent (62,000) and Europeans 37 percent (54,000), the Polynesian workers from Wallis, Futuna, and Tahiti amount to 12 percent (18,000). Indonesians, Vietnamese, and all others make up 8 percent of the population.

The 12,000 Wallisians work in Nouméa in the south, and also in the mining town of Thio on the east coast. They live alongside Kanaks in ghetto areas such as Cité Pierre Lenquete in Nouméa, and some are fellow unionists in the USTKE.

Wallis Island itself is a tiny territory near Samoa, with no significant natural resources and no industry. The islanders' main source of funds is from wages earned by relatives working in New Caledonia. In fact, more Wal-

lisians now live in New Caledonia than in their home island. More than 60 percent of the Wallisian community in New Caledonia today was born there.

Until now, the right-wing loyalist (pro-French) forces in New Caledonia have been able to maintain the near-total political support of the Wallisian community. An important factor in this is the domination over Wallisians by Catholic church priests and traditional social structures.

Gangs of unemployed Wallisian youths in Nouméa are organized by leaders of the RPCR to act as "militias" to attack and provoke independence demonstrators and Kanak youth in general. Deep mutual hostility has developed.

A Wallisian who is a union delegate in the USTKE discussed this with me when I visited New Caledonia in January 1988. She explained that the employers and the RPCR in Nouméa pay young Wallisians to join the militias. They also use their monopoly control over hiring and firing to make sure that it is very difficult for a Wallisian who does not openly oppose the independence struggle to get a job, she said.

This is a classic example of the imperialist policy of "divide and rule," of which many others exist in New Caledonia.

Another social layer that has thrown its support behind the extreme right wing are the small farmers. Consisting of about 1,000 families, these are European and mixed-race descendants of French settlers, known as "caldoche." It was just such a group of white and mixed-race farmers who massacred the 10 independence activists at Hienghène.

Most of these farmers are not wealthy. In fact, the bulk of the settler-held land is owned by a few large capitalist families. In previous decades some of the working farmers have been sympathetic to the anticolonial struggle.

The European wage and salary earners, in general, are also strongly loyalist. But they are not a solid block. Many have lived in New Caledonia for generations, like the small farmers. Some will be, and have been, won to support the independence struggle.

Others — recent immigrants and temporary residents — are not really workers at all. They are part of the bloated colonial bureaucracy and identify their livelihoods with a remaining French presence. This is true also of many of the small businesspeople whose prosperity is similarly based on the artificial injection of state funds from Paris, which occurs in many different forms.

Melting pot of peoples

French colonialism has created a melting pot of peoples in New Caledonia. Furthermore, in its bid to hold on to New Caledonia in face of worldwide anticolonial sentiment, it has been forced to extend formal civil and political rights both to Kanaks and to non-French immigrants.

At the same time, it has acted to keep the Kanak people firmly at the bottom, largely excluded from the economic life engaged in by the immigrants. Kanaks have only made advances against this by forcing concessions from the colonial power.

Yet, all the exploited workers and farmers of New Caledonia have a stake in getting colonial rule off their backs. The territory has been converted into a military camp in which rightist gangs act with impunity. While this remains, working people are severely restricted in their ability to conduct political activity and act to advance their interests. It is a roadblock to the toilers being able to unite in order to fight for a better life for all.

French colonialism tells the immigrant workers from the Pacific that "Kanak independence" will mean for them what the leader of the 1987 military coups in Fiji, Brigadier Sitiveni Rabuka, proposed for the nonindigenous workers and farmers of that country — that they will be denied political rights, possibly lose their jobs, and face the threat of expulsion. The caldoche small farmers are warned that the "socialist" FLNKS plans to take away their farms.

When I was in New Caledonia in May 1985, for example, a taxi driver in Nouméa — a New Zealand Maori, married to a Tahitian worker — told me that the independence fighters "want to come and cut our throats, and take our houses, our cars, everything we have!"

In this situation, the question is sharply posed — how to develop a political program that can overcome the racial divisions imposed by French colonialism and begin to win decisive layers from among the exploited non-Kanaks to the side of the Kanak people in the struggle for independence, democracy, and equality.

Anti-apartheid fight in South Africa

This is a question that liberation struggles in many countries have had to confront — none more so than in South Africa following the imposition of a system of apartheid there after World War II.

The apartheid rulers have expended considerable



Huge nickel-processing plant in New Caledonia. Since 1860s, thousands of immigrant workers have labored in mining industry, extracting gold, copper, nickel, and other minerals, to create vast wealth for French colonialists.

energy and resources on seeking to cut off sections of the exploited masses from the African majority, notably the Indian and Coloured communities, and to pit the African tribal groupings against each other.

In face of this divide and rule strategy, the African National Congress (ANC), which has been rooted in the African majority since its formation in 1912, seeks to reach out and lead all the victims of apartheid. A central weapon in this is the Freedom Charter, which was adopted in South Africa at the broadly representative congress in 1955.

The Freedom Charter states: "We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

"That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

"That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty, and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality; "That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

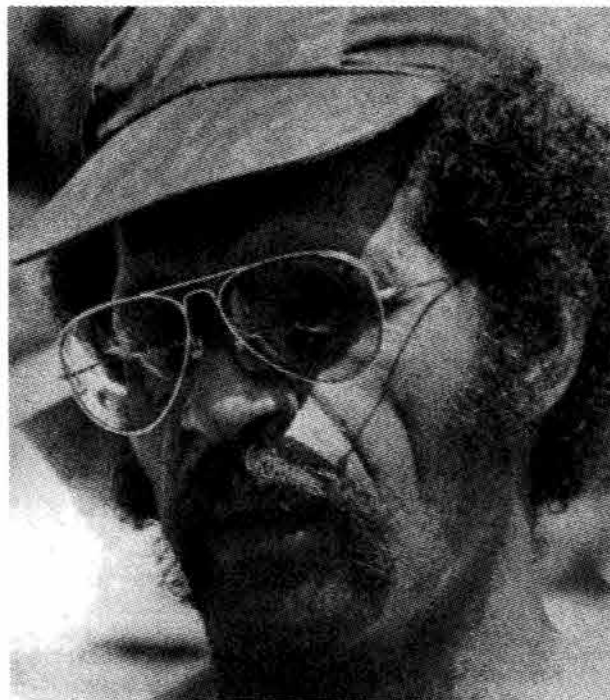
"That only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of color, race, sex, or belief."

In a democratic, nonracial South Africa, the charter declares, "The land shall be shared among those who work it" and "all shall enjoy equal human rights." As well, "The state shall recognize the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits," it adds.

This political approach by the ANC, combined with irreconcilable opposition to the apartheid regime, has won it growing support among the oppressed majority, including among Indians and Coloureds, as the anti-apartheid struggle has deepened. It has enabled the ANC to win some support from whites too.

The independence struggle in New Caledonia is a part of the worldwide fight to get imperialism off the backs of working people and open the road to a future free of exploitation and all forms of oppression. It is a struggle that has been inspired by, and is an inspiration to, struggles by workers, peasants, and oppressed peoples internationally.

At the heart of this struggle is the fight by the Kanak people for their national liberation. As this national struggle deepens, it is confronted more and more by the need, as Malcolm X explained, to "see things on a broader scale" — to speak and act in the interest of the exploited and oppressed majority as a whole, and to link up with



Eloi Machoro, founder of Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front. He was assassinated by French military in 1985.

other battles by working people against imperialism throughout the world.

Malcolm X put it this way, when discussing the fight for civil rights in the United States, in an interview in January 1965, one month before he was assassinated.

"[Our] problem has to be internationalized," he said. "Now the African nations are speaking out and linking the problem of racism in Mississippi with the problem of racism in the Congo, and also the problem of racism in South Vietnam. It's all racism. It's all part of the vicious racist system that the Western powers have used to continue to degrade and exploit and oppress the people in Africa and Asia and Latin America during recent centuries.

"And when these people in these different areas begin to see that the problem is the same problem," he continued, "and when the 22 million black Americans see that our problem is the same as the problem of the people who are being oppressed in South Vietnam and the Congo and Latin America, then — the oppressed people of the earth make up a majority, not a minority — then

we approach our problem as a majority that can demand, not as a minority that has to beg." (*Malcolm X Speaks*. Pathfinder, New York.)

A democratic nation

The fight for Kanak liberation is interwoven with the fight to free the whole of New Caledonia from French colonial domination and imperialist exploitation, and to forge, for the first time, a democratic nation-state. This requires destroying all the restrictions against Kanaks becoming an integral part of economic, social, and political life and securing equal rights for all those living in the colony who are willing to help build the new nation.

Through advancing the fight to end French colonial rule in this way, the possibility can be opened up for all working people in New Caledonia to begin to move forward.

Central to achieving this will be opening up the land to all the Kanaks and to non-Kanak anticolonialists who want to farm. This requires seizing the vast holdings of the absentee landlords and capitalists and distributing them in order to guarantee the ability to farm to all those who want to do so.

Another central measure will be a program of affirmative action for Kanaks in employment and education. Special measures to enable Kanaks to enter and advance in these fields are needed to unify the working population and to overcome the legacy of more than a century of deep discrimination.

The limited progress that has already been made along these lines has been a byproduct of the Kanak struggle combined with advances in the international fight of working people.

