

## Thousands protest U.S. nuclear weapons, wars



Japanese public service workers, part of a large contingent of peace activists from Japan, joined tens of thousands on June 11 peace march in New York.

BY FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK — "After going to Central America and seeing so many things going on that were similar to Vietnam, I could not keep quiet," Leslie Feldstein of the Veterans Peace Convoy told tens of thousands of people who participated in the June 11 march and rally here against nuclear weapons and U.S. military intervention.

Feldstein, who served in Vietnam as an army nurse during the U.S. war there, was one of a broad range of speakers. They in-

cluded foes of nuclear bombs and nuclear testing, organizers of protests against the plan to establish a port on Staten Island for nuclear-armed ships, and opponents of U.S. military intervention in Central America.

The peace convoy, Feldstein told the rally in Central Park that followed the march, "was originated by a group of veterans because we were tired of our government waging war with Nicaragua. We de-

cided to wage peace, to wage social justice."

Feldstein got an enthusiastic response to her call urging protests against the U.S. government's move to block the convoy of nearly 40 vehicles carrying medical supplies, tons of oats, school supplies, and other humanitarian aid to Nicaragua. The convoy had been halted by U.S. officials at the U.S.-Mexico border in Laredo, Texas. Officials have threatened to confiscate the

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## U.S. gov't seizes veterans' convoy trucks

BY STEVE MARSHALL

LAREDO, Texas, June 15 — U.S. customs officials seized four trucks from the Veterans Peace Convoy here today as convoy members tried to cross the Rio Grande River into Mexico. They were on their way to Nicaragua with 30 tons of food, clothing, and medical supplies for the Nicaraguan people. Six convoy leaders were briefly detained by government officials before being released.

Some 300 Mexican and U.S. demonstrators had accompanied the 106 men and women in their 38-truck caravan up to the border checkpoint between Laredo and Nuevo Laredo, Mexico.

More than 100 cops from various federal and state agencies were deployed to block the crossing.

After the lead truck was seized, 200 protesters from both sides of the border marched onto the International Bridge between the two countries. They cheered, chanted, and blocked traffic for an hour. Their slogans included "Paz en Nicaragua, ellos pasaran" (Peace in Nicaragua, they will get through) and "Viva la gente de las Americas" (Long live the people of the Americas).

Three more demonstrations took place at the border checkpoint during the day.

Customs agents first turned the convoy away from the Laredo border a week ago, saying transportation of trucks and humanitarian aid to Nicaragua violated the U.S. trade embargo against that country. Several negotiations took place during the week, with the government maintaining its demand that the drivers sign statements

promising not to leave the trucks in Nicaragua and acknowledging that they face imprisonment if they do not return the vehicles to the United States.

The veterans refused to sign.

Instead, the "Convoyistas" pitched tents at a Laredo campground. The veterans pledged to continue their trip and appealed for support. By June 14, protests in support of the convoy had taken place in 35 U.S. cities. Other demonstrations took place in Mexico along the planned route.

Especially inspiring, convoy participants said, was the support and aid they received in the two border cities.

During the convoy's daily vigils on the International Bridge, people waved in support and gave donations, and truck drivers honked their horns in solidarity.

Throughout their stay here, convoy members have been wearing yellow ribbons to dramatize being held hostage by the U.S. government. In the streets of both cities the ribbons brought the veterans and their supporters handshakes, embraces, discounts at stores, and contributions of food for the campground. Convoy members spoke at six Laredo churches on June 12.

A spirited rally of 250 was held on June 14 on the eve of the planned border crossing. Participants included men and women who had served in battles from World War II and Korea, to Vietnam and Lebanon. They denounced U.S. aggression against Nicaragua.

In a statement released to the media, Gerry Condon reaffirmed the veterans' determination to get their cargo to Nicaragua.

"The Peace Convoy will reach Nicaragua eventually," he said. "It's time to take that risk and mobilize thousands more people around the country. It's time to escalate our efforts to wage peace."

The veterans are now going to Washington, D.C., to demand that Congress pressure the government to let the convoy continue its journey.

## International conference on Che Guevara held in Argentina

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

BUENOS AIRES, Argentina — Representatives from a broad spectrum of political forces throughout the Americas and beyond met here June 8-11 for an International Scientific Seminar on the revolutionary legacy of Ernesto Che Guevara.

Guevara, one of the central leaders of the Cuban revolution, was born 60 years

**"Che is being restored to his true historic dimensions":  
Speech by Mary-Alice Waters,  
page 18.**

ago this month in the city of Rosario, Argentina.

The conference was organized by a National Commission to Pay Homage to Ernesto Che Guevara. It brought together more than 80 participants from 24 countries.

## S. Korean students: 'Reunify country!'

BY SUSAN LaMONT

South Korean student protesters won a victory June 14 when the government of that country allowed a group of 1,300 students to travel to a town near the border with North Korea. They held a demonstration calling for reunification of the two countries.

The young people staged a peaceful sit-down for several hours at the barricaded and barbed-wire-covered entrance to the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ), which divides the Korean peninsula into North and South Korea.

Seoul, the capital of South Korea, has been shaken for several weeks by a series of massive student demonstrations demanding reunification, the withdrawal of the 42,000 U.S. troops based in South Korea, and an end to U.S. economic and political domination of their country.

On June 10 more than 10,000 university students tried to march 35 miles north from Seoul to the town of Panmunjom near the DMZ. They chanted, "Drive out the Americans preventing Korean unification" and carried signs that read "South and North Korea are one."

The young demonstrators were trying to meet up with a delegation of university students from Kim Il Sung University in North Korea, who had marched south to Panmunjom to join them.

The students wanted to hold joint discussions with the North Korean students on reunifying their country, which has been divided since the end of World War II.

(After Japan's defeat in the war, the U.S. government partitioned Korea at the 38th parallel, and set up a military occupation of the south. Soviet troops were stationed in the north for a time.)

The students were also planning to discuss organizing a joint student athletic meet to coincide with the September Olympics in Seoul. They are calling for the summer Olympics to be co-hosted by both South and North Korea — a proposal rejected by the International Olympic Committee.

"Our ultimate goal is not just blind unification, but achieving sovereignty under an

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These included leaders of political parties and prominent writers, professors, journalists, political economists, and social scientists.

Over the course of the four days, several hundred guests filled the hall at different times, listening to the presentations and debate, and taking part in the informal discussions.

The conference was marked by an atmosphere of fraternal exchange among forces who have traveled diverse roads over the last 25 years and have often been in sharp confrontation with each other on questions of strategy and tactics for the anti-imperialist struggle and the international workers' movement.

Among those present were leaders of the Communist parties of numerous countries, including Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Guyana, Mexico, Peru, and the

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# 80,000 in London demand Mandela's release

## Concert for jailed S. African revolutionary leader televised to 64 countries

BY ANN FIANDER  
AND DOREEN WEPPLER

LONDON — Eighty thousand people, most of them young, crammed into London's Wembley Stadium June 12 for a concert and rally demanding the release of Nelson Mandela. A leader of the African National Congress of South Africa, Mandela has been imprisoned for the last 25 years.

"The concert was a birthday celebration," said Jim Kerr, leader of the Simple Minds rock group. "But it was much more than that. It was a political concert, a protest concert."

An estimated 1 billion people saw the concert as it was beamed on television to 64 countries.

The event took place against the background of the recent three-day strike by 3 million people in South Africa to protest attacks on trade unions and 17 anti-apartheid organizations. At the end of the strike the apartheid regime extended its two-year-old state of emergency for another 12 months.

The concert opened up a month of anti-apartheid activities in Britain and the rest of Europe. On the same day in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, 50,000 people demonstrated.

On June 13, some 20,000 took to the streets in Glasgow, Scotland, to send off 25 anti-apartheid activists who will march 600 miles through Britain. They will arrive in London July 18, the date of Mandela's 70th birthday. Local anti-apartheid protests are planned at every stop along the way and tens of thousands are expected to demonstrate in London on July 18. The Anti-Apartheid Movement has set a goal of 1 million people wearing a special "Free Mandela" badge by that day.

Inside the Wembley Stadium the atmosphere was electric and defiant. The pop singer Sting set the scene at the start of the concert by turning his hit tune, "If you love someone set them free," into a demand for Mandela's release.

The ANC flag fluttered in the center of the stadium. A huge picture of Mandela dominated the stage. Many in the crowd wore T-shirts with pictures of Mandela.

The international character of the event was underlined by the inclusion of the Australian Aborigine group the Arnhan Land Dancers, and the Experimental Dance Troupe from Angola.

Other prominent entertainers included Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masakela, Stevie Wonder, Harry Belafonte, Whitney Houston, Jackson Browne, opera singer Jessye Norman, Steve Van Zandt, Whoopi Goldberg, and Billy Connolly. Dire Straights and the Eurythmics were among the other groups who took the stage during the nine-hour concert.

Pretoria's Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok threatened to deport all British Broadcasting Corp. correspondents

from South Africa if the network went ahead with its plans to televise the concert.

A few days earlier the BBC had aired the program "Suffer the Children," which exposed the detention of 10,000 children under the state of emergency and the torture of many of them.

Twenty-five Conservative Party members of the British Parliament signed a House of Commons motion that viewed "with distaste" the BBC's decision to go ahead with the screening. John Carlisle, leader of the 25, recently visited South Africa as a guest of the Pretoria government.

While the BBC refused to cancel its plans to televise the event, the network often cut away from the stage when the performers criticized the Pretoria regime or made remarks in support of the ANC.

Part of the drive against the concert was a dirty tricks operation launched by supporters of apartheid in Britain. An advertisement sponsored by a group calling itself the "International Freedom Foundation" was placed in the *Sun*, the country's largest mass circulation tabloid.

It contained a list of quotes from leaders

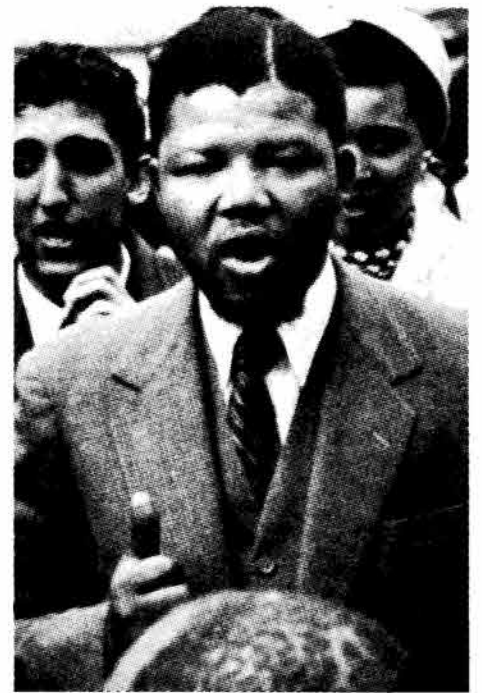
of the ANC and by Gerry Adams, president of the Irish republican organization Sinn Féin, aimed at pinning the "terrorist" label on the South African freedom struggle.

### Glasgow demonstration

A day later under a blazing sun, with ANC flags flying above city hall, 20,000 marched to Glasgow Green to hear speeches by ANC President Oliver Tambo; South African anti-apartheid activist Allan Boesak; Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, general secretary of the South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia; a representative of the Movement for the Popular Liberation of Angola; and leaders of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and labor movement.

Oliver Tambo blasted attempts to label the ANC as violent. "If you eliminate apartheid, the source of the daily violence against the South African people, there would be no violence in South Africa today," he said.

"A point is reached in the course of the struggle where either you fight and hit back or you give up. We are not going to give up," Tambo emphasized.



Nelson Mandela in 1961 before he was imprisoned. Concert kicked off a month of anti-apartheid activities in Europe.

## Zapata painted on Pathfinder mural

BY FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK — Marcos Byrd had just come down from the scaffolding, where he had been painting the figure of Mexican revolutionary peasant leader Emiliano Zapata into the six-story mural on the Pathfinder Building here.

During a coffee break, the artist explained that he had heard about the mural while working on the West Coast. He decided to help out after he attended a gathering held for Arnaldo Guillén in San Francisco last fall.

Guillén is the Nicaraguan artist who painted into the mural the portrait of Augusto César Sandino, leader of the struggle in Nicaragua against U.S. occupation in the 1920s and 1930s. He also contributed to painting the portrait of Carlos Fonseca, founder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

Byrd, who works as an artist in the United States and Mexico, said he paints "psychologically charged, emotional figuratives." This description fit the intense expression, three-dimensional qualities, and striking colors of his Zapata.

As part of an international work brigade, Byrd visited Nicaragua last year to work on the coffee harvest. The sketches he made there were later displayed at La Mama La Galeria in New York.

Byrd decided to paint Zapata when project director and mural designer, Mike

Alewitz, told him that Zapata was one of the revolutionary leaders who would be portrayed in the mural.

Zapata is one of the most prominent figures in the crowd scenes that surround the sketch of a giant printing press, which is to be the centerpiece of the completed mural.

Born in 1879, Zapata was one of the central leaders of the democratic revolution in Mexico. The revolution opened in 1910, resulting in the overthrow of the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz the next year.

In the civil war that followed, Zapata led an army based on the poorest and most oppressed people of the countryside under the banner of "land and liberty." They fought for an independent, democratic government and for dividing up the big estates to provide land for the peasants.

Zapata was assassinated by government soldiers on April 10, 1919. Although the workers and peasants were driven back for a time, the struggle they waged transformed Mexico — dealing huge blows to landlordism and imperialist domination.

The Pathfinder mural, according to Alewicz, is aimed at portraying the role of the revolutionary press in arming workers and farmers today with the ideas and experiences of the revolutionary working-class movement. In addition to Fonseca, Sandino, and Zapata, there will be other portraits including Karl Marx, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Maurice Bishop, Malcolm X, and V.I. Lenin and other founding

leaders of the Communist International.

The Pathfinder Mural Project has announced a campaign to raise \$30,000 to complete the project. The expenses range from travel expenses for participating artists to the legal costs required to fight the city government's attempt to impose \$3,500 in fines for alleged illegal posting of leaflets.

Recent contributions included \$200 sent by the Prospect Mural Group of Australia.