History is not on the side of French imperialism in New Caledonia. As time passes — and as the increasing penetration of capitalism itself draws broader layers of the toilers alongside each other, and the worldwide crisis of the capitalist system and of imperialist rule deepens — it will be easier for toiling people of diverse origins to see that they have a common enemy. And that they have a common stake in supporting the liberation of the Kanak people in order to wage a united struggle against this enemy.

Through an understanding of what the oppressed people of New Caledonia are facing, and through active solidarity with their struggle, working-class and national liberation fighters the world over can help them to achieve a victory over French imperialism, which will be a victory for all working people in the Pacific and worldwide.

'Trying to pay the debt is immoral and is a political mistake'

Continued from ISR/1

all these years of useless efforts and constantly worsening situations is that attempts to negotiate separately are sterile and negative. There must be a collective approach, and not just a Latin American one, on the part of the debtors. If the creditors have their club, the debtors should at least have their group to draw up joint solutions.

Of course, every country has a different situation. There are different circumstances. The creditors are not always the same. The debt terms are different. The products used to obtain income for payments vary. Conditions for negotiations are not identical.

But these are secondary distinctions. The problem is the same.

When the Cartagena Group² was formed in Latin America, a subtle and elegant form of discrimination was evident: it represented those who felt the problem could be solved by admonishing creditors and appealing to their conscience. But their dramatic letters were barely answered with polite delaying tactics. The response of the creditors was dictated by the superiority of their strategic situation.

There have been as many combinations as there are countries, as many threats as there are creditors, as many impositions as allowed for by the isolation of those who owe and the arrogance of those intent on collecting. The International Monetary Fund and its peremptory adjustments prevailed over the interests and needs of the countries in the region.

The least unfavorable situation appears in the latest agreement with Mexico. Coinciding with the decision by some bankers to build up reserves for when the final non-payment comes, we see the first sign that the creditors are willing to lose part of what they are demanding of us. However, we wonder how many Latin American countries, given the weakness of their financial reserves, are

able to deal with the purchase of their debt documents at low prices. We wonder if even Mexico can do for its entire debt what it has done for part of it.

Debt cannot be paid

However, the indications are that the day is drawing near when countries will be forced to announce their decision not to pay in whole or in part, as predicted by President Fidel Castro.

This is a fact today and the African countries have just said so at the conference of the Organization of African Unity (OAU):³ some nations are in a situation that is so unfavorable and intolerable that they must immediately cancel their debts. All of us know that basically none of our countries can pay the total debt nor meet the repeatedly adjusted deadlines.

All of you are aware of the existence of the South Commission, headed by Mwalimu Nyerere, a person who elicits a favorable world consensus. Twenty-eight leading figures from the Third World sit on it. Latin America has contributed political figures such as Carlos Andrés Pérez and Michael Manley. Economists of the stature of Celso Furtado, Enrique Iglesias, and Aldo Ferrer. Cardinal Arns adds his prestige. Mexican political specialist Jorge Navarrete, who is his country's ambassador in Britain, is also on the commission. I am honored to belong to the group.

In Kuala Lumpur the commission published a document on the foreign debt that all of you are surely familiar with. One of its high points is advocating a debtor forum, but not a temporary forum where debtors would meet once to express more or less accurate circumstantial opinions. The South Commission feels the debtors should set up their own permanent forum. Not a club like the one the creditors have in Paris, not an organization, but a center for ongoing communication and information, a place to reach common stands and from which collective plans can be derived.

In such a setting, we feel that Latin America could play a vanguard role.

Latin America is the site of the largest debts in the

world. The main debtors are in this geographical area. There is a financial experience of many years that would enable us to contribute to the study of the African problems discussed in the OAU meeting.

Through the conjunction of all views we can come up with realistic formulas. But the important thing is that creditors must realize that the joint force of those of us who owe will be used, and we won't continue looking for partial solutions that only prolong our agony.

New economic relation needed

Nobody is seeking the collapse of the international financial system. When Cuba said that the debt was unpayable, it pointed out ways in which banks could cope with nonpayment by their debtors. Today this is more likely than ever, since for the first time there is a possibility that the nuclear forces that threaten our survival will be eliminated and we will enter a period in which general and complete disarmament will cease being an impossible dream.

The money now allotted for war can be used for development. The elimination of the \$1.2 trillion debt that now burdens us is not utopian, for even as often as every year we spend similar sums to finance world holocaust.

All this is part of a larger program. Nonpayment of the debt won't be enough, for if unequal terms of trade, monetary imbalance, and high interest rates continue, the debt will again start being a problem for us.

A change in the international setting and the establishment of a new economic order to correct these imbalances is a sine qua non for the elimination of the debt to contribute both to the economic development of countries and to a new relationship between the underdeveloped world and the more developed industrialized nations, which are now coping with market stagnation, unemployment, and minimum yearly growth rates.

Just like solutions to military confrontation are being found, it is time to consider how to end this other confrontation in which hundreds of millions of human beings — even in economies that can prosper — are subjected to poverty and backwardness.

I feel the debates organized by the Third World Foundation can contribute to this end, and I feel honored to have been asked to participate.

Thank you very much.

2. The Cartagena Group was formed at a conference in June 1984, held to discuss ways of relieving Latin America's debt burden. Eleven countries participated: Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. These countries account for more than 90 percent of Latin America's total debt of \$400 billion. The group takes its name from Cartagena, Colombia, where the founding conference was held.

3. The OAU Labor Commission Conference met for one week in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, beginning April 16, 1988.

A visit with union, student leaders in Dominican Republic

BY GREG McCARTAN

SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic — Leaders of the Union of Young Dominicans (UJD) took international guests to their May 20-22 founding congress on a tour here following the meeting.

On one stop we met with leaders of the General Workers Confederation (CGT). The union federation organizes 60,000 workers in many of the main industries in the country. One of its leaders explained that the problems of workers in the Dominican Republic stem from the "total dependency of the economy on the United States. Buying power is dropping, we have unequal exchange for our products with the U.S., and hunger is spreading."

Earlier we had visited the barrio of Zurza where we had spoken with workers who had been driven from their homes by government construction projects geared to attracting tourists. Many in the barrio were peasants who had been forced off their land. We asked the CGT leaders what the union proposed for fighting unemployment.

One of them pointed out that unemployment was a big problem "because workers will more quickly end a strike and return to work because of the threat of being thrown out of a job." A key demand put forward by the union to put millions of Dominicans back to work is agrarian reform, he said.

"Sixty-three families control the vast majority of arable land, much of which is not under production," the union official told us. "Agrarian reform is a concrete way to lower unemployment."

The federation is also campaigning to raise the minimum wage to 500 pesos a month, up 100 from current levels. "Workers must be unified. We need to organize the unorganized," one of the unionists added.

"The capitalists say the 'free trade zones' are the way to reduce unemployment," he said. "But this is false."

In the past four years the number of workers employed in these industrial parks has grown from 20,000 to 80,000. Nearly 200 companies, most of them U.S.-owned or operated, have set up factories that pay \$4 a day.

While we were at the CGT offices, three

workers from the free trade zone came in. They had just led a series of actions to organize unions at their plants.

Héctor Rivera had been involved with workers from two factories who had occupied churches to press their demands.

"One thousand workers from these two plants have been fired while demanding to be paid for the 14 vacation days stipulated by labor law," Rivera explained. "They were also protesting the brutal treatment of women workers and organizing against being locked in the factory and forced to work late at night for no pay," he added.

"Workers occupied the first church and demanded negotiations," Rivera continued. "The government agreed, but backed off when the workers left the church. A second church was occupied and the government sent in the police, who sealed off the church and starved us out after three days. This made us see that the police and the army are at the service of the bosses."

The workers are planning to hold a series of meetings and marches to press their demands and mobilize support for the fight.

The UJD leaders also took us to meet Ramon Valerio, president of the Federation of Dominican Students (FED). The FED is the student government body of 40,000 university students. The university system in the Dominican Republic is "autonomous." It is run by elected representatives of the students and faculty.

One big problem though, Valerio pointed out, is that "the government holds the purse strings."

"The economic crisis is affecting large



Militant/Greg McCartan

Group of workers from La Zurza barrio in Santo Domingo. Sign, addressed to president of Dominican Republic, reads, "Dr. Balaguer: we are 38 poor and humble families, refugees since Hurricane David in 1979, living in a dining hall of La Zurza barrio. Help us, our situation is desperate."

numbers of students. Enrollment is down from a high of 60,000, and the drop-out rate due to economic hardship is high," Valerio said. "We have won several things though — for instance subsidies on food. A meal for students is only 25 cents!"

Throughout the FED offices are posters of Nicaragua, Cuba, and El Salvador. Valerio pointed out that the university students have historically been involved in protests. "Just recently we had a protest around U.S. government interference in Panama. We have deep anti-imperialist feelings because the Dominican Republic has been invaded twice by the U.S."

While we were at the university a big debate was taking place over a strike by university professors. The teachers, one of the highest paid sectors in the country, were demanding a 10 percent pay increase.

"We support the teachers' right to strike, but we think they should return to work so we can get our education," Valerio said. Students had organized to continue classes themselves.

The FED was helping to organize negotiations between the teachers and the government, to help meet the union's demands and bring a quick end to the strike.

Iceland anti-apartheid group formed

BY SIGURLAUG GUNNLAUGSDÓTTIR

REYKJAVÍK, Iceland — More than 100 people participated here in the founding conference of the Organization Against South African Apartheid May 28. The aim of the group is to mobilize people in Iceland against the apartheid regime in South Africa.

The founding of the anti-apartheid or-

ganization comes in the wake of a May 10 vote by Iceland's parliament to ban all trade with South Africa and apartheid-ruled Namibia.

Among the member organizations of the anti-apartheid group are: the Icelandic Federation of Labor, Icelandic Workingmen's Association, Apprentices' Union of Iceland, International Youth Exchange, Organization of Icelandic Students Abroad, Peoples Alliance, and a social democratic youth group.

Guðmundur Guðmundsson, chairman of the Icelandic Workingmen's Association, stressed the importance of this new organization "participating on behalf of Iceland in the fight against apartheid."

Benedikt Davidsson of the National Union of Construction Workers told the participants that South African authorities have denied permission to all presidents of

national labor federations in the Nordic countries (Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Iceland, and the Faroe Islands) to travel to South Africa to meet with representatives of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Organization Against South African Apartheid supports the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and its program as expressed in the Freedom Charter. A resolution of the conference also demanded that the apartheid regime take its army out of Namibia and respect United Nations resolutions for Namibia's independence.

The conference received many greetings including from Albertina Sisulu, a president of the United Democratic Front of South Africa; Ruth Mompoti for the ANC National Executive Committee; and Pritz Dullay, the ANC representative to Denmark.

Iowa trailer-makers' strike ends

BY CRAIG HONTES

CRESO, Iowa — "The bottom line is union busting." That's how many pickets summed up their reasons for going on strike at Feather-Lite Trailers in this small town in northeastern Iowa. Some 180 unionists walked out May 18 after the company refused to bargain seriously.

"It was a take it or leave it situation, and we decided not to take it," explained Rod Friedhof, vice-president of United Auto Workers Local 120.

The strike ended June 3, after union members ratified a new contract that included health and safety provisions. Within hours, however, a company mouthpiece announced that Feather-Lite was moving most of its operations to Oklahoma, leaving only 50 jobs in Cresco.

On June 6 when union members arrived at the plant to report for work, they were told that 75 new workers had been hired to take their places. The union is fighting this illegal move through the National Labor Relations Board.

Before the strike, Feather-Lite had demanded the right to subcontract work to

lower-paying nonunion companies. It also pressed for an extension of the two-tier provisions of the last contract and the introduction of three labor grades instead of one. The lowest grade would start at \$5.50 an hour.

However, the main reason to go on strike, most workers explained, was the need for better health and safety conditions on the job.

One striker explained, "In the winter the company refuses to provide any heat in the buildings where we make these livestock trailers. It's all aluminum welding, and with no ventilation, the building fills up with smoke and gasses."

Most people here sided with the union. Farmers and other area residents came to the union hall and made financial contributions to the strike effort. Local businesses donated food to the strike kitchen. Only a handful of workers crossed the picket line.

Craig Hontes is a member of United Auto Workers Local 2125 at Crenlo in Rochester, Minnesota.

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Victory for 'Haïti Progrès'

Mass pressure defeats attempt to ban paper in Haiti

BY MARTIN BOYERS

NEW YORK — Protests by workers' and peasants' organizations in Haiti have turned back attempts by military officials in that country to interfere with the distribution of *Haïti Progrès*.

The attempt to keep *Haïti Progrès* out of Haiti was reported in the June 1-7 issue of the weekly newspaper, which is published in New York and distributed widely in the Haitian communities in the United States and Canada.

Haïti Progrès has been publicly distributed in Haiti since the February 1986 overthrow of dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier. According to its business office here, it ships

10,000 to 15,000 copies of the paper by air to Haiti's capital Port-au-Prince every Wednesday.

Although individual vendors of *Haïti Progrès* have on occasion been attacked by soldiers or police, there has never before been an attempt to block entry of the newspaper into the country — until May 27.

Haïti Progrès editor Ben Dupuy explained to the *Militant* what happened at the airport in Port-au-Prince.

The issue that arrived that day, dated May 25-31, he said, had a front-page headline titled "Regala implicated in drug traffic." It reported on a May 21 U.S. Senate committee hearing, held in Miami, at which several Haitians accused Haiti's defense minister, Gen. Williams Regala, of trafficking in illegal drugs. Among those who testified was a former army lieutenant.

Regala was a powerful figure in the army under Duvalier and a member of the Duvalier-appointed junta that took over after the dictator fled. He was later appointed defense minister by President Leslie Manigat, the army-backed candidate who took office Jan. 17, 1988.

The regular shipment of *Haïti Progrès* had gone through Haitian customs May 25 as usual, with no interference, Dupuy said. The paper sold "so quickly that it was necessary to send a second shipment two days later."

While the second batch was being processed through customs, a security guard stopped the person who was there to pick up the bundles, saying he had orders to take him to a superior's office. At the office, another officer phoned Capt. Antoine Atouriste, reporting that he had orders to stop *Haïti Progrès* because these papers contained accusations against General Regala. After delaying the distributor for two hours, according to Dupuy, the security officer let him and the papers go through. The official warned, however, that the next time, the paper would be stopped.

After receiving a report on the incident, the New York office of *Haïti Progrès* issued a press statement describing what had

happened. It also called on supporters of democratic rights to protest the harassment and threats. Three of the most widely listened to stations in Haiti — Radio Soleil, Radio Cacique, and Radio Antilles — broadcast the story.

Many organizations issued protests, including the Autonomous Confederation of Haitian Workers (CATH), National Popular Assembly, League of Former Political Prisoners, and the Haitian Workers Committee. The international writers' organization PEN and the Miami-based Haitian refugee organization Veye Yo also sent protests to the Haitian government.

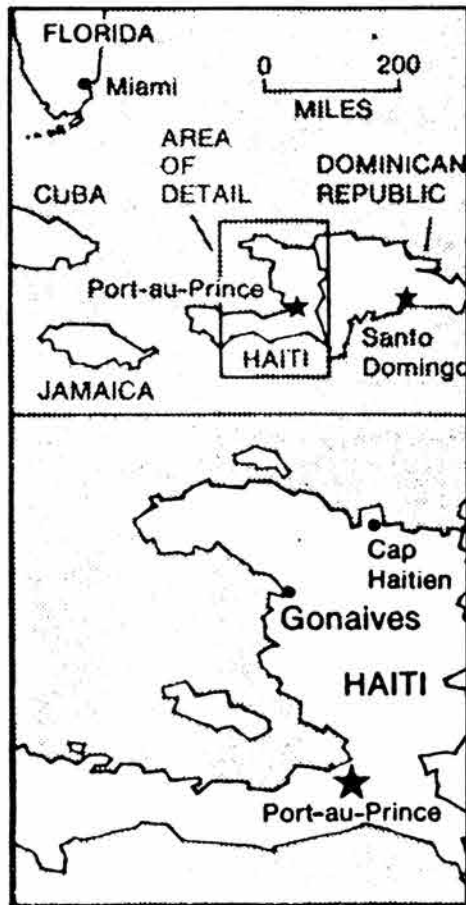
The outcry had an effect, Dupuy said. Interviewed by one radio station, Captain Atouriste claimed that the delay of the paper and detention of its distributor had been a "misunderstanding." The security forces only wanted a sample of the publication, he said. The June 1 shipment of the paper was not interfered with.

Dupuy credited the solidarity of workers' and peasants' organizations with turning back the government move. "We were gladly surprised with the response of the popular organizations, which made the big commotion," he said.



Ben Dupuy

Militant



Legislator tries to sabotage Boston school desegregation

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — In a new effort to undermine court-ordered school desegregation here, Massachusetts State Senator William Bulger filed legislation in late May that would make parental choice of schools state law.

Existing school district boundaries would be subordinated to a statewide open enrollment plan, in which "receiving" schools would decide how many transferring students to accept, as well as who they would be.

Adoption of this proposal would permit affluent students who are white to "escape" from desegregated schools, which have majority Black, Latino, and Asian student bodies. Many now avoid the desegregated public schools by attending private schools, but Bulger's proposal would give them the option of going to a predominantly white public school.

At the same time, Bulger filed legislation to allow parents of private and parochial school students to deduct up to

\$1,500 for transportation and tutorial costs incurred by their children.

An initiative to give public funds to parochial schools was defeated by Massachusetts voters in a 1986 referendum.

Bulger was a central leader of the campaign against the desegregation plan ordered by then federal district judge W. Arthur Garrity in 1974. During that effort school buses transporting Black students were attacked by racist mobs. This spurred a massive countermobilization supporting school desegregation that forced city rulers to quell the mobs and implement Garrity's ruling.

The school system Bulger and his cronies fought tooth and nail to maintain tracked white students to better schools and Blacks to inferior ones. The busing order made this "dual" setup illegal.

This gain for working-class families, especially those that are Black and Latino, however, has recently come under attack. There is mounting pressure to bring back "neighborhood" schools. Given the pattern of housing discrimination in the city, this would effectively re-segregate the schools.

Last year Judge Garrity relinquished all formal involvement in the Boston schools and declared the system in full compliance with his 1974 and 1975 desegregation orders. The U.S. Court of Appeals declared the system was as desegregated as it could be.