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

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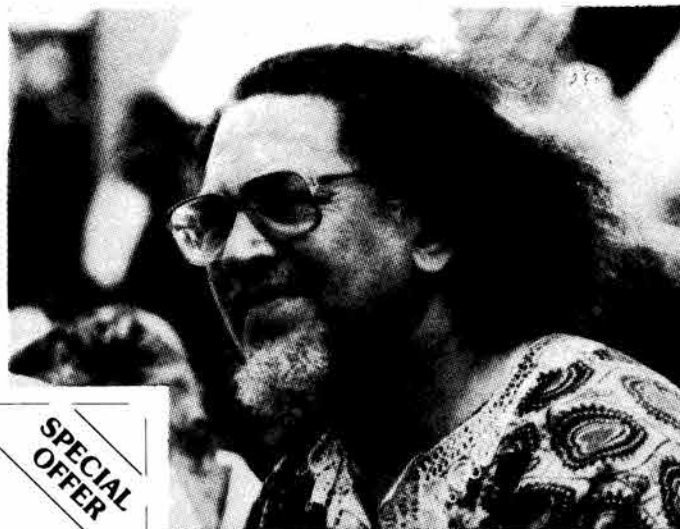
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SPECIAL OFFER

## The Militant

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# Curtis wins new support at June 11 demonstrations

BY NORTON SANDLER

NEW YORK — "Nearly everybody who stopped signed the petition," said Mark Curtis, a political activist fighting a frame-up by the Des Moines, Iowa, cops.

Along with a half dozen supporters of his defense committee, Curtis had been involved in nonstop discussions with hundreds of participants at the June 11 antinuclear and antiwar demonstration here. At the assembly point near the United Nations before the march began, and in Central Park where the rally was held, small groups or individuals could be seen talking to Curtis or one of his supporters. They shared a table with the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee.

A member of United Food and Commercial Workers union Local 431, Curtis was arrested and beaten by Des Moines cops on March 4 after leaving a meeting to protest the arrest of 17 Latino immigrant coworkers of his at the Swift Independent packing-house. He has been charged with first-degree burglary and third-degree sexual assault charges.

Curtis has been touring the country explaining that he is being framed up and winning support for his case, which is scheduled to go to trial on July 6.

By the end of the June 11 march and rally, 440 people had signed petitions demanding that the charges against Curtis be dropped, that the police beating of him be investigated, and those responsible be prosecuted.

I was able to speak briefly with Curtis as he was relaxing after the demonstration at an open house sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance.

"Many people marched by fast, but those who were going a little slower we could easily get to stop and talk," he said.

He cited the example of a group of hospital workers from New Jersey. "Their contingent rushed off, but about five of them stayed until they could all sign the petition."

"I was surprised by how many people mentioned that they had read or heard something about the case," he continued. "Several people took home packets of information for their groups or organizations."

"Many wanted to know 'what happened to the immigrant workers at Swift, did they win their case?' I told them that the felony charges against the 17 were dropped, the majority got their jobs back, but half still face possible deportation," Curtis said.

Curtis showed me a sample of the names collected during the day. "One of the high-lights," he said, "was a paperworker who works at International Paper Co. mill in Erie, Pennsylvania, who had been reading about the case in the *Militant*. He told me that he had been meaning to make a contribution and pulled a \$20 bill out of his wallet."

"One woman from New York told me she had gotten a letter from a friend in Minneapolis that included information on the case."

Curtis has a long history of involvement in the struggle against U.S. aggression in

Central America. He was spied on by the FBI because of his activity as a member of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). That information was passed to police agencies throughout the country. During the march and rally CISPES activists from several cities told him they knew about the case and wanted to help.

Curtis said that he had also talked to several people who had either been on brigades to Nicaragua or were interested in going there to learn firsthand about the revolution.

BY BOB MILLER

DES MOINES, Iowa — "I have been informed that Mark Curtis has been framed up on a rape charge and brutally beaten by officers on your force after speaking out in behalf of the rights of immigrant coworkers," Gabriel Miracle wrote to Des Moines Police Chief William Moulder from Port-au-Prince, Haiti.

Miracle, the organizational secretary of the Autonomous Federation of Haitian Workers (CATH), continued, "CATH in Haiti has faced many victimizations of this type, and we understand that this attack is an attack on all trade unionists and that we must protest until the charge is dropped."

The June 7 issue of *Haiti Progrès* contained a centerspread article on Curtis' case. The paper is published in New York and distributed throughout Haitian communities in North America, as well as in Haiti.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is sponsoring a national rally in Des Moines on July 3. Speaking along with Curtis will be 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 permanent residence in the United States for 11 years; and a national leader of CISPES.

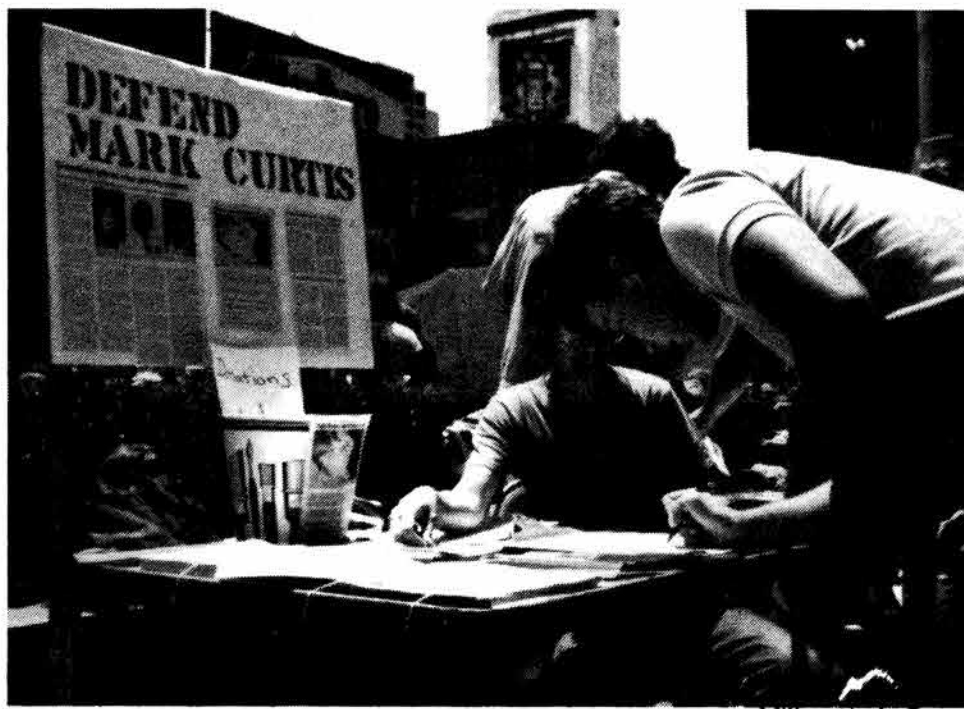
The Mark Curtis Defense Committee received copies of petitions signed by more than 100 activists in Quebec, Canada, demanding the charges against Curtis be dropped and that the cops who beat him be prosecuted.

Fifty-five of the signatures came from participants in the convention of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, one of the three major union federations in Quebec.

The defense committee also received copies of protest messages sent to Police Chief Moulder from W.S. Kelton, local chairman of United Transportation Union Local 800 in Mahwah, New Jersey, and Mark Dudzic, president of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW) Local 8-149 from Rahway, New Jersey.

Dudzic wrote, "as a trade unionist, I know that actions taken by your police department can have a chilling effect upon the attempts of working people across the country to exercise their rights."

The June meeting of OCAW local 2-286 in Salt Lake City, Utah, voted to support the campaign to have all charges against Curtis dropped. Union members there also



Militant/Andy Coates

Curtis Defense Committee table at San Francisco antinuclear and antiwar action on June 11. A national rally for Curtis will be held in Des Moines July 3.

contributed \$140 to help the defense campaign financially.

The committee also received petitions signed by 25 students from Windsor High School in Windsor, Connecticut.

The Curtis defense committee is on a campaign to raise \$45,000 by July 6, the scheduled date for the trial on the felony charges. The committee reports that as of June 10, a total of \$22,561 has been raised. Contributions have come from 89 cities.

The committee is asking that messages

be sent to the Des Moines police demanding that charges be dropped and the beating of Curtis by the cops be investigated, with those responsible prosecuted.

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 contributions, should be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.

## British Ford tries to justify firing of political activist

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — Derek Barron, chairman and chief executive of the Ford Motor Co. in Britain, contends that the charge that the company's victimization of auto worker Paul Davidson for his political views or union membership "is without foundation."

In April, after only four days on the job, Davidson was dismissed at the company's Dagenham Engine plant in East London.

Barron's defense of the firing was in a six-page letter addressed to Social and Liberal Democrats party leader David Steel, a prominent member of Parliament.

Following an inquiry into Davidson's firing, Steel had forwarded the company a letter from Davidson in which he explained his case. "I am a supporter of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign, the *Militant* newspaper published in New York, and an active member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, Davidson wrote. "I am convinced that it is for these activities and views that I hold that I have been sacked."

Supporters of Davidson state that he is a victim of political screening carried out by Ford and that the company uses spy agencies like the Special Branch, MI5, and the Economic League. They point out that these outfits hold more than 3 million files on individuals, assembled through covert methods.

Barron, in his letter to Steel, denies the charges made against the company.

The Ford official wrote that when Davidson "applied to join the company he was required to complete the normal Application Form. On this form there is a Declaration in which the applicants are required to confirm that the information of the form is correct. They are also informed that if the Company believes that this application is misleading (for example, by inaccuracy or the omission of information) then any offer of employment may be withdrawn or the applicant may be dismissed."

"Mr. Davidson by his own admission in his letter to you of 4 May 1988 states that he was 'fired by Austin Rover in 1983,' a fact that he omitted from his Application Form on the section on Previous Employment."

Barron continued, "During Davidson's probationary period these facts came to the company's attention and Mr. Davidson was terminated due to what were clearly unsatisfactory checks on his work record."

Barron did not say how these "facts" came to the company's attention.

Davidson was fired by Austin Rover in 1983, along with 16 other Austin Rover workers, for his political views. The firings were followed by a media witch-hunt against the 17.

Although Barron denies that political considerations were involved in the firing, a big section of his letter takes up the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. Last year, workers at Dagenham unilaterally refused to handle parts destined for kit assembly in South Africa.

In response, Ford claims that it has disinvested its holdings in South Africa. This is detailed in the letter to Steel, along with a statement by the company's U.S. chairman and chief executive officer, D.E. Peterson.

A November 24 company statement in the packet accompanying the letter sent to Steel states, "Ford products will continue to be sold in the country [South Africa] through a network of 146 dealers. Ford will continue to provide Samcor [South African Motor Corp.] with necessary components, license use of the Ford trademark, and management and technical assistance as needed."

These changes that Ford has made in relation to South Africa are presented by Peterson as an alternative to a boycott of the apartheid regime, which is being demanded by unionists in South Africa and around the world.

Supporters of Davidson are calling for letters of protest to be sent to Derek Barron, chairman and chief executive Ford Motor Co. Ltd., Brentwood, Essex CM1 3BW, England. Copies and donations should be sent to the Committee for the Reinstatement of Paul Davidson, 8 Alma St. London NW5, England.

Coming in our next issue . . .

Anti-imperialist Conference in Panama

Our next issue will contain on-the-scene coverage of the conference of the Anti-imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America, which begins in Panama City, Panama, on June 20.

### New York City

#### Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee Rally

Saturday, June 25, 7:00 p.m.

Ethical Culture Society, 2 West 64th St.

The rally will welcome the delegation that is accompanying Marroquín to Toronto, Canada, for the July 6 hearing on his 11-year fight to win permanent residence in United States. Donation \$5.

Sponsor: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee

For more information, call (212) 691-3270



# Fred Halstead: communist fighter for 40 years

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

LOS ANGELES — Fred Halstead, a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party, died at his home here June 2. He was 61 years old.

Halstead joined the Socialist Workers Party in 1948. In the four decades of political activity that followed, he played a leadership role in the SWP, serving on its national committee for many years and as its presidential candidate in 1968. He was a central leader of the movement against the war in Vietnam and participated over the years in many strikes, union organizing drives, and civil rights actions.

Halstead was an outstanding socialist educator and journalist. He was the author of *Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War*, a comprehensive account of that movement.

Halstead wrote in the afterword to *Out Now*: "I belonged to the silent generation . . . which was sparsely represented in the organized left." By this he meant he was among those who came of age at the end of World War II. Because of the conservatizing effect of the post-war economic boom, few workers of his generation found their way into the revolutionary movement.

Although many of the years of his political activity were relatively quiet ones for working-class struggle, Halstead always seemed to be in the middle of whatever action occurred. This was not only because he was in a party whose orientation was building working-class understanding and activity, but also because he had an especially keen eye for openings for struggle.

Halstead was born in Los Angeles in 1927. His mother was an immigrant Jewish garment worker and a Debs socialist. His father, of Irish extraction, was a machinist, a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, and a supporter of organizations in the late 1920s and early '30s that were forerunners of the SWP.

After falling ill with a heart condition, Halstead's father died while Fred was still a child. His mother supported Fred and his older brother by making women's hats and selling them at a small shop.

After classes at Hollywood High School, Halstead liked to recall, he often rode his bicycle into the still-wooded San Fernando Valley, taking his rifle along to hunt rabbits. He later grew to despise the greedy capitalists who despoiled the landscape he remembered from his youth.

## 'Going Home Movement'

Facing the draft, at 18 years of age Halstead joined the U.S. Navy. As a sailor aboard a ship stationed off the coast of China, he took part in an important development usually left out of history books. This was the "Going Home Movement," which

began after the defeat of Japan in World War II, when GIs stationed in the Pacific refused to participate in Washington's schemes to crush the Chinese and other anticolonial revolutions.

In a 1975 interview with the *Militant* that was later published in the book *Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*, Halstead described his experiences this way:

"I was attached to a ship that was part of the Seventh Fleet in Chinese waters. Ostensibly, we were there to repatriate Japanese troops.

"But after unloading our passengers in Japan, we found ourselves loading up again. This time with Chinese troops, which we took up to a port in northern China. This was part of the use of the American navy to assist Chiang [Kai Shek]'s offensive in the Chinese civil war.

"Well, most of us didn't know there was such a thing as a civil war in China until we found ourselves more or less involved in it.

"I remember walking into the Red Cross building in Shanghai. There was this big banner with the words: 'GIs unite! We want to go home!'"

The organizers, Halstead remembered, were GIs older than himself — union militants who had built the CIO and knew how to get things done. Before long the government gave in, and the troops came home.

"This made an impression on me that I didn't forget. That you could organize among GIs," Halstead remarked. "Just that simple proposition."