Day-to-day control of the system is now overseen by the Boston School Committee, which recently set hearings on student school assignments. These are pivotal to the maintenance of desegregated education and the measure of equal opportunities won by Blacks and Latinos. For the first time in 15 years, these assignments will not be approved by Garrity.

— WORLD NEWS BRIEFS —

Labor strikes sweep South Korea

Sweeping labor struggles in South Korea have hit 91 companies. At the center of the developing storm is the giant Hyundai Motor Co. Bosses at the company's plant in Ulsan, South Korea, locked out 20,000 striking auto workers June 1. The workers walked off the job May 30 after wage negotiations broke down. The strikers are demanding a 20 percent pay increase. The company has offered 10 percent.

In the nearby city of Changwon, strikers at Hyundai Precision Industry Co. occupied management's offices when negotiations there failed. The plant makes tanks and other military equipment. The chairman of the Changwon plant and nine other company officials are being held there by the strikers. Another boss, Chung Mong Ku, son of the founder of the company, was released. Management has claimed that Chung suffers from high blood pressure.

Hyundai officials have demanded that police intervene in the strike. In response, the strikers blocked the entrance to the plant with containers and trucks.

In the midst of the growing labor actions, charges have been filed against two bosses at another of the company's outfits, Hyundai Engineering and Construction Co., for arranging the kidnapping of union organizer Soh Chong Ui. Soh was abducted in early May and held for five days before he escaped. The bosses were charged with paying for Soh's kidnapping in a failed attempt to prevent unionization at the company.

Several South Korean companies have been hit by strikes this year, including Daewoo, and Kia Motors. Strikes have also broken out at shipyards, machine tool makers, and parts suppliers. The Trade and Industry Ministry has counted 860 labor disputes since January, 344 of them at manufacturing companies.

W. German miners killed in explosion

Six of 57 miners who were underground at the time of a mine explosion in Borken, West Germany, were found alive June 4. Forty-seven miners have been found dead. The remaining four are missing. The explosion in the 31-year-old mine, owned by Preussen Elektra A.G. utility company, occurred on June 1.

The powerful blast scorched the ground on the surface, damaged the mine buildings, and injured another eight workers who were hit by flying debris.

bris. Police said windows were broken in houses as far as half a mile away.

One report speculated that the explosion may have been set off by the buildup of coal dust and gas. Another said explosives stored in the mine may have been ignited. On June 2 Erwin Braun, head of the Hesse State mining board, said that the explosion was caused by a methane gas buildup.

One miner said the coal dust was centimeters high all along the mine. In wet parts of the mine one would "walk as in dough," he stated.

The June 4 *Frankfurter Rundschau* reported that comments by the rescue teams indicated that safety at the mine was "not at its best." One miner commented that there was "much dirt and no safety" in the mine. "This was murder, not an industrial accident," a Turkish worker explained. Fourteen of those believed dead are immigrant workers from Turkey.

The mine disaster was the worst in West Germany since 1962, when 299 miners were killed. More than 1,000 miners have been killed in mine disasters in West Germany since 1949.

Belize, Guatemala move to settle land dispute

The central American countries of Belize and Guatemala have established a joint commission in an effort to find a "just and honorable" solution to their long-standing territorial dispute. In addition to Guatemala and Belize, the commission will include a representative from Britain.

Belize, formerly known as British Honduras, was granted autonomy by Britain in 1964. Guatemala's claim to have "inherited" sovereignty over Belize from Spain provided the pretext for London to withhold full independence.

In 1981 the British and Guatemalan governments reached an agreement to recognize and uphold the independence and sovereignty of Belize. However, the negotiations broke down and the British government decided to unilaterally grant Belize independence that year. But Britain still maintains a garrison of 2,000 troops in the country.

Guatemala asked the United Nations to intercede, broke diplomatic relations with Britain, and closed its border with Belize. Belize is situated between the Caribbean Sea and much of Guatemala's eastern border. In 1985 discussions were held with Guatemala, which resulted in Belize recognizing that country's right of access to the Caribbean Sea.

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ALABAMA

Birmingham

The Movement to Build a Union for Migrant Farm Workers. Speakers: Pearl McGivney, Farm Labor Organizing Committee organizer in Florida. Sat., June 18, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Peace Day. West Coast march and rally for Peace, Jobs, Justice at home and abroad to mark the United Nations Third Special Session on Disarmament. Sat., June 11. Assemble 11 a.m. at UN Plaza (near Civic Center BART), march 12 noon, rally 1 p.m. at Union Square. Sponsor: Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice. For more information call (415) 626-8053.

Juneteenth Sale of Malcolm X Books. 20% off through June 19 at Pathfinder Books, 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). For more information call (415) 282-6255.

MINNESOTA

Austin

Fight the Frame-Up of Mark Curtis. Speaker:

representative of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Sat., June 18, 7 p.m. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

St. Paul

South Africa: the Struggle Against Apartheid Continues. Speakers to be announced. Sat., June 11, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

May Day in El Salvador. Eyewitness account of mass demonstration of workers and peasants. Speaker: Deb Konechne. Sat., June 18, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Is the Farm Crisis Over? A panel discussion with farm activists, a representative of Oats for Peace, and Wendy Lyons, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senate. Sat., June 25, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

An Action Program to Fight for the Rights of

Workers and Farmers. Speaker: Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president. Translation to Spanish. Sun., June 12, 7 p.m. 4725 Troost. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign. For more information call (816) 753-0224.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

The Case Against Surrogate Motherhood. Speakers: representatives of Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 11, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Stop the Frame-Up of Mark Curtis! Speakers: Mark Curtis, Iowa antiwar activist beaten and framed up by Des Moines police; Héctor Marroquín, Mexican-born socialist fighting for permanent residency in the United States. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., June

13, 7 p.m. Centennial Hall, Newark Public Library. Sponsor: Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg 35th Annual Commemoration. Sun., June 19, 3-5:30 p.m. Community Church, 40 E 35th St. Premiere of the Rosenberg Cantata "We Are Innocent," by composer Leonard Lehrman based on prison letters of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. Call or write for reserved tickets. (Join demonstration at U.S. Courthouse at Foley Square, Fri., June 17, 12-2 p.m.) Sponsor: National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case. For more information call (212) 228-4500.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Internationalism: In Lenin's Time and in Ours. Speaker: John Riddell, editor of Pathfinder series on the *Communist International in Lenin's Time*. Translation to Spanish. Sun., June 12. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 3165 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Steelworkers host meeting for Kentucky miner

BY PETE BRANDLI
AND ELLEN HAYWOOD

GRANITE CITY, Ill. — Steelworkers at the National Steel mill here recently sponsored a public meeting to hear Paul Smith, a Kentucky coal miner facing murder charges stemming from the 1984-85 strike against A.T. Massey Coal Co. Smith is scheduled to go on trial in Pikeville, Kentucky, June 13.

Four other miners were convicted on related charges in a separate trial in December 1987 and are currently appealing sentences

of 35-40 years in prison. They are Donald Thornsby, president of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 2496; James Darryl Smith; David Thornsby; and Arnold Heightland.

The invitation to Paul Smith from Steelworkers Local 67 was made after a worker at the mill, Larry Ross, received flyers on the case put out by Citizens for Justice, a committee set up to raise funds for the five miners' defense.

Ross circulated the committee's material, which included statements by two of the defendants, among his coworkers and union officials. Ross drew up a letter of support to the imprisoned miners and 200 steelworkers at the mill signed it.

Joining Smith at the May 19 meeting were his UMWA local president, Jeff Taylor, and Tunis Smith from Local 2453, which organizes another Massey mine.

Dave Dowling, president of Steelworkers Local 67, chaired the meeting. He said he was honored to have the three miners speak at the local's hall.

After hearing the miners and participating in a lively discussion, some \$300 was collected for the Citizens for Justice.

Taylor explained that the case began in 1983 in the context of heavy layoffs and union-busting operations by the coal companies. In February of that year, Taylor said, 700 miners were suddenly laid off from the mines originally owned by Carolina Light & Power Co. These mines were then sold to A.T. Massey.

In 1984 Massey refused to honor the national contract signed by the UMWA and other major coal companies. They locked out two locals and forced the others out on strike in eastern Kentucky and southern West Virginia. The strike lasted from 1984 to 85 when it was taken into the courts.

A.T. Massey was out to break the union, Tunis Smith said. The company hired armed security guards. Miners on picket duty were shot at. A woman picket was

wounded in the hand. Tunis Smith said his house and that of other union members were shot at and dynamited.

However, the union and its pickets were constantly harassed by state police and the FBI, he stated. Injunctions limiting picketing were slapped on the union. Warrants were served on pickets at 2 o'clock in the morning to insure they would have to spend the night in jail.

When a scab truck driver, Hayes West, was fatally shot May 29, 1985, on a mountain road five miles from the Massey mines near Canada, Kentucky, the company immediately pointed the finger at the union. The union denied all responsibility and no evidence could be found to substantiate charges against any of its members.

However, two years later, Paul Smith said, the FBI and state police arrested him and five other miners in coordinated raids.

The main "evidence" against the miners was the testimony of Ervin Smith, a former UMWA local vice-president at one of the Kentucky mines. He had been arrested along with the others and charged in West's death. Ervin Smith had been told that he would face the death penalty unless he turned state's evidence.

Paul Smith was tried separately, charged with actually firing the fatal shot. It was also proven in his trial that he was not at the scene of the shooting. The federal jury declared Smith innocent of all charges on January 25 of this year. "But before I could even get up out of my chair," Smith said, "the Kentucky police rearrested me on state charges of murder." He was taken back to jail until supporters were able to raise another \$100,000 bond and get him released.

Larry Ross noted that "this is not the first and, I must stress, it's not the last frame-up by the companies and government of unions and the working class." He said he hoped other unions and their members

would learn about and help win the release and dropping of all charges against the Massey miners.

The miners urged that contributions be sent to Citizens for Justice, Box 8, Canada, Ky. 41519.

Brandli and Haywood work at the National Steel mill in Granite City and are members of USWA locals 67 and 16.

U.S. government stops Veterans Peace Convoy

Continued from front page

two U.S. senators and 12 congresspersons sent telephone messages of support. Solidarity groups from around the United States are planning civil disobedience and other protest activities within the next few days. The Center for Constitutional Rights in New York is working on legal aspects of the case, and contacting the Treasury Department.

Leaders of the convoy were invited to speak at the June 11 antiwar demonstration in New York and San Francisco in order to make the convoy a part of the demonstration. Hansen appealed to opponents of the U.S. war against the people of Nicaragua to "march this Saturday" as a way to also protest the attack on the convoy.

Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, who had just completed a campaign visit to Texas, condemned the government's action. "Instead of putting roadblocks against humanitarian aid to Nicaragua, the federal government should itself send massive amounts of medical supplies, food, construction equipment, and other badly needed materials," she said.

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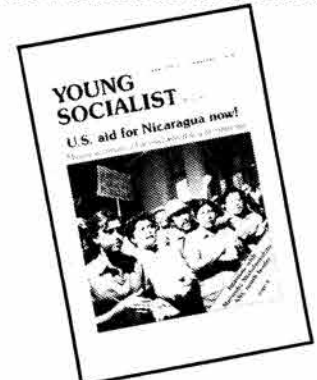
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A tank tour of Gaza? — Admitting its tourist industry has been hit for hundreds of millions since the Palestinian uprising, Is-



Harry Ring

rael contracted for a U.S. ad campaign to counter the "false" image of a country where "beatings and shootings are the norm."

Abandoning ship — Massachusetts Municipal Wholesale Electric Co., part owner of the

Seabrook nuclear power plant, skipped its \$2 million monthly upkeep payment and offered co-owners its share of the yet-to-be-licensed albatross. The utility said it would like to escape "the shadow of Seabrook."

Far out — Among the writers and intellectuals spied on by the FBI was the economist and diplomat John Kenneth Galbraith. His dossier said that "the subject leaned as far to the left as President Roosevelt."

Inalienable right to lie and kill — Summing up in the damage suit filed by the kin of a lung cancer victim, a Liggett tobacco lawyer told the jury that when the industry denied the link between smoking

and cancer, it was not trying to dupe people, but merely exercising its right to free speech.

Jingle bells — Year-round Xmas stores are taking hold in Canada. "People have to get over that psychological hump of buying Christmas presents only in December," says the Toronto operator of one such shop.

Could be — Those Canadian Xmas shoppers can take a tip from the U.S. biggie, Bronner's Christmas Wonderland in Michigan. A king-size supermarket, it draws two million visitors a year. Brushing aside criticism that he's exploiting Xmas, host Bronner tersely declares, "To me commerce and spirituality cannot be separated."

Not gone with the wind — Mississippi has resumed the Southern "tradition" of using prison inmates as servants in the governor's mansion.

Our rational society — In one year, the average U.S. car produces its own weight in carbon.

No respect — British realtors apparently have more clout than royalty. London officials gave the go-ahead for a plush apartment building despite objections from Prince Charles that it will overlook Kensington Palace, his London residence. Dwellers will be able to stare into palace windows and at whatever may go on in the garden.

March of science — Is the fam-

ily pooch getting neurotic about charges of halitosis? Try the new Milkbones with added mint breath freshener.

Just a nip — A bill in the New York legislature would make cadavers available to law enforcement agencies, the better to train dogs to sniff out people. But the bill was modified on learning whole cadavers weren't necessary; for training, small pieces of flesh and bone suffice.

Light touch — Smithkline Beckman, peddlers of income-generating equipment for doctors, chose an advertising symbol for their products — a goose with a golden egg.

Palestinian strike hits West Bank and Gaza Strip

Continued from back page

patch had explained the schools had been shut down because they were seen as a breeding ground for the uprising, but that the closure strategy may have "backfired."

It reported that the Palestinians had organized numerous underground schools, particularly in larger West Bank cities such as Ramallah and Nablus.

For the first time, teachers were able to teach Palestinian history, which is barred from the regular curriculum, and join with the students in discussing the uprising.

One Palestinian educator told a reporter, "When we teach math to elementary students, now for numbers we have them count the homes the Israelis have de-

molished or the number of Palestinians they've put in prison."

In ordering the reopening of the high schools, Israeli officials announced that more than 100 teenagers were being released from prison so they could attend school.

Meanwhile, the Israeli press reported last month that construction was being completed of a new prison for Palestinian youth between the ages of nine and 16.

In the Negev desert more than 2,000 Palestinians are now being held without charges or trials.

After weeks of repeated requests, reporters from abroad were permitted to visit the camp June 2.

The desert facility, called Ketziot, is two

miles from the Egyptian border, and 125 miles from Jerusalem. It was opened because all West Bank and Gaza prisons are filled to overflowing.

Each prisoner is given a wooden pallet, a foam pad and a blanket. Jammed in 28 to a tent, they sleep elbow to elbow.

They experience the desert heat of day and the cold of night.

Toilets are cubicles with a hole in the wooden floor over a reeking pit of open sewage.

The area is thick with rats, scorpions, and mosquitoes.

One bar of soap and one razor blade is dispensed daily to each tent.

No personal possessions are allowed —

no books or radios, not even a watch. Occasionally, some old newspapers are handed out.

One Israeli reservist, assigned as a guard, quietly offered to show reporters the shower area where prisoners are beaten.

Time magazine reported in its June 13 issue, "Minor infractions of camp rules may be punished with an hour 'in the corner' — kneeling in the dirt, hands behind the back, forehead to the ground — while more serious troublemakers [!] can earn a stay in solitary of two to four days."

Inmate 1231, Kassin Ali of Gaza, told the *Time* reporter that the experience "only strengthens our demand for national rights."



COSATU General Secretary Jay Naidoo

Millions strike in South Africa

Continued from front page

ers. It estimated the support for the strike at 2 million.

According to the June 8 *Wall Street Journal* the strike was weakest among gold miners. But National Union of Mineworkers officials explained that the emergency measures hindered their ability to hold meetings at the mines and organize the protest.

Some government officials are concerned about a head-on confrontation with COSATU.

Jay Naidoo, general secretary of COSATU warned, "If the employers continue with their threats, the whole process of negotiation will be impossible."

But despite repeated warnings that the

strike was illegal, neither government nor business officials have taken any substantial action. Threatened mass dismissals and court actions by the apartheid bosses have largely not been carried out. "Management seemed to limit their response to the traditional policy of 'no work, no pay,'" said the *Guardian*.

On Monday night June 6, the first day of

the strike, South Africa's manpower minister, Pietie du Plessis, called on COSATU to propose changes in a labor bill that seeks to reverse recent gains by the unions. COSATU leaders have said they will discuss the offer.

Vincent Brett, of the Associated Chambers of Commerce conceded, "The protest call has been very effective."

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25¢
June 16, 1978

HOLLY SPRINGS, Miss. — Chanting "Justice for all" and singing civil rights songs, more than 200 Black demonstrators marched June 3 from the church in this town's Black community to the courthouse square to protest police brutality and job discrimination.

Many of the marchers wore T-shirts printed with the words "Justice for all" — slogan of the growing protests here and in nearby Tupelo.

The struggle here was sparked by the police murder May 20 of Gary Garrett, a Black youth. Garrett had been extradited from Memphis, Tennessee, to Holly Springs, arriving at the city jail that Saturday.

At midnight Garrett was "found" hanged in his cell.

In response to Garrett's murder, the United League of Northern Mississippi, a civil rights group, initiated protest actions — including an economic boycott of the town's white merchants.

The boycott is demanding an investigation of the Garrett case and an end to the harassment and brutality of Holly Springs cops against Blacks.

has proposed a mass March on Washington to pressure Congress to pass civil rights legislation expected to be introduced next week. The head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference — speaking June 9 on "Open End," a television interview program — also suggested that the marchers might stage "sit-ins in Congress," if necessary.

The proposal was repeated by the SCLC northeast regional director, Rev. George Lawrence, who told a news conference in New York June 11 that unless Congress acts promptly on the bills, "thousands upon thousands of Negroes" will pour into Washington to demonstrate for action. Rev. Lawrence warned that a Dixiecrat filibuster against the civil rights bills would touch off "massive acts of civil disobedience all over the nation."