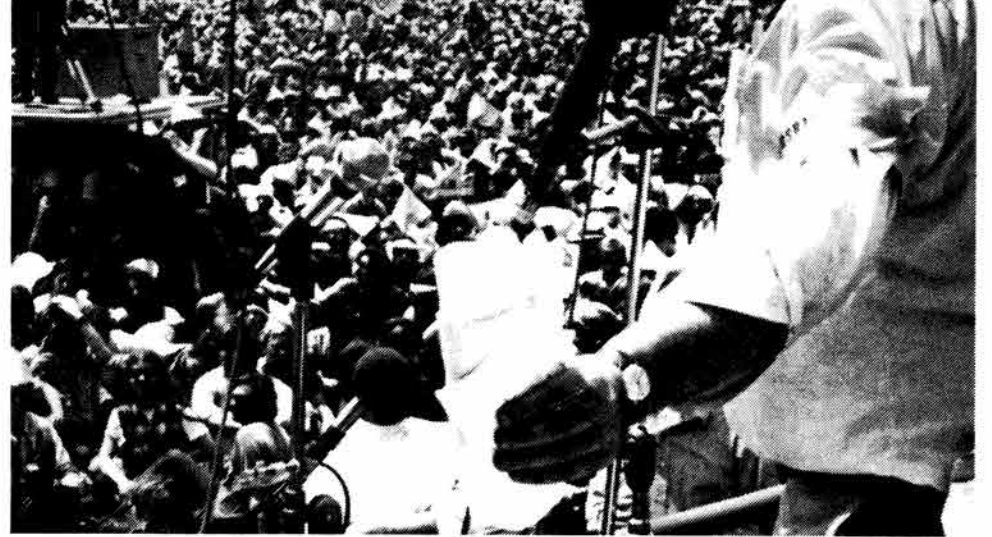
Years later, during the early days of the movement against the Vietnam War, Halstead's recollections of what he saw when still in his teens helped a new generation grasp the role that GIs might come to play.

After World War II, Halstead, like thousands of others, took advantage of the chance to go to college on the GI bill. He planned to be a teacher and attended the University of California in Los Angeles for two years, working as a merchant seaman between semesters. Shortly after joining the SWP, he was denied clearance as a seaman because the party had been put on the attorney general's "subversive list" by President Harry Truman as part of the Cold War witch-hunt.

## Became garment cutter

The same list made it virtually impossible in those years for him to be a school teacher, and Halstead went to work as a cutter in the garment industry. With the exception of some interludes, he remained a garment worker throughout his life.

In the late 1940s, Halstead pitched in to organize farm workers, then under the banner of the National Farm Union, often sleeping in the fields of California's Central Valley. And as a young garment work-



Halstead speaking to May 9, 1970, antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C., following U.S. invasion of Cambodia and massacre of four students at Kent State University in Ohio. As in many other large marches, Halstead helped organize marshals.

er he helped spearhead organizing drives of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, taking jobs in targeted unorganized shops.

Halstead was also an autoworker during this period and got involved in a United Auto Workers (UAW) organizing drive. But, as he remembered later, "the Korean War came along and we lost that drive, in part because of the hysteria around the war and the red-baiting that developed."

In 1953 Halstead moved to Detroit to reinforce the SWP branch there. He went to work in an automobile plant, cutting cloth for upholstery. The next year he volunteered his help to strikers at a plant near where he worked.

The Square D company, which produced electrical parts for the automotive industry, was under contract to the United Electrical Workers Union. The UE was one of the unions that had been witch-hunted out of the CIO for being "communist dominated." With the weakening of the union and the red-baiting atmosphere, the company figured it had an opening to bust the UE local at Square D.

Halstead's roommate at the time, Paul Montauk, recalled that Halstead's initiatives were pivotal to rallying support from local UAW officials. The solidarity of thousands of autoworkers on the picket line beat back Square D's union-busting. But not before Detroit cops had moved in on the side of the company, charging picket lines.

Halstead was arrested and became the victim of a frame-up by the police department's red-hunting Loyalty Squad. "The cops broke into our apartment," Montauk said, "and searched Fred's room. But they had to drop the phony charges."

In a remembrance of longtime SWP leader James P. Cannon written after his death in 1974, Halstead said: "At the party convention later that year [1954] there was some talk — on the floor and in the corridors — that this [Square D strike] indicated a change in the objective situation. Jim came down hard on this idea. We've got to be able to tell the difference between the beginning of an offensive and a rearguard action in a general retreat, he said, and this was strictly a desperate rearguard action."

## Montgomery bus boycott

If Square D represented a rearguard action following an era of union militancy, the next year saw the rise of the class struggle in another form.

On Dec. 1, 1955, Rosa Parks was arrested after refusing to yield her seat to a white man on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama. Today, that event is etched in history. But odd as it now seems, at first it received little national notice, nor did the unfolding bus boycott. Recounting the events later, Halstead said that after the *Nation* magazine noted these developments, he traveled to Montgomery to look into the situation and write about it for the *Militant*.

There he met the man he discovered was the central organizer — E.D. Nixon, a veteran trade unionist and civil rights campaigner. Rosa Parks was Nixon's secretary. He had bailed her out of jail and set the boycott in motion.

When Nixon died in February 1987, Halstead returned to Montgomery to attend the funeral. In an article for the *Militant*, he wrote:

"It was Nixon who convinced Martin Luther King, Jr., then a young Baptist preacher relatively new in town, to become the major spokesperson for and chairman of the Montgomery Improvement Association, which was formed to organize the protest."

Returning to Detroit, Halstead initiated a station-wagons-for-Montgomery drive. SWP members in other cities joined in this effort. Farrell Dobbs, SWP national secretary, who was the party's candidate for U.S. president in 1956, personally delivered a station wagon to Nixon for the Montgomery struggle.

Halstead moved to New York later in 1956. He became a staff writer for the *Militant*, while holding down a job as a garment worker.

As a writer Halstead displayed a flair for putting complicated ideas in down-to-earth words. Just a few weeks before he died, he told me how difficult it was for him to write. And anybody who watched him at the typewriter knew he was serious. Apparently sweating every word, he would pause, carefully checking his output after a few lines.

"I can give a speech at the drop of a hat," he said. "But writing is pure torture."

The care and effort he put into his writing reflected his confidence that words could make a difference — that workers were open to the ideas and could be convinced of his point of view.

In 1961 the country was in a recession. The unemployment rate had shot up — though it was low by today's standards. Halstead wrote a series of articles that came out in a pamphlet entitled, *Why Can't Everybody Have a Job?* Urging support for a 30-hour workweek for 40 hours' pay, he wrote:

"This is a sound economic proposal, benefiting both the unemployed and the employed and therefore capable of arousing their united support. It would put people back to work by increasing the number of jobs available."

During the 1950s the SWP maintained a leadership school in rural New Jersey. Workers would take a break from their jobs and political activity for several months to study Marxism. Halstead was a student, and went on to lead the education for several sessions.

## Rent strike in New York

In the early 1960s a rent strike movement broke out in Harlem. Halstead and his wife Virginia got involved through their participation in an allied movement based where they lived in lower Manhattan. Halstead wrote the text for *Harlem Stirs*, a



Talking with GIs at USO in Saigon, South Vietnam, on 1968 world tour. Halstead helped educate anti-Vietnam War movement that GIs could be organized.





Militant photos by Barry Sheppard  
Left, visiting memorial to victims of U.S. atomic bombing in Hiroshima, Japan, during 1968 tour. While there Halstead addressed an anti-atom bomb conference. He went on to India. Above, speaking to plant-gate rally of garment workers in Bombay.

book that contained photographs documenting conditions in Harlem and the rent strike movement. The prominent Black novelist John O. Killens wrote the prologue.

In the early 1960s the first U.S. "advisers" were being sent into Vietnam. But it would be several years before visible opposition would emerge. Winds of change, however, were already in the air. In the 1950s pacifists had organized actions against civilian defense drills in New York City in which they would submit to arrest rather than obey orders to get off the street. Usually these involved handbills, but in 1960, Halstead recalled in a 1968 interview, "several thousand showed up one time. And when the whistle blew, we just — none of us went for the subways. The whole crowd just stayed there. And the cops just didn't know what to do with it. And frankly, that was the last test they had."

In his book *Out Now* Halstead traced the evolution of the movement against the Vietnam War that soon emerged — from the disputes in what he called "the old peace movement" (which focused on stopping nuclear testing and often banned the carrying of signs even mentioning Vietnam), through the biggest antiwar demonstrations in U.S. history, to the fall of the Saigon regime in 1975.

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) called what became the first big national demonstration against the war in Vietnam in April 1965, Halstead pointed out. But SDS soon dropped the ball, turning to other concerns.

#### Perspective for antiwar fight

Halstead was right in the middle of subsequent fights, which revolved around whether the movement would take a course that could most effectively win broad support and participation from working people. Even when the prospects for this looked slim, Halstead always put this at the center of his perspectives in the antiwar movement.

A turning point in the fight to set the character of the antiwar movement came in the fall of 1965, when a coalition was formed in New York City in response to a call issued by students in Berkeley for International Days of Protest. As Halstead later recalled:

"They invited everybody who was in the general radical, peace, pacifist movement to attend these meetings, including people from the SWP. . . . They decided that the action that they would take would be a parade down Fifth Avenue. [The group therefore] called itself the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee. And it was a broad antiwar coalition around one single question of organizing that single demonstration."

Somebody was needed to staff the small office. "The SWP offered me to . . . donate my time for those three weeks to help organize this demonstration."

As it turned out, Halstead said, "I was on full-time staff of that committee from that time until after the October 21 demonstration at the Pentagon in 1967."

This coalition became the prototype for the form through which mass actions against the war would be organized. For the first time, members of the Communist Party, liberals, pacifists, members of the SWP, and others united around mass actions against the war.

During the fight against the war, Halstead represented the SWP on the steering committees of several successive national antiwar coalitions.

In his book, Halstead follows this evolution of the antiwar movement in often meticulous detail. He is scrupulous about the facts. It took him years to assemble the documents and get it all down on paper. He takes pains to bring in all the players, giving credit where credit is due — to those who moved things forward at one stage, only to become a barrier at the next — and vice versa.

*Out Now* is dotted with insightful sketches of the personalities involved, capturing in a few words the political views and traits that led them to act as they did.

The book also outlines the political approach he and other SWP members brought to the movement. First was the conviction that combating the U.S. government's attempt to crush the Vietnamese revolution was at the center of the fight to advance the interests of working people around the world. Second was advocacy of working-class methods of struggle, especially mass mobilizations.

As Halstead explained it: "The SWP upheld the autonomy of the antiwar movement as a mass force. It consistently emphasized the necessity for mass mobilizations as counterposed to the futility of getting sucked into two-party politics or embarking on isolating forays by bands of daring and well-intentioned individuals. This was essentially a class-struggle approach based on direct action by the masses against the regime."

From the end of October 1967 to election day in 1968, Halstead traveled across the United States and visited other countries as the SWP presidential candidate.

He had his own way of putting things. His argument almost never came across as stale or routine. More often than not, he would begin a talk speaking so low that you had to strain to hear him. But when the point warranted it, his voice would become louder, much louder, and his arms spread wide.

#### Around-the-world tour

A high point of Halstead's campaign for president was a round-the-world trip that took him to Japan, South Vietnam, India, Egypt, West Germany, France, and Britain.

His trip to Vietnam was part of the SWP's effort to bring the issue of the war to the fore. It also gave Halstead a chance

to talk with GIs on the scene. "They had a right to vote and to listen to what candidates had to say," he later explained. "And they also had a right to an opinion on the war."

Halstead found that most GIs in Vietnam were not yet opponents of the war. At the same time they didn't wholeheartedly support the war either. They were mainly still making up their minds. "That was all the more reason for the antiwar movement to have the stance and attitude that they were interested in reaching GIs — that they were on their side," he observed.

From Saigon, Halstead sent an open letter to the antiwar movement "urging it to reach these GIs with the kind of information about the war and what is wrong with it that the movement has been able to spread on the campuses back home, and on the same scale."

Through secret documents released as a result of the recently victorious SWP suit against political spying and harassment, it was learned that in 1975 the FBI had plotted to disrupt Halstead's tour to Vietnam. The FBI conspired to have an article planted in army papers in Vietnam to incite GIs to attack the SWP candidate. But their plan did not succeed. In general, the GIs were courteous and friendly.

In Japan Halstead attended several peace conferences and on August 6 in Hiroshima addressed a session of the Japan Conference Against A and H Bombs. This organization is backed by Sohyo, the country's main union federation, and most of the audience were union representatives. He urged the delegates to issue an international call for antiwar actions later that year and send it to U.S. unions, asking them to participate.

Halstead talked to plant-gate rallies of garment and chemical workers in India.

During a brief stopover in Egypt, he and Barry Sheppard, who was then *Militant* editor and accompanied Halstead on the international trip, met Palestinian fighters. They interviewed an activist of Al Fatah, which is the leading group in the Palestine Liberation Organization.

In Frankfurt, Germany, Halstead addressed a student conference and helped distribute to GIs stationed there, copies of an open letter he had written to GIs. This brochure was also distributed widely to U.S. GIs in Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan.

Halstead addressed a public meeting in London, and in Paris met with student leaders of the May-June revolt that had occurred in France.

In subsequent years, Halstead was able to make other trips abroad to talk to fellow workers. One of the more notable was a trip to Argentina and Chile a few months before Salvador Allende's regime in Chile was overturned in September 1973. He had discussions with revolutionists from Chile, Argentina, Peru, Bolivia, and other Latin American countries and shared ideas on fighting the right-wing assault that was al-

ready clearly threatening to overthrow the Allende government and deal a crushing blow to working people.

After the 1968 campaign Halstead moved to Chicago so he could help strengthen the defense of the Chicago SWP and Young Socialist Alliance against attacks by a right-wing terrorist outfit, the Legion of Justice. This group had physically assaulted the socialists, broken in and ransacked their headquarters, and issued death threats. A campaign was launched to expose police complicity with the rightist thugs and to press for their prosecution.

#### Fort Jackson Eight

In 1969, as antiwar sentiment began to spread more broadly among GIs, a formation grew up at Fort Jackson called GIs United Against the War. Out of this grew the case of the Fort Jackson Eight, who were thrown into the stockade and faced 10 years in prison. Their crime had been to exercise their constitutional right to voice their opinion about the war. One of the eight, Joe Cole, had joined the YSA before being drafted. Another, Andrew Pulley, joined the YSA after the army was forced to drop the charges and discharge him and the others. Pulley had been coerced into joining the army after taking part in demonstrations protesting the April 1968 assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. In 1972 Pulley became the SWP candidate for Vice-president.

Halstead traveled to Fort Jackson and conducted interviews that appeared in the book *GIs Speak Out Against the War*. The case of the Fort Jackson Eight, he wrote in the preface, "is unique in that it is a model of a certain type of antiwar activity — organizing by GIs on the basis of exercising and developing legal rights as citizens."

"This kind of activity is possible because of the tremendous unpopularity of the Vietnam War and because the ranks of U.S. servicemen are now largely citizen soldiers — men who have been drafted or who have enlisted under the hot breath of the draft — who represent a cross section of the American population."

In the fall of 1974, when a struggle erupted in Boston over school desegregation, Halstead went to that city to learn firsthand about the situation. He wrote a couple of first-rate articles for the *Militant* on segregation in Boston and participated in the preparations of a march on December 14 in support of court-ordered busing to implement school desegregation.