In his taped TV interview, Reverend King offered the strongest criticism he has

JUNE 12 — We are just going to press at the time of the shocking news of the racist murder of Medgar Evers, Mississippi field secretary of the NAACP. Fighters for equality and brotherhood can best honor the memory of this heroic martyr by extending his struggle for full freedom NOW.

publicly made to date of the Kennedy administration's role in civil rights. He declared that both the Democratic and Republican parties "have betrayed the cause of justice" by their collaboration with Dixiecrats, and sharply criticized Kennedy for failing to take a "moral stand" on the issue of desegregation.

Paperworkers step up boycott

Continued from back page

demands that they accept concessions in wages, work rules, holidays, and other issues.

At a meeting held May 21-23, a total of 45 UPIU local officers from 20 IP paper mills across the country met in Memphis, Tennessee. They voted to inform the company that their local unions would no longer participate "in any company programs that are not legally or contractually required," as a show of solidarity with workers in Jay, De Pere, Lock Haven, and Mobile. The meeting was organized at the initiative of Local 14 in Jay.

In recent months, the striking and locked-out workers have focused their efforts to win solidarity on discussions with workers at other IP mills. Through Outreach '88, representatives from the four affected sites have traveled to other IP mills

around the country. They have been explaining their fight against concessions and urging others to back them by also rejecting company demands for concessions and stepped-up production. Some 20,000 workers are employed at IP mills.

Meanwhile, two scabs who work in the Jay mill were killed in May. Bruce Perkins, 31, was killed in an automobile collision May 13. He had just left the mill after working a 16-hour shift.

The second worker, Karl Chastain from Mississippi, bled to death inside the mill a week later after being struck in the throat by a flying fragment from a lathe that blew apart in the mill's machine shop. Working alone in the shop, he died before anyone discovered him. Chastain, 29, was recruited to cross the picket line in Jay by BE&K, the Alabama-based scab-herding outfit.

Following Perkins' death, AFL-CIO field organizer Pete Kellman told the 450 strikers and supporters gathered at the Wednesday union/family meeting, "It was IP that hired him, and made him a scab. It was IP that forced him to work a double, and it was IP that is responsible for his death. That is where the blame lies."

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THE MILITANT
Published in the Interests of the Working People
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JUNE 12 — Rev. Martin Luther King

Support the five Kentucky miners

United Mine Workers of America members, other unionists, and all defenders of democratic rights have a big stake in demanding that the charges against Kentucky coal miner Paul Smith be dropped and that the convictions against four other UMWA members be overturned.

Smith was scheduled to go on trial for murder June 13 in Pikeville, Kentucky. At the last minute, he won a one-month delay while a judge considers whether a second trial on essentially the same charges constitutes "double jeopardy."

Smith, who the prosecutors claim was the "trigger man" in the shooting death of a scab coal hauler during the union's 1984-85 strike at A.T. Massey Coal Co. and affiliated mines in eastern Kentucky and southern West Virginia, was acquitted in January in a federal trial. Before he could leave the courthouse, he was rearrested by Kentucky cops and charged with murder.

The other four miners in the case — Donnie Thornsby, David Thornsby, James Darryl Smith, and Arnold Heightland — were convicted on sweeping federal charges last December and sentenced to 35 to 45 years in jail. The convictions are being appealed.

The frame-up of the five UMWA activists is a continuation and escalation of the attempt by the coal bosses and the government to weaken the miners' union in the heart of the Appalachian coalfields. And it is designed to intimidate miners and other working-class fighters who stand up for their rights.

The fact that Smith may be forced to stand trial twice on similar charges offers another example of how the U.S. justice system is stacked against working people and is designed to protect the interests of the ruling rich.

Frame-ups and victimizations of this type will become more common in the future as the bosses and their government in Washington encounter growing resistance to their takeback demands and attempts to unleash the U.S. military arsenal on workers and farmers in the semicolonial world.

If Smith can succeed in having his case thrown out it will give a big boost to the fight to have the convictions of the other four miners overturned.

The example set by United Steelworkers of America Local 67 in Granite City, Illinois, which invited Smith and other UMWA members to speak about the case, needs to be emulated in hundreds of union locals around the country. This is particularly true in the UMWA itself where there is considerable potential to mobilize support for the miners.

These meetings can be a boost to getting out the truth about the frame-up and raising badly needed funds for the miners' legal defense. They can complement efforts to circulate petitions about the case on the job and to collect money directly from coworkers.

In the coming weeks, defense efforts should focus on demanding that the charges against Smith be dropped. Messages and petitions can be sent to Judge Charles Lowe, Pike Circuit Court, Pikeville, Ky. 41501.

Copies of the statements and contributions should be sent to Citizens for Justice, an organization based on UMWA members and their families. That committee also has material available on the case and can help arrange for speakers to be sent to union locals. Write Citizens for Justice, P.O. Box 8, Canada, Ky. 41519.

Is war between imperialist powers in the cards?

BY DOUG JENNESS

Last week I pointed out that there was no end in sight for the Great Depression of the 1930s until the big capitalist powers went to war with each other. Stiff competition between the ruling families in these countries led to an armed conflict over who would dominate the world's markets, sources of raw materials, and arenas of capital investment.

Unemployment lines dwindled as the war got factories humming again producing aircraft, warships, and tanks. And following the war, the rebuilding of war-devastated

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

Japan and Europe provided an arena for significant capital investment, particularly by U.S. capitalists. This helped spur more than two decades of postwar expansion.

Now that the threat of another big depression is being widely discussed, one reader asked me, "Won't the rulers eventually be able to get out of it by going to war with each other again?"

Unquestionably, there's intensified competition for markets today between the capitalists in various countries, and this can be expected to heat up when a worldwide depression comes. In fact, the mounting intensity of this rivalry is a symptom of the growing difficulties facing the capitalist system.

As Japanese and West European capitalists rebuilt their factories, railroads, and other components of their productive structure destroyed in the war, it put them in an increasingly stronger position to compete with their counterparts in the United States.

This process has resulted in the expansion of plant capacity and technology at such a rate that it is outpacing the growth of potential arenas for profitable investment. The market for realizing a satisfactory rate of profit on goods produced is shrinking relative to the vast productive capacity of plants and machinery that has been built up.

But will this interimperialist rivalry end in military conflict among the major capitalist powers?

I don't think this is the most likely outcome. The situation is very different, in one important respect, from the 1930s. Then, the chief imperialist rivals could make a serious case that they had a shot at becoming the dominant power — if not of the world, at least of entire geographic spheres, such as Asia or Europe.

But today, in the age of nuclear weaponry, many things have changed. Neither German nor Japanese imperialism, which are U.S. imperialism's principal competitors, are nuclear powers. Forty-three years following the end of World War II, when Japanese and German imperialism were militarily defeated, these powers have still not been permitted to produce and stockpile their own strategic nuclear weapons.

And it is inconceivable that they can become nuclear powers without a political defeat of the working class. Strategic nuclear arming of these countries would be unacceptable to the people of the world today. It would provoke revolutions and/or war with the USSR to try to do it.

The fear among working people of the resurrection of German and Japanese militarism remains very deep. Moreover, the understanding of the horrors of nuclear weapons and moral repulsion against their use continues to spread. This was registered by Washington's modest agreement to pull its intermediate-range missiles out of Western Europe. This agreement will make it more difficult, in turn, to ever put those weapons back in place.

There is no imperialist rival waiting in the wings to replace the United States as the dominant military power in the capitalist world. The gap is too wide.

This effectively blocks off one way that the imperialists could attempt to resolve the worldwide depression that is coming.

But the extreme unlikelihood of a war between the imperialist powers doesn't mean wars and the threat of war have disappeared or that they will.

There is an irrepressible conflict between the colonial masters and imperialist oppressors on one hand and hundreds of millions of toilers throughout the world on the other. Since the end of World War II, there hasn't been a single day when there wasn't a war going on somewhere.

In previous centuries there were wars so long they were given names like "30 Years War" or "100 Years War." I don't think it's any exaggeration to call the war that big businessmen and bankers have been waging against oppressed peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Pacific since 1945, "The 40 Years War — Going on 50." And there's no end in sight.

Moreover, as the crisis that is overtaking imperialism continues to deepen, especially as it becomes generalized and engulfs working people throughout the entire world, rebellions and revolts will mount. Washington and other imperialist governments will increasingly use military force to try to quash the struggles of oppressed and exploited peoples fighting to defend themselves from the devastating effects of an economic and social system that is in decline.

Back paper strikers June 18

Striking paperworkers from Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, are urging as many people as possible to join them in Lock Haven June 18 for a national rally in support of their struggle against International Paper Co.

The 720 members of United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) Local 1787 went on strike nearly one year ago. They walked out after refusing to buckle to International Paper Co.'s demands that they accept far-reaching concessions in wages, work rules, holidays, and more. Along with 2,800 International Paper workers at mills in Jay, Maine; De Pere, Wisconsin; and Mobile, Alabama, the Lock Haven strikers finally said "Enough!" to the largest paper manufacturer in the world.

The strike hasn't been easy. The company, cops, and courts have done everything possible to defeat these workers. International Paper has kept the mill running with hundreds of scabs. The strikers have faced serious harassment, and even arrest, by cops and state troopers. Court injunctions limit pickets, making them little more

than tokens. Unemployment insurance has run out, adding to the financial hardships of the strike. The company itself has refused to negotiate seriously; International Paper's latest offer would have returned only 20 Local 1787 members to their jobs in the mill.

In face of these obstacles, the perseverance of the Lock Haven paperworkers — and those in Mobile, Jay, and De Pere — has been a source of inspiration to thousands of workers around the country, who have also been victims of the employers' offensive. Unionists, farmers, students, and others have heard the strikers' story firsthand from Local 1787 members who've been on the road, winning solidarity and soliciting needed financial contributions.

Working people everywhere have a stake in the outcome of this fight. A strong show of support is needed for the Lock Haven paperworkers, now entering their second year on strike against a powerful international corporation. All out June 18!

Court rulings on death penalty

Capital punishment is a barbaric assault on the basic human rights of working people. Currently there are some 2,000 people on the country's death rows.

There are no millionaire businessmen among them. No well-heeled political officeholders. No killer cops. No engineers of the contra war or other illegal government operations that take thousands of lives every year.

Death row is reserved for working people trapped in the coils of the law — and disproportionately for Blacks, who make up nearly half the inmates.

Some residents of death row got a break on June 6. The Supreme Court ruled that the government of Maryland has been providing an unconstitutionally misleading summary of the rules on sentencing to jurors considering imposing the death penalty.

The form falsely implied that a jury was required to impose the death penalty in certain cases, unless there was unanimous agreement on a specific "mitigating circumstance."

The death sentence on Ralph Mills was overturned in the 5-4 decision. The ruling could eventually result in overturning death penalties of 15 of the 19 inmates on death row in the state.

The form was one of many gimmicks that officials are using across the country to get juries to impose more death penalties.

In appealing his sentence, Mills also cited another example — the use of statements about the suffering caused the victims or their families as a means of whipping up jurors who are considering what sentence to impose on those convicted of capital crimes.

One year ago the Supreme Court ruled, in another 5-4 vote, that such statements were "irrelevant to a capital sentencing decision." That ruling did not prevent Maryland officials from using such a statement to further stack the deck against Mills.

On the same day that the sentence on Mills was overturned, the court threw out a death sentence in Oklahoma. The court held that a state law allowing executions for murders found to be "especially heinous, atrocious, or cruel" was unconstitutionally vague.

The Supreme Court's rulings are a concession to the continued opposition of millions of people to legal murder. In addition, because the overwhelming majority of working people expect and assume that the law should be applied without undemocratic prejudices and arbitrariness, the courts sometimes act against the crudest attempts by officials to hustle up more executions.

While such rulings save a few lives, the executions continue. More than 90 people have been put to death since the Supreme Court ruled in 1976 that capital punishment was not unconstitutional, after having effectively thrown out existing death penalty statutes in 1972. Twenty-five of them were executed last year alone.

Each and every case has been pervaded by the brutality, class prejudice, and arbitrariness that are inherent in the capitalist legal system. The purpose of the death penalty is to intimidate and terrorize working people in the interest of the ruling rich.

The answer of workers, farmers, and of all democratic-minded people should be to fight for the complete abolition of capital punishment.

How the FBI keeps tabs on who's reading what

BY LARRY ROSS

One of the best places I know of for a person to obtain information about laws, science, and history, among other things, is the public library.

I use the library quite often. Anytime I run into a problem concerning union law or need an answer to a question about history, I go to the library. It's a place to learn, relax, and exchange ideas. The library is a special place for me and always will be.

I'm a steelworker and a union member, a free citizen of the United States who expresses my political views

AS I SEE IT

and associates with political organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. I have been following articles in the local newspaper about the FBI's surveillance of these groups and others like them.

Well, the FBI has dealt another low blow. In its hunt for "spies," the FBI is invading the public library. Yes, it's true. The bureau is looking for librarians to spy on their patrons.

In an operation called the "Library Awareness Program," the FBI is asking librarians to help combat what it calls a "hostile intelligence threat" from foreign agents who allegedly use libraries as staging grounds.

The FBI program has created a furor among library officials and civil libertarians. The Library Awareness

Program is seen as one of the most troubling intrusions in the history of government attacks on libraries and their patrons — you and I.

The bureau describes the program as part of a national counterintelligence effort. "We're contacting the [libraries] it would be logical for hostile intelligence people to use," said James Fox, director of the New York FBI office.

The FBI attempted to create the impression that only libraries in New York City were targeted, but there have been at least 25 reported FBI visits to libraries across the country since 1985.

Who does the FBI think are "hostile intelligence people" and what libraries will be targeted? Will it be our hometown libraries, because we are members of a union or an organization that opposed contra aid to Nicaragua? Or because we express our political views, read a book about communism, or are studying about Cuba's economic system?

Are our children being watched because they're meeting at the library to discuss communism for their school forum, doing research for a report on the CIA, or writing a term paper on Nicaragua?

Does anyone with an accent come under suspicion?" asked Nancy Lian, executive director of the New York Library Association.

The American Library Association (ALA) asked Congress to hold hearings on the FBI program. The group sent an advisory to all members, reminding them that a patron's privacy is protected by law.

So far, 36 states have passed a "Library Records Confidentiality Act." Whether a person reads *The Communist*

Manifesto or *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, that choice cannot be disclosed to anyone without a court order. In states without confidentiality laws, librarians generally stand behind a library association policy forbidding disclosures about a patron's reading choices and ideas.

Adopted in 1970, the association's confidentiality policy declares:

"The efforts of the federal government to convert library circulation records into 'suspect lists' constitute an unconscionable and unconstitutional invasion of the right of privacy of library patrons and, if permitted to continue, will do irreparable damage to the educational and social value of libraries in this country."

The ALA's 1939 Bill of Rights, expanded in 1967, declares: "The rights of an individual to the use of a library should not be denied or abridged because of his age, race, religion, national origins, or social or political ideas."

The ALA has also adopted a "Resolution on Governmental Intimidation," assuring librarians of support against such attempts. Next time you are at your local library, ask your librarian about these documents.

In January, the association filed Freedom of Information Requests demanding more information about where, why, and how the Library Awareness Program is being put into practice.

The library is a special place. In a constitutional republic, the FBI has no business there. Under the Bill of Rights, freedom to read, think, speak, and debate are beyond the reach of the government and its laws.

Larry Ross of Madison, Illinois, is a member of Local 67 of the United Steelworkers of America.

LETTERS

Confederate flag

In recent months the Confederate battle flag has been the focus of debate in several states in the southeastern United States. The "Stars and Bars" continue to fly over capitol buildings in several states, including in Alabama where antiracist activists are fighting to have it removed.

In North Carolina students wearing the emblem on jackets have been ordered by school officials to remove the flags. Black youth who are offended by this symbol of white supremacy have been labeled "hypocrites" for wearing symbols of Black pride.

The Greensboro News & Record has carried an extensive exchange of letters on this issue.

The paper has argued that the Confederate flag does not symbolize racism, but is simply an expression of "Southern heritage" and the pride of white youth in their ancestry.

Enclosed is a contribution to this debate by Stuart Crome, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of North Carolina, which appeared in the May 14 letters to the editor column:

To the editor:

I have been following the discussion in the editorial pages of the News & Record on the recent incidents in the North Carolina public schools regarding the Confederate flag.

We cannot compare wearing the Confederate flag to Black pride. The basis for Black pride is the fight for equality. Black slaves were kidnapped from their native lands, sold, and forced to labor without legal rights until death to serve the rich in this country. After emancipation, Blacks still faced legal institutionalized racial oppression, and struggles against this oppression were waged.

The Confederate flag was the symbol of the Southern slavocracy in the Civil War as it fought to preserve an outmoded system. Historically it represented the interests of the slave-owning landholders of the South. It didn't represent the interests of Blacks or white family farmers of the South.

Today, the Confederate flag symbolizes the racism that the ruling rich use to pit white and Black against each other. We cannot change the historical meaning of this symbol to "white pride" or "Southern heritage" any more than the symbol of the swastika could

mean "Aryan pride" or "German heritage."

Suspensions and police measures against those who wear the Confederate flag as have been used in the North Carolina public school system, however, are not the answer. What is needed is to explain the truth about the history of the Civil War, what the Confederate flag really represents, and the need for unity among all working people — Black and white, regardless of their place of birth or ancestral origin.

Stuart Crome, Greensboro
Yvonne Hayes
Greensboro, North Carolina

Miguel Mármol

Miguel Mármol is a near-legendary figure throughout Latin America. The only surviving leader of the upsurge of Salvadoran workers and peasants that ended with the slaughter of more than 30,000 people in 1932, Mármol was a founder of the Salvadoran Communist Party and worked closely with Farabundo Martí.

Mármol, now 83 years old, is on tour in the United States, and his first appearance in Northern California was at the Pathfinder Bookstore in San Francisco. Almost 100 people packed into the bookstore for the event, organized on less than 48 hours' notice.

Mármol traced the roots of re-

workers and peasants, including almost all the leaders of the uprising. Mármol himself was shot, hacked with a machete and left for dead.

Asked if he ever met Augusto César Sandino, who was fighting in Nicaragua at the same time, Mármol explained that his responsibilities in the mass movement in El Salvador prevented him from joining Sandino in the mountains. But he was part of a commission that organized getting fighters into Nicaragua and getting the wounded out for treatment.

Mármol explained some of the differences between 1932 and today and concluded, "This time victory will be ours."