Halstead wrote, "What is being done in South Boston in the name of Boston Irish workers is enough to make the blood of any decent worker — Irish or otherwise — boil. The truth is that Irish or not, what the white racists — who now dominate the at-

Continued on next page

## Meetings to honor Fred Halstead

### New York

Sat., June 18, reception: 7 p.m. Speakers: Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary; James Warren, SWP 1988 presidential candidate; others. Goddard Riverside Center, 596 Columbus Avenue (near 88th St. and Broadway).

### Los Angeles

Sun., June 19, reception: 3:30 p.m. Speakers: Jack Barnes; others. National Association of Letter Carriers Hall, 774 Valencia St. (corner of Eighth St. and Valencia, 4 blocks west of Harbor Freeway).



# Fred Halstead: longtime communist leader

Continued from previous page

mosphere of South Boston and much of the rest of the city — are doing is a disgrace to the Irish and the working class. And any decent Irish worker who is sucked into it ought to sober up from that opium and get back into the human race."

## 'No nukes, burn coal!'

In the late 1970s the dangers of nuclear power plants started to become clear, and the SWP became involved in the movement against them, looking toward involving unions in the fight.

As part of this effort, Halstead wrote *What Working People Should Know About Nuclear Power*, a pamphlet published a few months after the Three Mile Island partial meltdown in 1979. Halstead recognized that raising the demand of burning coal as the alternative to nuclear power could help establish a link between the antinuclear movement and coal miners.

The United Mine Workers Union became a part of the fight against nuclear energy. Along with other unions, it sponsored a National Labor Conference on Safe Energy and Full Employment in 1980. Halstead participated and helped organize a march in 1981 on Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, site of the Three Mile Island plant.

When the Nicaraguan revolution came to power in 1979, Halstead was one of the first people sent by the *Militant* to learn what was going on and to report back through articles and a speaking tour. In the years that followed he helped organize sev-

eral sizable demonstrations in Los Angeles against the U.S.-backed contra war.

When the contras were finally defeated, Halstead took pleasure in noting the inability of the U.S. government to send in U.S. troops to defeat the revolution due to the political cost of such a move. He would

hark back to the weakening of the U.S. army as an effective fighting force as a major factor in the decision to pull out of Vietnam — just as the resistance of the earlier generation of U.S. workers in uniform had helped prevent direct U.S. intervention against the Chinese revolution.



Halstead at 1963 Easter Peace Parade in New York City, with his wife, longtime SWP member Virginia Garza, and daughter Laura. Action was one of first where signs opposing U.S. war in Vietnam were carried.

Militant

Halstead first learned that he had cancer two and a half years ago. Despite his illness, he was, as always, at the center of things. In the spring of 1986 he traveled to Austin, Minnesota, where the strike of Hormel meat-packers, members of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers, was under way. Halstead was welcomed into the homes of strikers and remained in Austin for several weeks. After gathering the facts on the workers' fight — which had been greatly distorted by the big-business media — he wrote the widely distributed pamphlet *The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota*.

By telling the story of the Hormel workers Halstead hoped to get meat-packers and workers around the country to begin thinking more broadly about the employers' attacks coming down and the steps needed to fight back.

He made a number of trips to Austin and to other Midwest cities where the struggle of meat-packers was spreading. James Warren, an SWP leader who worked with Halstead in building support for these struggles, commented on how inspiring it was for Halstead to talk with these workers, including many of his own "silent" generation who were beginning to answer the employers' offensive.

Halstead was also heartened by the deepening of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. He jumped into the movement to demand the breaking of all U.S. ties, helping to organize the marshals for one of the large demonstrations in Los Angeles.

Halstead helped educate a new generation of activists in the YSA and SWP through his writings and classes. He gave a series of classes to the Los Angeles YSA on the history of the Russian revolution, the Vietnamese revolution, the Cuban revolution, the civil rights movement, and the struggle against apartheid.

He also educated through his activity. A member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union until his death, Halstead worked closely with young YSA and SWP garment workers to carry out the party's work in the garment shops. He often gave classes on the history of how the union was built through mass struggle.

Halstead was convinced that the deepening of the world economic crisis would bring workers in the United States into struggle on a massive scale. For him the key task was to build the SWP as part of the leadership that would be needed to find a way out of the crisis. The day-to-day work of the party — even the most modest steps, such as the winning of a new member or reader for the *Militant* — were thus a source of satisfaction. He saw it all as preparation for the big things to come.

Commenting on what he learned from Halstead, Ernesto Estupinian, a Los Angeles garment worker and member of the YSA and SWP, said, "He taught us to have confidence not only in workers of oppressed countries, but also in U.S. workers, including immigrant workers. He taught us that workers here would fight for their interests, as Malcolm X put it, by any means necessary."

## Irish activist fights deportation

BY MARC LICHTMAN

NEW YORK — On June 18, 1983, Joseph Doherty was working as a bartender in Manhattan when FBI agents arrested him. He had recently been laid off from a construction job. Although he is not accused of committing any crime in this country, the Irish political activist is still in prison.

Prison authorities denied this reporter the right to interview Doherty at the Met-

**As we go to press, Attorney General Edwin Meese has ordered Doherty deported to Britain. His attorneys have filed an appeal of Meese's order. A demonstration demanding freedom for Doherty will take place Saturday, June 18, 3-5 p.m., at Thomas Paine Park, corner of Lafayette and Pearl streets in Manhattan.**

ropolitan Correctional Center in downtown Manhattan where he is being held. But I was able to conduct a telephone interview with him on May 19.

Doherty is from British-occupied Northern Ireland. He grew up in a Catholic, Irish nationalist enclave in north Belfast, which

is primarily Protestant and loyalist (pro-British). It is an area of frequent violent attacks on Catholics by the loyalists, who occupy a privileged position in Northern Ireland. "From the age of four or five you knew you were different," Doherty told me. "The police seemed foreign. Protestants told us we were disloyal, stupid, and dirty."

"I was only 12 or 13 when the civil rights movement started, I wasn't fully aware of what was happening," Doherty said. "But I noticed a jubilation among grownups — a feeling that a big change was coming."

The Catholics were demanding equality with Protestants, he said. But the nonviolent civil rights protests, modeled after those led by Martin Luther King in the United States, came under violent attack by the loyalists. Then in 1969, when Doherty was 14, British troops were sent in to safeguard loyalist domination. Doherty soon became politically active.

In 1972 he was interned without trial for five months. "While I was interned on a prison ship, we heard about Bloody Sunday [Jan. 30, 1972]. Thirteen people were shot and killed by British troops at a peaceful civil rights protest in Derry. Then I realized we were in a full frontal war with the British government, and I made a decision to join the IRA." The Irish Republican Army is conducting an armed struggle to end the British occupation of Northern Ireland, and to reunite Ireland.

Doherty served several prison sentences for IRA activities. In 1981, he was sentenced to life imprisonment by a juryless Diplock Court. He was accused of killing a captain in the Special Air Services, a counterinsurgency unit of the British Army. He was sentenced in absentia, having escaped from prison with seven other IRA prisoners. This was during the hunger strike by IRA prisoners that brought the plight of Irish political prisoners to the attention of the world.

Doherty came to the United States, and after his arrest, the British government attempted to extradite him. But in December 1984, U.S. federal Judge John Sprizzo turned down the British request.

Like most U.S. extradition treaties since the mid-19th century, the treaty with Britain contained a political offense exception, to protect those charged with "crimes" that are political in nature. Sprizzo said that "the facts of this case present the political offense exception in its most classic form."

The U.S. government made two attempts to appeal this decision, but lost them both. Faced with these defeats, the U.S. Senate adopted a supplement to the

extradition treaty with Britain in July 1986, eliminating the political offense exception in cases where violence is involved. The new treaty was made retroactive, but because of widespread opposition to it, and support for Doherty voiced by Irish-American organizations and civil libertarians, the British government has not made another attempt to extradite him.

Since he had little hope of gaining political asylum here, Doherty consented to being deported to the south of Ireland. In September 1986 an immigration judge ruled that this should be done.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service appealed this ruling twice to the Board of Immigration Appeals, and lost both times. They then submitted the case to U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese for review.

Meese stalled on the case, knowing that a change in Irish extradition policy was likely. In December 1987, the Dail (Irish parliament) passed a new extradition act, which guaranteed that deportation to Ireland would mean almost certain extradition to Northern Ireland.

Joe Doherty, who is 33 years old, manages to keep his spirits up despite having spent over 14 years in prison. Two of the poems he has written while in prison here have won awards. And he studies the history of Ireland and other oppressed countries. He said, "I started out as just a nationalist, but later on started to investigate the poverty — the exploitation of the Irish worker by both British and domestic capitalists. I developed a better understanding that we need not just national, but social freedom. We must have economic equality. That's what's kept me going."

Doherty's attorneys, Mary Pike and Steve Somerstein, have filed a motion that deportation be withheld, so that Doherty can attempt to gain asylum here, or name another country to be deported to.

Pike told the *Militant* that Doherty "has won every proceeding initiated against him by the British government and by the executive branch of our own, and despite those victories he remains in prison because the executive branch is unwilling to abide by the decisions of its own courts. That is something that has to disturb any American citizen."

Supporters of Doherty are attempting to obtain 50,000 signatures calling for his release. Pike indicated that petitions are coming into her office every day from all over the country.

"I hope it is possible for orchestrated political support to make a difference in the case," she said.



Bernadette J. Cullen

Joseph Doherty

### By Fred Halstead ... Out Now!

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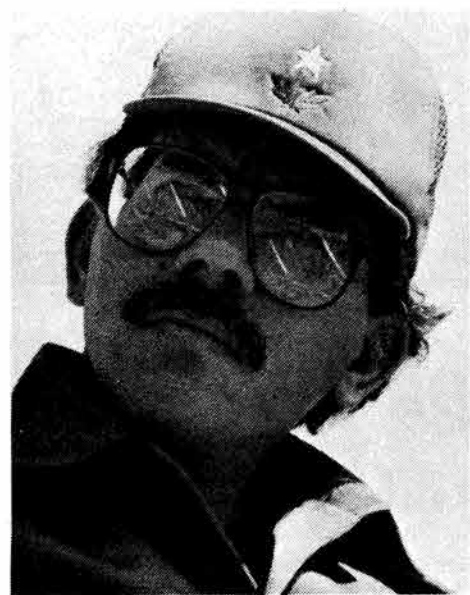
# Nicaragua president discusses prices and wage increases

BY LARRY SEIGLE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Despite rising prices, the country's economic crisis makes a substantial general wage increase impossible, President Daniel Ortega told Nicaragua's working people June 11.

Instead, individual factories, large farms, and other enterprises will be given greater latitude in raising wages as well as prices, the Nicaraguan leader explained. There will be only a small, "symbolic," across-the-board wage increase.

Ortega announced the measures in a discussion with workers at the La Perfecta dairy plant here. The Sandinista leader chose the meeting as an opportunity to explain to the



Militant/Roberto Kopeck

**President Daniel Ortega**

nation as a whole the government's response to widespread calls from unions for wage hikes to help workers catch up with sharply rising prices.

"We have to face facts," President Ortega stressed. The economic problems facing the Sandinista revolution are "more serious" than in the first years of the revolution. "We must be clear that the supply of food and other goods in this country is very limited," he explained.

## Seven years of war

Ortega said the economic crisis is the result of the accumulating effects of seven years of war, combined with the "unjust international economic order" imposed on Nicaragua.

The U.S.-organized contra war has exacted a devastating price in economic as well as human terms. The government has had to divert money from maintaining productive capacity in order to meet the costs of the war.

The result has been a deterioration of such vital resources as electric-power generating plants. Nicaragua now cannot generate enough power to meet its daily needs because of constant breakdowns in the power plants. There are blackouts each day in most of the country.

At some point during a typical day in a factory or processing plant, the machines will suddenly fall silent and the lights will go off. The workers will have no alternative but to wait several hours until the power comes back on.

The renovation and expansion of generating capacity would require major long-term investments that can come only from massive foreign aid, which is not now available. In the meantime, production will continue to be affected. The energy crisis is a major factor in the 34 percent drop in industrial production in the first part of this year.

Agricultural production has also declined. The energy cuts are partially responsible. But also involved are the effects of last year's drought, shortages of supplies, difficulties in organizing transport, and the disinclination of some capitalist farmers to invest in maintaining production on their land. There are also many parts of the country where farming has been impossible because of the contra war.

The 1987-88 sugar yield was only two-thirds as big as the previous year. The production of cotton declined by a similar amount. The coffee harvest, for which no final figures are yet available, is projected to be slightly below last year's.

## 'Unjust economic order'

On top of the accumulated economic impact of the war-caused destruction and deterioration, Ortega said, is the negative impact on Nicaragua of the international economic relations that currently prevail.

"The rich, powerful countries impose the rules of the game on the developing countries," he explained. They pay low prices for Nicaragua's agricultural exports, sometimes even less than it costs to produce them. But the prices for manufactured goods Nicaragua must import are constantly rising, he said.

In addition, the president explained, Nicaragua faces the added economic costs imposed by the trade embargo enforced by Washington. Much of Nicaragua's machinery was made in the United States. The embargo makes it difficult and more expensive to find spare parts, which must be bought in other countries.

## Drop in exports

Published figures illustrate the depth of the problem Nicaragua faces in its international trade. Last year Nicaragua exported a total of \$290 million in commodities. This year's projections call for exporting only \$240 million, a drop of 17 percent.

Nicaragua imports much more than it exports, thanks largely to loans and long-term credits, including from the Soviet Union and other noncapitalist countries. But even so, it has had to cut back sharply on imports this year for lack of cash. Imports went from \$196 million in the first quarter of last year to \$160 million in the same period this year.

The government, which the workers and farmers put in power in the 1979 revolution, has tried to guarantee that a minimum supply of staples reaches working people at affordable prices. A system of neighborhood outlets and factory commissaries has been established, where some goods can be bought at subsidized prices. But one of the manifestations of the worsening economic crisis is that less is now available through these "secure channels," as they are called.

Pay for all wage earners, whether they work for the state or for private employers, has been governed, in theory, by a uniform, government-established pay-and-productivity scale. At the same time, prices for the goods produced by state enterprises, and



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

"Innovator" repairs machine at Managua plant. "Innovators" are workers who volunteer as troubleshooters to help overcome production breakdowns. Power shortages and other economic problems have been magnified by Washington's contra war, causing shortages of food and other goods.

many private ones as well, were set by the government — again, in theory.

## Factory options on wages

The measures announced by President Ortega will change that. The government pay scale will function something like a minimum wage, with each factory having the option to pay higher wages. The government will from time to time decree "minimal" across-the-board increases. But "the real wage increase is going to be given in each enterprise, through incentives depending on the productivity and the profitability of the enterprise," Ortega said.

Enterprises that "are profitable, that have a surplus" will be able to distribute some of that surplus in the form of salary increases, incentive pay, or other benefits such as supplies for the commissary or child-care centers, he said.

"Things won't turn out well for enterprises with more difficulties, or inefficient enterprises," he added. "They will have to become efficient. . . . It will depend on the organizational ability of every enterprise, of the workers, and on the decisions that the workers make about how to invest the surpluses that may be obtained," he added.

With regard to schoolteachers, whose union has been pressing for a wage increase, Ortega stressed that any increase coming to them will be small because the

government simply can't afford more. "The response to teachers will be in the framework of what is possible, because the just demands of the teachers cannot be completely satisfied," the president said.

## Price increases

It will now also be easier for factory and farm administrators to raise prices for their products. "We have tried to set prices of products," said Ortega. "But it has been very difficult to sustain this because we run into the speculators. And because there is not an abundance of the product, the speculators are able to acquire part of the product and sell it at a much higher price."

The term "speculator" is often applied here to private wholesale or retail merchants, who — like their counterparts everywhere — sell their goods at whatever price the market will bear.

By allowing the administrators to raise their prices without waiting for government approval, the government hopes that a bigger portion of the market price will go to the factories, and less to the merchants, Ortega explained.

Union leaders and factory and farm administrators are beginning to organize workers' assemblies to discuss how the government announcements will affect working people.

# Panama diplomats harassed in U.S.

BY ANDY COATES

Harassment of Panamanian consular officials and diplomatic personnel in U.S. cities has been an aspect of the U.S. drive to oust the government of Panama, headed by Panama Defense Forces chief Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega and President Manuel Solís Palma.

Some employees of the Panamanian government in the United States have been removed from their posts and have been asked to leave the country. These dismissals were prompted by the State Department and carried out by Panamanian officials whom the U.S. government recognizes as the government of Panama.

The discharged Panamanian representatives include Alejandra Sarmiento, who worked in the Panamanian embassy in Washington; Donna Prescott, former Panamanian vice-consul in New York; and Aida Torrijos-Herrera, consul general in San Francisco.

The Panamanian embassy in Washington is currently staffed by Juan Sosa, who has been recognized by Washington as the ambassador from Panama despite his dismissal by the Panamanian government.

Sosa supports Washington's moves against Panama.

Sosa demands that Panamanian diplomatic personnel swear loyalty to Eric Arturo Delvalle, whom Washington recognized as Panama's president after he was removed from that post by the National Assembly.

Under Panamanian law, only President Solís Palma or the foreign minister have the authority to employ or dismiss diplomatic personnel.

Attacks on Panamanian diplomatic personnel who refuse to back Delvalle have included confiscation of diplomatic passports, and diplomatic automobile license plates, revocation of visas, and threatening visits by officials of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The *San Francisco Chronicle* cited one example April 11: "The United States decided to send a message to Panama's rogue general [Noriega] by encouraging the government in hiding of President Eric Arturo Delvalle to dump consul general Torrijos-Herrera, sister of the late Panamanian ruler Omar Torrijos." Torrijos-Herrera describes herself as loyal to the legitimate govern-

ment of Panama headed by President Solís Palma.

Omar Torrijos headed the Panama Defense forces until he was killed in an airplane crash in 1981. He negotiated the 1978 treaty that calls for placing the Panama Canal under Panamanian control in 1999.

The Reagan administration now recognizes Virginia Royo de White, appointed by Sosa on March 1, as the "acting consul general" in San Francisco. According to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Royo de White first set foot in Panama when she was 43 years old.

Sosa said he selected Royo de White because she had been appointed "honorary consul in San Francisco" in 1979. She supports State Department policy. The Panamanian government does not recognize Royo de White as a representative of Panama.

Before the current U.S. government campaign against Panama, there were 17 Panamanian consulates in the United States. The Panamanian government has now been forced to close most of them.



# SWP opens ballot drive in Alabama

## 9,000 signature goal in 3-week drive

BY SAM MANUEL

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party 1988 Campaign will be on the streets throughout Alabama from June 18 to July 9 campaigning to get the party's presidential ticket on the ballot. The goal is to collect 9,000 signatures on petitions — 4,000 more than the required number to secure a ballot spot.

James Warren, a central leader of the SWP and a longtime activist in the Black rights and labor movements, is the socialist candidate for president. Kathleen Mickells, a coal miner, union activist, and fighter for women's rights is the party's candidate for vice-president. John Hawkins is running for the 6th C.D. from Alabama. Hawkins is a member of United Mine Workers of America Local 2368.

Supporters of Warren and Mickells here and from Greensboro, North Carolina, and Atlanta, Georgia, met in Birmingham June 12 to discuss organizing the drive.

Betsey Farley, who is coordinating the ballot effort, explained that it is an excellent opportunity to talk with thousands of people in this state about the socialists' proposals for organizing to fight for the interests of working people.

During the three-week effort the socialist campaigners will be selling the English-language weekly the *Militant*, the Spanish-language magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist journal *New Internationalist*. A goal was also set of selling 100 *Militant* and 10 *PM* subscriptions, and 10 single copies of *New Internationalist* by the end of the ballot drive.

Campaign and sales teams will fan out across the state. They will talk with workers in the coal-mining regions of Jasper and Tuscaloosa and to students in Auburn and Tuskegee. Socialist campaigners from Greensboro and Atlanta who are also members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile

Workers Union volunteered to help organize the effort in the textile region near Opelika and Phenix City.

Teams of campaigners will also travel to Mobile. Seventeen striking paperworkers there are already subscribers to the *Militant*. Dockworkers in Mobile have also taken a strong stand against unloading cargo from apartheid South Africa.

Participants in the ballot effort will also travel to the farm areas of the state. Many of the state's Black farmers are in Epes, Eutaw, and Livingston and are members of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives.

Farley explained that teams of volunteers will be needed for the effort. One laid-off member of the International Association of Machinists from Atlanta volunteered to help throughout the three weeks of the drive. Campaign supporters who are members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union in Greensboro expect to be laid off for a week in July and will use that time to help with the campaign.

Efforts to put the socialist candidates on the ballot will take place in six other states in June and July. If you can help, contact: Socialist Workers 1988 National Campaign, 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone (212) 941-1174, or in Birmingham, Alabama, 1306 1st Ave. N., 35203. Telephone (205) 323-3079.



Militant/Andy Coates  
**James Warren and Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers candidates for U.S. president and vice-president. Campaign supporters will travel throughout Alabama, talking to workers, students, and farmers about socialists' proposals for action to fight for interests of working people.**



Tony Savino

## 'Send information on your party...': SWP campaign gets letters, donations

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

"I am enclosing \$10 in cash as a small but meaningful contribution," wrote a Wisconsin supporter of the Socialist Workers 1988 presidential ticket. His letter is one of more than 100 received since the launching of the campaign in March by the national committee organizing the Warren and Mickells campaign.

More than \$500 has been received by the committee through donations like this one. The money goes toward the \$50,000 campaign fund drive that began May 21 and lasts until July 9.

A New Orleans endorser of the socialist ticket first contacted the campaign by clipping a coupon out of the *Militant* and sending it in with a \$20 contribution. After receiving a letter and packet of information, he wrote back, "Enclosed is a check for \$15 for 500 campaign '88 brochures. If posters or buttons are available, please send some and enclose a bill."

This endorser continued, "I have already begun discussing the campaign based on what I've read in the *Militant*, and the discussions have been rich and largely positive."

Every week teams of volunteers get together at the campaign headquarters at 79 Leonard Street in New York City and discuss the letters that have come in and write responses.

Deborah Liatos, a regular team member, reports, "Many of the areas we're getting inquiries from are small towns. A lot of students write in who are checking out socialism. We also have gotten several letters from people who have supported past Socialist Workers presidential campaigns."

Liatos emphasized the importance of both the letters the teams write and the materials they send: "We always include the latest copy of the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial*, a subscription blank, a Pathfinder catalog, and a copy of our candidates' biographies."

There will soon be a new piece of literature to send supporters. Pathfinder has announced that in a couple of weeks, a new pamphlet, "An Action Program for Confronting the Coming Economic Crisis," will be rolling off the press.

Many of the people who write in to the campaign ask specific questions. A Jamaican student studying in Cuba wrote, "One evening I was feeling bored and decided to do some reading. I was reading the *Militant* and found out that it is a paper of a working-class party in a capitalist country.

I would like your party to send me some information on how your party work is being carried out in the most developed capitalist country in the world."

Another writer asked about the candidates' position on the death penalty (Warren and Mickells are for abolishing it), and several have asked how to become a socialist.

Naomi Craine, another campaign supporter who puts a lot of time in answering inquiries, said, "It's really important to answer these letters because the kind of people who see something different about a socialist campaign and whose response is to ask how they can support it are exactly the kind of people we are trying to reach."

"The main reason we run a campaign,"

she continued, "is to meet people who are starting to think about socialist ideas so we can discuss politics with them and win them to the communist movement."

The cost of sending out material to everyone who writes in adds up. And as the campaign enters its final months, the number of inquiries will accelerate.

Funds are urgently needed to help meet these and all the other costs of the campaign — travel for the candidates, more literature, and efforts to win ballot status.

Kathy Wheeler, treasurer of the national campaign committee, emphasized, "With three weeks to go and more than 80 percent of the \$50,000 goal to be collected, systematic efforts are needed to collect and send in contributions."

### 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	115
Chicago	2,200	0
Cleveland	1,150	300
Des Moines, Iowa	750	0
Detroit	1,350	300
Greensboro, N.C.	800	175
Houston	1,150	0
Kansas City	750	0
Los Angeles	3,250	436
Miami	1,450	0
Milwaukee	950	150
Morgantown, W.V.	1,150	0
New York	7,000	880
Newark, N.J.	3,000	1,215
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	300
Price, Utah	600	0
Salt Lake City	800	433
San Francisco	2,000	0
Seattle	1,250	520
St. Louis	1,600	500
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,900	1,000
Washington, D.C.	1,750	0
Other	—	525
<b>Total</b>	<b>50,000</b>	<b>6,349</b>

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.

## Gov't releases Yakima Indians jailed in fishing rights fight

BY CONNIE ALLEN

PORTLAND, Oregon — Following a public outcry that included more than 50 letters from Europe to President Ronald Reagan, David Sohapp, Sr., and David Sohapp, Jr., were released from prison May 17 and 18 on early parole. They had been incarcerated since August 1986.

The Sohappys were convicted by a U.S. federal court of selling "illegal" fish following a 14-month sting operation by undercover agents, called Salmon-scam. The elaborate entrapment scheme was in response to complaints that Yakima Indian fishing rights were responsible for the reduction of salmon in the Columbia River. Indians have pointed to extensive open sea commercial fishing as the cause for the decline of salmon.

Sohapp, Sr., was convicted of selling 317 fish and Sohapp, Jr., of selling 28 fish. They were sentenced to five years in prison and five years' probation. The day they were to report to prison they and three other defendants in the Salmon-scam were charged by the Yakima tribal court with violating tribal fishing regulations. They were found innocent of all charges by the tribal court jury.

The Yakima Nation pressed the U.S. government to honor its sovereignty and right to regulate fishing. The federal government refused to pardon the five or commute their sentences, although Sohapp, Sr., has been in poor health and lost the use of one arm while in prison.

The defense committee continues to press for a pardon or commutation because the Sohappys are still subject to 30 months of parole and 60 months probation, during which their travel is restricted and they are forbidden to hunt.

In addition, two of the defendants, Leroy Yocash, serving a two-year sentence, and Wilbur Slockash, serving a three-year sentence, remain in prison.

The defense committee is asking that letters in their behalf be sent to President Reagan and the Bureau of Prisons.



# Big push can send circulation drive over goal of 9,000

BY NORTON SANDLER

Distributors around the world are organizing a big push during the final week of our circulation drive to sell the issues of the *Militant* and the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial* containing "An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis."

Most distributors, including those in Canada and Britain, will have the *Militant* and *PM* with the Action Program in their hands by Saturday, June 18. This will enable them to talk to their coworkers about the program, whether their first language is English or Spanish. Distributors are also making plans to get out the periodicals at plant gates, in working-class communities, and on campuses. The drive ends June 24.

Supporters in Morgantown, West Virginia, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Phoenix, Los Angeles, Toronto, Canada, and South Yorkshire and London, England, have already surpassed the combined goals set at the beginning of the drive. Morgantown and Twin Cities have made their goals for all three periodicals and Phoenix has raised its overall goal by 50.

We have received a number of reports about distributors' experiences in circulating the *Militant*, *PM*, and the Marxist magazine *New International* around the world.

Over the next couple of weeks we will share several of them with our readers. Included below is a report from a Socialist Workers Party campaign team that recently spent a week in Maine. The other report is from supporters in Sydney, Australia.

## Team gets good response from Maine paperworkers

BY RAY PARSONS

BUCKSPORT, Maine — A four-person team made up of supporters of the SWP presidential ticket of James Warren and Kathleen Mickells just concluded a week of campaigning in Maine.

Kay Sedam, Nels J'Anthony, Angel Lariscy, and I drove 2,000 miles in seven days. Before the team ended on June 13 we sold 82 subscriptions and 226 single copies of the *Militant*, 21 copies of the Marxist magazine *New International*.

One of our goals was to increase the readership of the publications among paper mill workers across the state.

We made copies of an article from the *Militant* describing SWP presidential candidate James Warren's discussions with striking Jay, Maine, paperworkers. We distributed this flyer and other campaign literature to workers rushing in and out of the mill gates.

The response was better than anyone had expected. Seventy-five of the 82 subscriptions were sold to paperworkers at the plant gates.

We met paperworkers whose union had just negotiated a contract or perhaps had one coming up. Almost all of them were familiar with the year-long strike by United Paperworkers International Union Local 14 members at the International Paper Co.

mill in Jay, Maine. A common theme among those we talked to, whether they worked for the James River, Boise-Cascade, Scott, or Champion paper company, was that the employers want to impose the same kind of concessions International Paper is demanding.

Not only were these unionists interested in the *Militant*'s coverage of the paperworkers struggle against IP, but they were also impressed with its coverage of workers' struggles in other countries.

A highlight of the trip was our sale at the Champion mill in Bucksport. In an hour and a half on a Sunday morning we sold 21 subscriptions and 33 single copies. One worker purchased a subscription and then took two more sub blanks, saying, "I know some others who should be getting this too."

In two plant-gate sales at the Fraser mill in Madawaska we sold 28 subscriptions and 48 single copies. The mill is part of a complex spanning the border between Maine and New Brunswick, Canada. Many of the workers are Québécois.

We spent two days in Jay itself and attended one of the weekly meetings for strikers and their families. Our team sold \$70 worth of Pathfinder literature there. The most popular items were books and pamphlets on labor struggles, the fight against apartheid in South Africa, and Marxist economic theory. Many said they already had *Militant* subscriptions.

We also stopped at bookstores in several cities to show them copies of the *New International*. The people we talked to would often buy a copy of the current issue and order additional copies of both the current and earlier issues of the magazine. Getting *New International* on display in bookstores around the state will help get the magazine into the hands of more workers, farmers, and students.