Matilde Zimmermann
San Francisco, California

Puerto Rico

"No Puerto Rican soldiers to Central America" and "No to nuclear weapons" were the twin slogans of a March for Peace, held in Ceiba, Puerto Rico. About 400 of us rallied in front of the gates of the Roosevelt Roads Naval Station.

The main speaker was Sen. Rubén Berríos of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, who is running for governor of Puerto Rico in the November elections. Berríos denounced the use of Puerto Rican troops in Latin America.

Several speakers called for no U.S. intervention in Panama. Others voiced support for the Nicaraguan revolution.

During the rally, "Free Nelson Mandela" postcards were distributed. The plan is to send them to the prime minister of South Africa. This project is being organized in several Caribbean countries by the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America.

Ron Richards
Ceiba, Puerto Rico

Tear gas sales

A national effort by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) has been successful. On May 6 the California firm TransTechnology announced that it was ending shipments of tear gas to Israel unless it is assured that the product will not be further misused.

The ADC cites many reports on the fatal effects of this product when it is thrown into homes, hospitals, and other areas by Israeli

"GOSH, IT'S SURPRISING HOW LITTLE THOSE RUSSIAN KIDS KNEW ABOUT OUR COUNTRY"



soldiers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip during the recent uprising. This is reported to be the first time that the U.S. defense industry has stopped foreign shipments of a product, independently of orders from the State Department, for humanitarian reasons.

C.L.
Los Angeles, California

Farm workers

"I arrived from Mexico six days ago. I don't have a place to live yet, so I sleep in a box at the plant. We work from 3:00 a.m. to 3:30 p.m., seven days a week."

This mushroom picker in eastern Pennsylvania was one of many farm workers I met recently as part of a team of supporters of the Socialist Workers Party 1988 electoral campaign.

Our team included José, another mushroom picker from Mexico, and two organizers from the Farm Workers Organizing Committee (COTA), a union that works to organize farm workers in the area.

We toured farming areas in eastern Pennsylvania and southern New Jersey.

We visited several housing compounds — barracks-like structures where farm workers live. José led the discussion with the mostly Mexican and Puerto Rican workers on the need for all workers to unite — regardless of national origin, language, or race — to defend our common interests against the common enemy: the U.S. government and the wealthy interests it represents. This met with a very favorable response, as did the SWP candidates' call to shorten the workweek with no cut in pay.

Robert Dees
Newark, New Jersey

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.



Militant/Steven Fuchs
Miguel Mármol

volt in El Salvador back to 1833. He explained how continued expropriation of the land, exploitation of workers, and suppression of the language and cultural rights of the Indian population led to massive revolt in the early 1930s. The army responded with a bloodbath, killing tens of thousands of

Protests back Palestinian rights

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

NEW YORK — Opponents of Israeli oppression in the West Bank and Gaza Strip held a spirited march and rally here June 4. Nearly 1,500 people participated.

Part of a national day of protest, the action was sponsored by the Palestine Solidarity Committee and won the endorsement of some 150 organizations.

Demonstrators came from as far as Boston and Washington, D.C., to join the protest.

Led by Palestinian children, the protesters marched through busy midtown Manhattan from Times Square to Union Square.

Demonstrators bore a huge scroll listing the names of 269 Palestinians killed by Israeli forces over the past six months of the Palestinian uprising.

Banners identified some of the participating groups. Among these were: Trade Unionists for Palestinian Rights, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Young Koreans United, People's Antiwar Mobilization, and Young Socialist Alliance.

Among the speakers at the rally were Neo Mnumzana, chief representative to the United Nations of the African National Congress of South Africa; Sahar Ahmad, president of the Union of Palestinian Women's Committees in the West Bank and Gaza; Tawfiq Zayad, mayor of Nazareth and a member of the Israeli legislature; and Felicia Langer, an Israeli attorney who defends victimized Palestinians. Zehdi Terzi, UN representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization; Leslie Cagan, coordinator of the June 11 peace march; and Jeanne Butterfield, national chair of the Palestine Solidarity Committee, also addressed the demonstrators.

Ahmad told the rally, "Fighting is still



Nearly 1,500 people participated in June 4 New York march against Israel's oppression of Palestinians. Actions also took place in Chicago, Houston, and San Francisco.

going on, and it will never stop until we reach our main goal — freedom and independence!"

Zayad blasted Secretary of State George Shultz's recent Mideast proposals, declaring, "Shultz's plan will never bring peace to the Mideast because it ignores the Palestinian people. The real initiative for peace is the Palestinian uprising."

Mnumzana told the crowd: "Whether we come from El Salvador, Namibia, Guate-

mala or South Africa, we are branches of one liberation movement — the human liberation movement."

Palestinians and South Africans share a common struggle, the anti-apartheid fighter declared, because both are dispossessed from their land.

In Chicago there was a march and rally of 250. A small meeting was held in Houston, and 400 protesters gathered in San Francisco.

Paperworkers step up boycott

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — Paperworkers on strike against International Paper Co. in Jay, Maine, held a news conference here June 2 to announce stepped-up efforts to publicize a boycott of the Bank of Boston and its affiliates throughout New England.

Bill Meserve, president of United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) Local 14, was joined by more than a dozen area union officials, several of whom pledged to withdraw pension and other union funds from the bank.

The UPIU is calling for a boycott of the Bank of Boston, Meserve said, because Donald McHenry, who sits on the bank's board of directors, is also on the board of International Paper Co. (IP). The boycott is part of the union's corporate campaign effort aimed at publicizing and building support for its fight against the giant paper company. Meserve said the boycott is designed to "bring IP back to the bargaining table to negotiate." Ray Rogers, who heads the corporate campaign for the union, was also present.

Some 1,250 paperworkers have been on strike at IP's mill in Jay since last June. Another 2,250 workers are on strike or locked out at the company's mills in De Pere, Wisconsin; Lock Haven, Pennsylvania; and Mobile, Alabama. The strikes and lockout began after workers at these four sites refused to agree to the company's

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General strike hits Gaza, West Bank

BY HARRY RING

A three-day general strike of Palestinians paralyzed Gaza and the West Bank June 2-5. The Associated Press reported the strike was total. "Stores were closed, streets were deserted, and there was no public transportation throughout the West Bank and the Gaza Strip."

The action was called to protest the latest visit to the Middle East by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

An earlier general strike, May 15, marked the "day of black disaster," also known as "catastrophe day." This was, 40 years ago, the first full day under Israeli rule. Israel was established in May 1948.

In another development, the Israeli supreme court on June 5 upheld the government's decision to deport Mubarak Awad, a Palestinian opponent of Israeli rule. A pacifist, Awad advocates nonviolent resistance. "Forget the question of violence," an Israeli Foreign Ministry spokesman told reporters. "The fact is Awad was calling for people to disobey Israeli laws and that's cause enough to send him out."

Meanwhile, in a victory for the Palestinians, Israeli military administrators began reopening the West Bank school system that had been shut down since February. Some 230,000 students were affected.

Elementary students returned to school May 23, and high school students, June 6. Palestinian universities remain shut.

The chief administrator of the West Bank, Brig. Gen. Shaikhe Erez, warned, "As soon as we see that it's causing an increase in disturbances, we'll close them."

Thirty-five elementary schools were vandalized by Israeli troops who had used them as barracks and detention centers.

The Israeli daily, *Haaretz*, reported that furniture and windows were smashed, garbage strewn on floors, Hebrew graffiti scrawled on walls, and feces left on the floors by soldiers.

The 8,250 Palestinian teachers in the school system were ordered on unpaid leave April 15, depriving them of about six weeks pay.

One teacher told the Palestinian paper *Al Fajr*, "We are prevented from expressing our opinions. Many teachers have been fired or transferred to remote areas," he charged, "and many were arrested or even deported over these past 20 years."

"Above all," he said, "we have been denied the right to establish our own union to defend our rights."

Reporting on the decision to reopen the elementary schools, a *New York Times* dis-

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After the June 11 peace demonstrations ...

Come to an **Open House**
Sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance

New York

June 11, 3-7p.m. P.S. 9 Elementary School Cafeteria
100 W. 84th St. (corner of Columbus Ave.)

Speakers:

Kathleen Mickells Socialist Workers Party 1988 candidate for U.S. vice-president. **Héctor Marroquín** Mexican-born socialist fighting for permanent residency in the United States. **Mark Curtis** Des Moines, Iowa, unionist and political activist framed up and beaten by cops for his political activities. **James Harris** SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from New York. **Estelle DeBates** Young Socialist Alliance.

San Francisco

June 11, 3-7p.m. Handlery Hotel
351 Geary (half a block from rally)

James Warren Socialist Workers Party 1988 candidate for president. **Kate Kaku** Mark Curtis Defense Committee. **Shellia Kennedy** SWP candidate for Congress.

Pa. paper strikers to host solidarity rally in Lock Haven June 18

A national rally in support of striking paperworkers is set for Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, June 18.

Participants will gather at the Castanea Fire Hall just outside Lock Haven and march to Main Street. At 1:00 p.m., marchers will return to the Fire Hall Picnic Grounds for speeches, entertainment, and refreshments.

For more information, contact: UPIU Local 1787, Box 773, Lock Haven, Pa. 17745, or call (717) 748-2097.