## Street stalls boost sales in Australia

BY KATE BLAKENEY

SYDNEY, Australia — "Hey can I have that poster," shouted a young woman as we began packing up the first Pathfinder stall that had been tried out on the streets here.

We had set up our display of books and the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New International* some hours earlier in Parramatta, near Sydney, not knowing what reception we'd find.

Within seconds three high school students stopped. "Is this about South Africa?" one of them asked.

One young woman picked up the *Militant*, asked a few questions, and less than a minute later was signing up for a subscription. She was on her way to work. She returned during a break to buy a copy of the *Communist Manifesto*.

Hung around our stall were posters of Che Guevara, Nelson Mandela, Augusto César Sandino, and Fidel Castro. Seeing these posters, many were drawn to the stall to look at books.

We sold several Spanish-language books

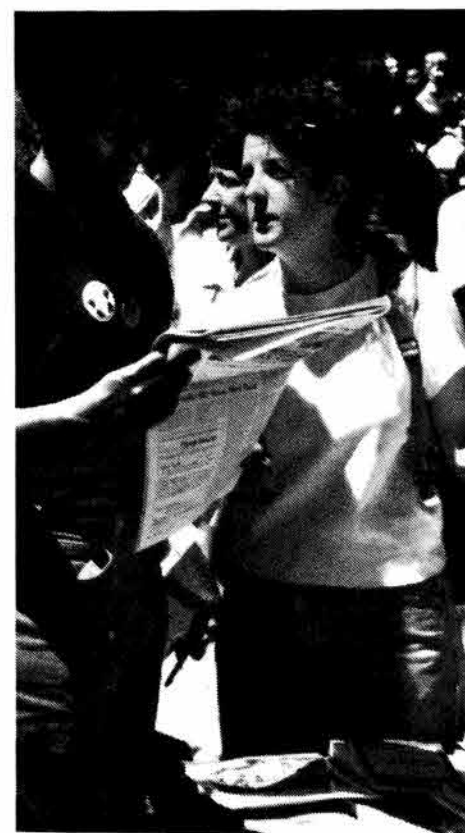
and all the pamphlets we had in Spanish. We were kept busy discussing politics with young people and workers now settled in Australia who were originally from Greece, Chile, Argentina, Italy, Iran, and South Africa.

One young Black worker bought every pamphlet we had on Malcolm X and promised to return the following week to buy books.

In just two hours, we sold four subscriptions and 35 individual copies of the *Militant*, two subscriptions and four single copies of *PM*, and \$60 worth of books and pamphlets.

The last copy of the *Militant* was sold to a young student from South Africa. She asked for the poster of Nelson Mandela and volunteered to help us out on future stalls.

But that was not the end. Two days later, a worker from Mauritius who we had spoken with during the Saturday sale arrived at our Pathfinder bookroom here in Sydney and purchased \$45 worth of books.



Militant/Arthur Hughes  
Militant sale at June 11 peace action in New York: 180 subscriptions were sold to protesters.

## Sales Drive Progress

Area	Drive Totals			Militant subscriptions		New International single copies		Perspectiva Mundial subscriptions	
	Goal	Sold	%Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
Morgantown, Wv	135	149	110	115	121	15	22	5	6
Twin Cities, Minn.	285	305	107	230	237	35	43	20	25
Los Angeles	600	591	99	340	319	100	114	160	158
Austin, Minn.	90	84	93	65	74	15	7	10	3
Boston	350	326	93	240	214	50	50	60	62
Miami	225	209	93	145	140	40	28	40	41
Newark, NJ	460	425	92	275	222	85	97	100	106
Birmingham, Ala.	185	170	92	145	128	30	35	10	7
Greensboro, NC	125	112	90	100	95	15	12	10	5
Omaha, Neb.	125	112	90	80	73	25	33	20	6
New York	1,200	1,071	89	600	513	300	333	300	225
Atlanta	205	180	88	150	143	40	21	15	16
Price, Utah	60	51	85	40	38	10	7	10	6
Kansas City	130	108	83	90	83	20	10	20	15
Seattle	275	219	80	200	159	25	21	50	39
Baltimore	185	145	78	150	125	30	12	5	8
Phoenix	300	226	75	155	104	45	40	100	82
San Francisco	350	252	72	200	158	75	38	75	56
Philadelphia	210	150	71	140	99	30	10	40	41
Milwaukee	150	106	71	100	75	25	14	25	17
Chicago	350	239	68	215	150	60	56	75	33
Portland, Ore.	140	93	66	100	60	25	22	15	11
Detroit	250	158	63	185	125	40	23	25	10
Washington, DC	250	157	63	170	88	50	26	30	43
Cleveland	145	90	62	110	69	20	7	15	14
Pittsburgh	250	149	60	185	123	45	16	20	10
Salt Lake City	150	89	59	115	60	20	19	15	10
Des Moines, Iowa	195	110	56	140	84	30	20	25	6
Oakland, Calif.	265	143	54	150	99	50	25	65	19
Houston	215	116	54	140	88	30	4	45	24
Charleston, Wv	120	63	53	100	52	15	9	5	2
St. Louis	250	118	47	190	94	50	22	10	2
* National Team	-	230	-	-	201	-	3	-	26
Cincinnati	18	11	61	18	11	-	-	-	-
Louisville	5	-	-	5	1	-	-	-	-
Other U.S.	-	25	-	-	24	-	-	-	1
U.S. totals	8,248	6,782	82	5,383	4,449	1,445	1,199	1,420	1,135
South Yorks	45	46	102	30	27	5	17	10	2
London	62	63	102	45	47	8	12	9	4
Manchester	34	27	79	24	22	5	3	5	2
Nottingham	39	26	67	24	16	12	10	3	0
South Wales	40	25	63	27	17	10	7	3	1
Other Britain	-	27	-	-	9	-	18	-	-
Britain totals	220	214	97	150	138	40	67	30	9
Toronto	240	270	113	150	165	50	46	40	59
Montreal	180	124	69	80	59	50	27	50	38
Vancouver	25	18	72	15	13	5	2	5	3
Other Canada	10	13	130	5	12	5	0	-	1
Canada totals	455	425	93	250	249	110	75	95	101
Australia	27	11	41	15	9	6	1	6	1
Iceland	15	13	87	15	13	-	-	-	-
New Zealand	220	199	90	180	166	30	24	10	9
* Puerto Rico	-	18	-	-	4	-	1	-	13
Other Internat'l	-	52	-	-	28	-	22	-	2
Totals	9,185	7,715	86%	5,993	5,056	1,631	1,389	1,561	1,270
Drive Goals	9,000			6,000		1,500		1,500	
Should be		8,073	90%						

## By Malcolm X



By Any Means Necessary	\$7.95
Malcolm X on Afro-American History	4.95
Malcolm X Talks to Young People	0.75
Two Speeches by Malcolm X	1.00
Malcolm X Speaks	8.95
The Autobiography of Malcolm X	3.95

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 24 or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Include 75¢ for postage and handling.



# 'We must show that an alternative road to the crisis is possible'

Interview with Caribbean anti-imperialist leader Rafael 'Fafa' Taveras



Rafael "Fafa" Taveras

Militant/Cindy Jaquith

A Caribbean-wide meeting in defense of Panamanian sovereignty and to protest U.S. efforts to overthrow that country's government will take place in Panama June 20-23. It is hosted by the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America.

Below we are publishing an interview with the current president of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations, Rafael "Fafa" Taveras. The interview was conducted in early April by Steve Clark and Cindy Jaquith in Santo Domingo.

The members of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations include some 37 political parties and groups from 22 countries in Central America and the Caribbean.

It is the first organization in the history of the region to unite anti-imperialist forces from the English-, Spanish-, French-, Creole-, and Dutch-speaking countries of that area. These include Curacao, Cuba, Dominica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Grenada, Guadeloupe, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Nicaragua, and Puerto Rico.

The Anti-Imperialist Organizations was founded in 1984 at a meeting in Havana. It held a second plenary gathering in Managua in 1986. In 1987 it sponsored a conference in Kingstown, St. Vincent.

The organization has a 10-member coordinating committee, as well as two officers. Taveras, the president, is also general secretary of the Socialist Bloc of the Dominican Republic. Clement Rohee, a leader of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, serves as executive secretary of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations.

The *Militant* interview took place as the Nicaraguan government was signing the Sapoa peace accords with Washington's contras. The defeat of the contras opens up a new, more favorable situation for anti-imperialist forces throughout the region, Taveras said. The ability of Nicaraguan working people to repel a military aggression of the world's strongest power will inspire greater confidence among fighters throughout the Caribbean and Central America.

Taveras also stressed the importance of all anti-imperialist and democratic forces rallying behind Panama's fight for self-determination and full sovereignty over the Panama Canal.

The Panamanian government has been an obstacle to U.S. military and political goals in the region, Taveras observed.

In Washington's contra war against Nicaragua, "the Panamanian Defense Forces refused to become another accomplice," he pointed out. Instead, "they affirmed the

right of the peoples to sovereignty and self-determination and for a peaceful solution in Central America. Washington did not appreciate that conduct."

In its fight against the U.S. government, he concluded, "Panama merits the full support of everyone, and particularly the support of Caribbean nationalists and patriots."

In the section of the interview printed below, Taveras describes the social and economic crisis facing the peoples of the Caribbean, the importance of the demand for cancellation of the foreign debt, and the role of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations.

The interview was conducted in Spanish. It has been translated by the *Militant*.

\* \* \*

*Militant. In order to understand the challenges before revolutionaries in the Caribbean today, could you first explain the history of the region and the origins of its peoples?*

Taveras. The Caribbean as a region contains a great number of contradictions. It is a community broken up into dozens of islands, whose population is fundamentally African and characterized by a colonial heritage.

The Spanish, British, French, Dutch, and most of all, the North Americans, have all considered the Caribbean their domain. To some degree each has owned the seas, islands, natural resources, capital, and the labor power in some part of the region.

European colonialism forced itself upon the Americas via the Caribbean, making this region the base for further expansion to Central America and the rest of the continental territory.

We were subjected to genocide, land grants, indentured servitude, and the establishment of slavery. In all of the islands, once the indigenous inhabitants had been exterminated, new peoples emerged from slavery and colonialism.

The colonizers imposed one-crop economies on our societies. Some of us specialized in plantains or bananas, some in coffee, others in pineapple. We were all a large reserve of labor power. But we never received the benefits of our own products, which were exported.

## Isolation and division

The presence of several Spanish, French, and Dutch colonial domains contributed to the isolation of the inhabitants of the Caribbean islands from one another. We were divided by the different languages, religions, and cultures imposed on

us by the invaders. This worsened the effects of the geographic division among the islands.

The most diverse and obsolete forms of colonial domination coexisted. Each island always enjoyed better relations with the colonial power ruling it than with the neighboring countries.

Beginning in the 1960s, a wave of independence struggles freed many of our islands from colonial rule, particularly those under British domination. Jamaica, in 1962, was the first to win formal independence. It was followed over the next two decades by Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, the Bahamas, Grenada, Dominica, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Antigua and Barbuda, and finally St. Kitts and Nevis in 1983.

Today, the Caribbean still contains the largest number of colonies in the Americas.

Here there is the nation of Puerto Rico, which since the "discovery" of America — and it's now close to 500 years — has known no other status than colony.

The islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique remain under French colonial domination, and Curacao continues to be a colony of the Netherlands.

The void left by the weakening of British, French, and Dutch colonialism has been filled by U.S. influence.

U.S. imperialism had already penetrated the region late in the 19th century by its occupation of Puerto Rico and domination over Cuba, including outright usurpation of the Guantánamo Bay.

Then came the construction of the Panama Canal, followed by military occupation of Nicaragua, of Haiti, of the Dominican Republic. Washington finally superseded the British by the late 1960s in economic domination and political control of the region.

The imperialists have done everything they could to keep us isolated from one another in order to prevent us from discovering our common identity or supporting one another.

Today, the divisions we have inherited are used to impose a certain psychology of impotence and weakness, when we compare our small size to that of the power that overwhelms us.

## Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada revolutions

But the triumph of the Cuban revolution in 1959 unveiled a new, unknown face of the Caribbean. This new face was again unveiled in 1979 with the advent of the Grenada revolution, the triumph of the Sandinistas, and the rising progressive movement in the whole Central American region.

The Grenada revolution, the first made by an English-speaking Caribbean people of African descent, has had a special influence on the region.

It created a greater consciousness of the regional unity between Central America and the Caribbean and presented the Caribbean in all its real dimensions as part of Latin America.

The Grenada revolution recaptured the recognition of Africa as a mother country of the peoples of this region, since we are the descendants of African slaves. And this discovery, this strengthening of our roots, brought us closer to Africa.

The Grenada revolution also showed the possibility of making a revolution on a small island with a tiny population, in this region under the control of the United States, a revolution that could proclaim and sustain its independence. In Grenada's small size one can perhaps best appreciate the power of the Caribbean region. If Grenada could, any island in the Caribbean can.

For all these reasons the Caribbean today owes an immense debt to the Grenada revolution and the vast teachings of Maurice Bishop. The revolutionary sentiment of the region, temporarily disheartened by the 1983 defeat of the Grenada revolution, is recovering with the confidence that we can advance and recover lost space.

*Militant. Over the last decade, the capitalist economic crisis has hit semicolonial countries around the world with a vengeance. What has been the impact of the crisis and U.S. policies in particular on the economies of the Caribbean countries?*

Taveras. The Caribbean contains some of the poorest nations in Latin America, which, in addition, have the most acute social problems. The best example is Haiti.

All the economies are in the process of being restructured, as the U.S. government carries out a protectionist policy. For example, the economies that produce sugar have become bankrupt with the slashing of the U.S. quotas on sugar imports.

The Caribbean governments are under pressure to produce for export to obtain hard currency. So this is where investment flows, while the domestic market is ignored. But the domestic market is what produces food for the population.

## Floating free trade zones

The islands of the Caribbean are all being transformed into a type of floating free trade zone under U.S. control. The result of this can now be seen in the agricultural free trade zones that produce fruits and vegetables for the United States.

You can see the same thing in the industrial free trade zones, areas where the work force can be exploited under the worst conditions, without work rules, without unions, paying the lowest wages possible. The minimum wage in the Dominican Republic today is the equivalent of US\$89 a month.

The Caribbean has the highest level of overall unemployment in all the continent. We also have a larger percentage of our peoples than any other part of the Americas living as undocumented workers in the United States — today even more so than Mexico. The cause of this is the labor power that cannot be employed here due to the narrowness of our economies.

The path of becoming undocumented workers is the last hope for many of not dying of hunger. This has led to innumerable tragedies, which the mass media does not tell about. Hundreds upon hundreds of Caribbean people have disappeared at sea, trying to get to one place or another, but especially to Puerto Rico or to U.S. shores.

Recently in my country, a movie entitled *Un pasaje de ida* (Outward Voyage) recounted one of our most characteristic tragedies. It's based on the story of 22 Dominicans who, in the capital of the Dominican Republic itself, drowned trying to hide from the port police.

One year before that in San Martín, 27 Dominican women were thrown overboard by the captain, who had promised to transport them across the Caribbean.

Last October a boat carrying 120 persons sunk off the northern coast of the Dominican Republic. The bulk of these undocumented workers were devoured by sharks, some even after having been reached by helicopters of the Dominican navy, which were trying to rescue them.

The Caribbean, then, is a hotbed of displacement of the labor force, which today cannot find work in its own country.

## Highest per capita debt

Over and above this is the foreign debt. The Caribbean is the region in Latin America with the highest per capita debt. Excluding Cuba, the Caribbean owed \$42 billion in 1986. Today it's close to \$56 billion.

The creditors have imposed on the Caribbean governments a policy of austerity and reducing public spending and investment, permitting enormous inflation. Hunger and unemployment have deepened, housing has become more expensive, health care and education have deteriorated.

Similarly, the pressure of the crisis on the population has transformed the family unit. Since no one can live on one income and since there is so much difficulty finding additional jobs, a strategy of survival has been developing in the region: many



people working on their own, working at home, drawing in other family members into these survival efforts.

There is a growth of what has been called the informal sector as a way for people to defend themselves — holding many jobs at once, becoming street merchants or helpers in various activities.

There is one Caribbean island, of course, where these conditions do not prevail. That is Cuba, where there are productive jobs for all, where health and education are being expanded, and where there is a revolutionary government that refuses to let the U.S. government and the owners of the imperialist banks dictate the future of the country.

#### Dominican immigrants in U.S.

But in the rest of the Caribbean, how do the people resolve the crisis that seems impossible to resist? I have coined a phrase: secret cushioning of the crisis.

Perhaps one of the largest cushions is the fact that many of the immigrant workers living in the United States maintain a permanent relationship with their families back in their countries.

One hundred thousand Dominicans have become U.S. citizens and 250,000 more have had their legal residence established. But a number even larger than these two figures combined are undocumented.

The part of the nation that has been transferred to the United States is working itself to death. They then periodically send money home, which helps their family members remaining here to resist the pressure of the crisis.

In our case, official estimates indicate that the country receives close to \$600 million a year in this manner. Six hundred million dollars is equal to almost 80 percent of what we receive through the sale abroad of all our products.

The government encourages this process precisely because of the value of the income sent from the United States. The miserable conditions facing the Dominicans who work as immigrants in the United States do not matter to them.

This is combined with an immense consumerist propaganda spread by nine television stations, and by a very large movie distribution network that disseminates everything about the "American way of life."

This creates hope among the people that things will improve if they can get to the United States. And to a certain degree this helps them put up with the anxiety of living here.

Thousands of compatriots here await their turn to apply for visas at the U.S. embassy. The requests are so numerous that the waiting time for an appointment is between 24 and 30 months.

This cushioning phenomenon is one way of preventing the crisis from sharpening. But this has a limit. And I believe that in the Caribbean we are approaching that limit.

*Militant. Could you elaborate on the political and ideological effects of imperialist domination over the region?*

*Taveras.* In the expansion of tourism, the Caribbean countries have to offer a service, transforming their native cultural values, their music, dance, ceramics, and typical foods into commodities.

There is an element of adapting the population to foreign capital's growing appropriation of our societies — a prostitution of the national consciousness. And the most terrible consequence is that this incites more competition within the population for the scarce jobs or the few opportunities, thus limiting solidarity and forcing everyone to obtain the means of subsistence in an individual manner.

You come up with a grave picture, where the majority of the population is constantly mobile, in distress, searching to survive. And suddenly this is a country that is thinking on a very short term basis, on the right here and now. Because a shipwrecked person cannot make calculations



about his future — only about not drowning.

What begins breaking through is the people's resistance, outbreaks of angry protest, a rejection of this economic policy that is leading the country to genocide. Violent and abrupt explosions of protest take place.

But creating stable popular organizations is difficult. This is because the people still do not see a clear political perspective.

We believe we must break with this situation and show that an alternative road to the crisis is indeed possible.

The solution is very simple. We will not be able to pay the debt, as our government has said. Jamaica will not be able to pay the debt. None of our islands are going to be able to pay the debt.

So then stop paying! Invest the money in developing our nations with the resources we have in order to meet our own needs. That is something feasible.

Dominicans paid \$600 million last year just to keep the debt at the same level that we had 12 months ago. We gave over \$600 million as a form of tribute to international capital.

This country is on the verge of an uncontrollable social explosion as a result of the lack of electricity, of transportation, of potable water, of the capacity to produce food and jobs. If the government had that \$600 million to make a priority of agrarian reform and land distribution, then this coun-

try could feed itself. It could even sell surpluses abroad.

Within our nation in particular possibilities exist to change economic policy. But there is neither political will nor interest in doing that on the part of the current government.

We must confront the fact that we have to force these governments to change their economic policy. And the starting point is to stop paying the debt.

*Militant. The U.S. government has offered the Caribbean Basin Initiative as a solution to the region's economic and social crisis. What has been the balance sheet of the CBI since it was introduced in 1982-83?*

*Taveras.* No government can point to a single positive result of the Caribbean Basin Initiative.

The first thing is that despite the CBI, U.S. trade barriers have ruined the economies of the Caribbean region.

The second thing is that despite the CBI, the amount of U.S. investment in these countries is insignificant compared to the extraction of capital. We're exporting more capital than we're receiving.

The Dominican case is perhaps a model of this. We export \$750 million and import \$1.5 billion. This is \$1.5 billion that we pay in dollars. In other words, the trade deficit caused by the permanent unequal ex-

change has not been altered by the Caribbean Basin Initiative. On the contrary, it has deepened.

And despite the CBI, the solution they're offering us is to accept the conversion of the foreign debt into investments. In other words, that we turn over to them our wealth in exchange for foreign debt bonds. In this way we pay them with our sovereignty, with our land, with our property here.

In other words, the Caribbean Basin Initiative has served only to reinforce the ties of U.S. power and the U.S. market in this region.

For example, under U.S. Law 931, profits accumulated in the United States can be invested in this region free from tax. So "twin plants" are being built on our islands, using Puerto Rico as a model.

The goal is to exploit the labor force of these areas further. They justify the increase in employment — really, the level of exploiting labor power — by the fact that in a twin plant in the Dominican Republic, workers are paid one-seventh the wage of what a worker in Puerto Rico would receive for doing the same work.

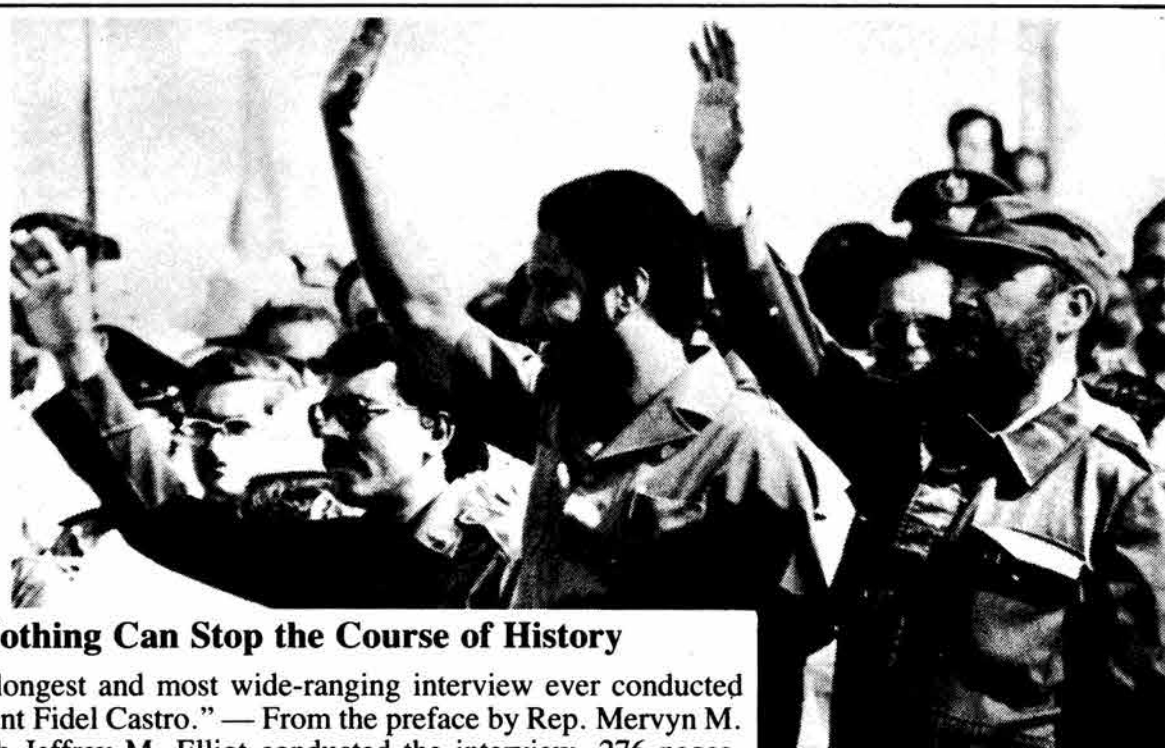
With this type of relationship, the Caribbean Basin Initiative is a selective instrument for favoring the deepening dependence of the Caribbean on the U.S. market. So from this angle, the Caribbean Basin Initiative has strengthened U.S. domination.

*Militant. Since 1984 the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America has grouped together the anti-imperialist and democratic organizations of the region. You have served as the president of that organization since its founding. So it would be good to end on what the organization is in your view, its significance both in terms of what it's already achieved and what its perspectives are for the future.*

*Taveras.* In the meetings and assemblies we've held since the founding of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations, we've analyzed above all the U.S. presence in the region. We've dealt with the socioeconomic

**Continued on Page 25**

### Books on Cuban, Nicaragua, Grenada revolutions from Pathfinder



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# An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis

## I. Capitalist prospects in the coming decade

On Oct. 19, 1987, prices on the New York Stock Exchange plunged more than at any time in this century; more steeply than the October 1929 Wall Street crash that signaled the Great Depression of the 1930s. Every working person feels more uneasy today as a result. And with good reason.

The crash rapidly spread to every other stock market around the world. It revealed the explosive pressures that have been accumulating in the capitalist world system for nearly two decades.

These pressures have accelerated in the 1980s. They can already be seen in the creeping social crisis that is devastating the most impoverished layers of working people and the poorest regions of the world. It is shown by the millions of families without homes; crumbling roads, bridges, hospitals, and schools; working-class neighborhoods with disintegrating sanitation and public health services; a generation of youth denied jobs; and moves aimed to restrict democratic rights.

This is the coming reality that many more working people around the world are going to live through.

We face the inevitability of a world depression that will usher in an economic and social crisis engulfing working people in every part of the world where the capitalist market reaches. Any new partial economic crisis — a recessionary downturn in the capitalist business cycle, an explosion of inflation, stock-market crashes, or banking and debt disasters — can precipitate this depression.

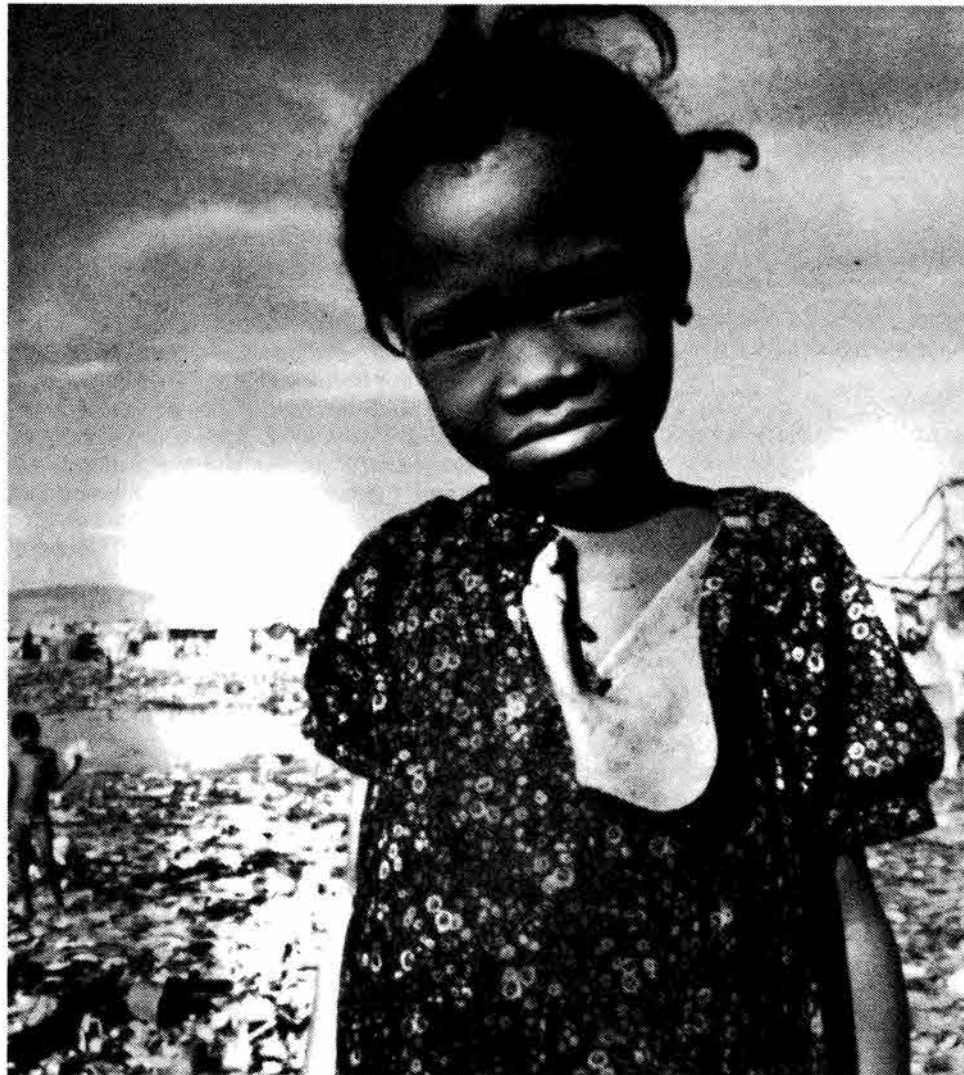
Hundreds of millions more people will join the already enormous ranks of those out of work and with no way to make a living in the countryside or city. The devastating plague of mass unemployment and underemployment will not only worsen throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In the imperialist countries — the United States, Western Europe, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, and Australia — joblessness and impoverishment will hit with a force not felt since the 1930s. Depression conditions throughout the capitalist world will accelerate the growing social, economic, and political crisis in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

More farmers will be driven off the land. Small businesses will be ruined. Homelessness will increase, and soup kitchen lines will grow. The breakdowns we are already seeing in our roads, bridges, mass transportation, health care, and education; the destruction of the earth's forests, soil, atmosphere, rivers, and oceans — all will get much worse. Inflationary bursts will be all the more devastating as we pay for the capitalists' international speculation orgy.

Life will become even more brutal for those workers who face racial discrimination in the job market, education, and housing. The employers will attempt to drive back the gains of women in their fight for equality in hiring, on the job, and throughout society.

As workers organize and fight more effectively to defend ourselves against these mounting attacks, the rulers will increasingly turn to rougher methods. The police and armed forces will be called in against our strikes and demonstrations more often.

*The Action Program published here was adopted by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party in December 1987 in the form of a report by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes. That report dealt with the political consequences for the working class in the United States and internationally of the October 1987 crash on the world's stock markets.*



Tony Savino



Haitian girl in Cité Soleil, Port-au-Prince's poorest slum. Unions in West Germany demand 35-hour workweek. October 1987 stock market crash signaled world depression is coming. Already devastating conditions in countries like Haiti will worsen, as will those of working people everywhere. To combat this catastrophe, a united international fight by workers and farmers is needed for a shorter workweek, cancellation of the foreign debt, and affirmative action.

War and the threat of war will become more common. Reactionary political movements will grow, aimed at dividing working people from each other and from our allies, and ultimately at crushing our resistance.

Workers and farmers need to recognize what capitalism holds in store for us, and what our organizations must do to defend ourselves against the devastating effects of this impending social catastrophe. To prepare for tomorrow, however, we need to understand the conditions faced by working people worldwide today.

## II. Working people in the semicolonial world

In Africa, Asia, and Latin America mil-

lions of peasants are being driven off their land. Untold numbers of workers have no job or home. Malnutrition, hunger, and disease are rising. Hundreds of millions are less and less able to afford the goods that they want and need, either those produced at home or those imported. Millions of acres of farm and forest land are being raped by companies from imperialist countries seeking to make a quick profit. Their "development" projects are destroying domestic food production, stripping small farmers of their land, and ruining the natural environment of these oppressed nations.

### Imperialist oppression

These are the social consequences of the superexploitation and domination of the

semicolonial countries by the ruling capitalist families in the imperialist countries. They use their vast economic power — organized through the major banks and international monetary agencies that front for these banks — and their political and military clout to impose unequal trade relations on the semicolonial countries. Sellers in the oppressed nations have been getting declining prices for their products on the world market, while buyers in these countries must pay rising prices for manufactured goods and technology purchased from companies owned by the ruling rich in the economically advanced capitalist countries. Economic development that can lead to broad industrialization and a rising standard of living for toilers in the semicolonial world is blocked off.

These disparities in trade are reinforced and applied through quotas and tariffs, dumping of goods on the world market that undercut sales of products from semicolonial countries, and a mass of nontariff trade barriers. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, for example, has identified some 700 nontariff practices — ranging from government subsidies, to health and technical standards, to deliberately complex administrative measures — designed to increase the profits of the wealthy families in the imperialist countries to the detriment of the nations peopled by the majority of humanity.

These trade barriers are not imposed equally. They are applied differentially in a system of punishment and reward in order to blackmail governments in the semicolonial world.

### We are all in the debt trap

Governments in Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia, and the Pacific have borrowed heavily from the capitalist families of the imperialist nations through their banks in New York, Tokyo, Paris, London, Stockholm, Sydney, Toronto, and other financial centers.

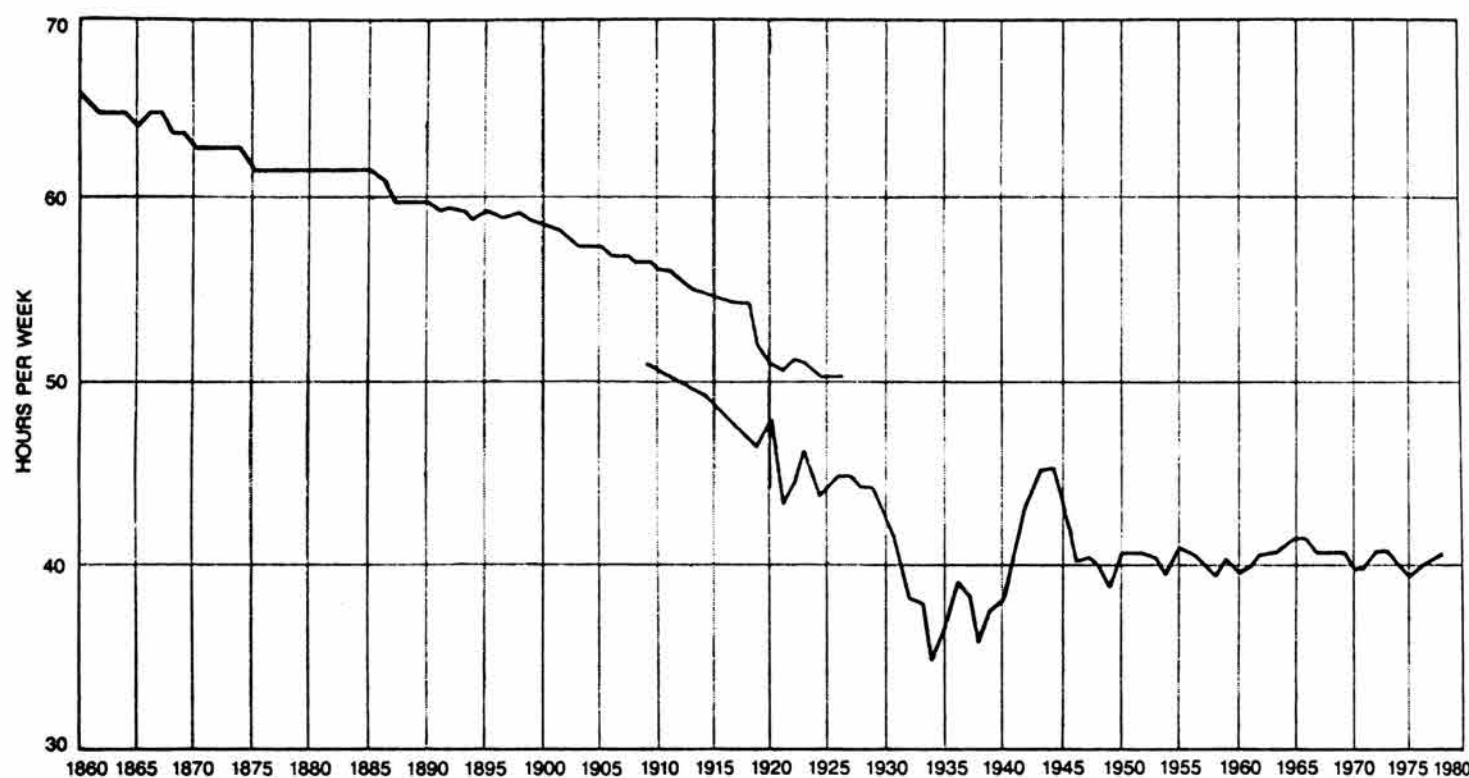
Altogether the foreign debt of these oppressed countries is \$1.2 trillion! In Latin America and the Caribbean alone, the total foreign debt at the end of 1987 was \$410 billion. In Africa the debt stands at \$218 billion.

Acting for the wealthiest capitalists, the big banks suck billions of dollars in interest payments out of these countries every year. In 1986, for example, Latin America and the Caribbean alone transferred more than \$22 billion in interest payments to the coffers of Chase Manhattan, the Royal Bank of Canada, Barclay's, Sumitomo, Crédit Lyonnais, and other imperialist banks. Institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and Inter-American Development Bank — the latter two supposedly set up to "help the developing countries" — are at the hub of this brutal ripoff.

To keep these interest payments flowing in, the imperialist rulers, through their bankers, demand that the governments in the oppressed countries cut wages and increase speedup, slash social expenditures, and implement other brutal austerity measures to squeeze more out of working people. The bankers demand that these countries turn over ownership of more and more of their soils, forests, mines, and industries to imperialist interests. More and more of the economy's production is pushed toward the export trade to gain foreign exchange in order "to pay the debt," instead of producing for the home market the food, clothes, and other basic goods needed by workers and peasants.

In growing numbers of these countries, hard currency revenues received from export sales have been insufficient to make even the interest payments, let alone pay part of the principal on the debt or invest in economic development. Consequently they've been





**Workweek in manufacturing industries in United States.** Struggles to shorten workweek have led to decline from 67 hours in 1860 to about 42 in 1950. Since then it has remained about the same. The legal 40-hour workweek is a myth for many workers in the United States, who put in 50-, 60-, and 70-hour weeks. In many other countries, the average hours

worked are even longer. Thus, while millions are out of work or underemployed, millions of others are forced to work overtime. The discontinuity in the curve, over the period 1910 through 1925, reflects a change in how statistics were made involving principally changes in the accounting of the time of part-time and seasonal workers.

forced to borrow more money just to pay the interest on the debt already incurred.

The entire relationship becomes a vicious trap. It's similar to what happens to working farmers in the United States who can't make enough income from sales of their products to cover costs, so they become debt slaves to the banks.

The foreign debt of the semicolonial countries is simply unpayable. As it spirals ever higher, it can lead only to one thing: massive bank failures that will trigger an economic disaster everywhere. And as the bubbles burst, working people will suffer the devastating consequences.

Labor organizations throughout Latin America and the Caribbean have organized demonstrations and held conferences to raise the just demand for cancellation of this foreign debt.

In May 1987 representatives of 56 union organizations from 25 countries met in Brazil for a Latin American and Caribbean Trade Union Conference on the Foreign Debt. Delegates called for cancellation of the debt and for an international campaign to expose the effects of the debt burden on their countries. They issued an appeal for "the solidarity of the workers of the industrialized countries, through their trade union federations, with the campaign against the payment of the foreign debt."

A similar conference took place in June 1987 in Trinidad and Tobago. The Fifth Trade Union Conference on Unity and Solidarity of the Caribbean Workers urged repudiation of the foreign debt, and condemned unequal terms of trade, tariffs, quotas, and other barriers to economic development imposed on the Caribbean and Latin America.

In December 1987 representatives of 26 trade unions in Africa met in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to discuss the foreign debt and its consequences for working people. They issued a declaration urging all governments and mass organizations in Africa to "unite their forces with the aim of achieving the cancellation or the collective repudiation of the debt."

The government of Cuba initiated the call for canceling the debt. More than any other government it has helped give voice to this demand by working people in the oppressed nations. As Cuban President Fidel Castro has explained, the debt is economically unpayable, politically uncollectible, and morally indefensible. That must become the motto of workers the world over — for the sake of justice and for our own self-interest.

### III. The working class in the United States

The catastrophe that workers in the semicolonial world are already suffering is not remote from U.S. shores. This devastation has already hit millions of workers in the United States, foreshadowing what the future holds.

Many of us already have a lurking sense of insecurity, a reflection of the fact that no worker is guaranteed a job in capitalist society. There is no such thing as a "permanent" worker. We are all "temporary" workers.

All of us depend on being able to sell our labor power in order to feed and clothe ourselves and our families. The big majority of us have no access to land to grow food, nor do we have any possibility of going into business for ourselves. Without jobs, we don't have any way to make ends meet and maintain a standard of living fit for human beings.

#### A creeping social crisis

Washington is crowing that the official jobless rate was 5.6 percent in May 1988, a drop from more than 10 percent in 1982 at the peak of the last recession. But 5.6 percent unemployment represents almost 7 million workers and affects tens of millions more when their families are included. Joblessness is higher than most years between 1941 and 1975.

Moreover, millions are not counted in "official" government unemployment figures. These include young workers who have never been able to get a job, workers whose unemployment compensation has run out, undocumented workers who do not report to unemployment offices out of fear of being deported, women who haven't been working but want a job, and farmers driven off their land and forced to seek wage jobs for the first time.

A growing number of us with jobs are denied real full-time employment. Fifteen percent of the officially "employed" in 1986 worked less than half the year. Another 20 million workers in the United States are forced to work part-time jobs that average only 22 hours' pay a week.

The net result has been the pauperization of a growing layer of workers in the United States. Since 1980 the percentage of the U.S. population living at or below the poverty line has averaged more than 14 percent, up from an average of 11.7 percent over the previous seven years. Forty percent of the 118 million holding jobs in 1987 earned less than \$11,000 a year.

The free-market "prosperity" trumpeted in the big-business media is a myth for many working people. While the average per capita income among the wealthiest one-fifth of the population grew from \$70,260 in 1979 to \$76,300 in 1986, it declined — from \$8,761 to \$8,033 — among the one-fifth of the population with the lowest income.

The dimensions of the creeping economic and social crisis in the United States can no longer be hidden. Millions of working people, many of them families pushed out of their homes, are now living on street corners, in bus stations, or in cars. Public health care has deteriorated. Preventable diseases like tuberculosis are on the rise. Breakdowns and disasters in mass trans-

portation are becoming more, not less common. Poisonous wastes proliferate in our air, soil, and water. We're more than twice as likely to be in a state or federal prison today as we were 15 years ago; nearly 100 people have been put to death since 1976, overwhelmingly working people; and nearly 2,000 more of us are on death row now.

#### Devastation of workers who are Black

The crisis is most visible today in working-class communities that are Black. What these communities are experiencing is a preview of what capitalism has in store for wider and wider layers of our class.

While overall official unemployment is 5.6 percent, it is more than 12 percent among workers who are Black. And nearly 35 percent among young people who are Black.

In the Midwest, much of which has been traumatized by plant shutdowns and farm foreclosures, unemployment of Black workers has averaged more than 23 percent throughout the 1980s. In the city of Milwaukee it is 27 percent right now.

Measured by 1986 dollars, 14 percent of Black families now live on less than \$5,000 a year, as compared to 8.9 percent in 1978. Thirty percent of all Black families live on less than \$10,000, an increase from 27.4 percent in 1978.

The real picture of the disaster striking Black working-class communities has been hidden through distorted statistics aimed at covering up this growing inequality. This is done by lumping together the incomes and general living conditions of Blacks who are workers with the figures for the small minority of Blacks who are in the middle class.

Today the best-off one-fifth of Black families receive 47.4 percent of the total income of Blacks, while the poorest one-fifth receive 3.4 percent. Averaging income and other statistics together for these two layers of the Black population disguises the brutality of the economic pressures bearing down on the big majority who are workers.

From 1978 to 1986, the percent of Black families with annual incomes over \$50,000 increased by 14 percent. But the percent of Black families trying to get by on less than \$5,000 a year increased by 57 percent.

The same pattern can be seen in housing. While a small minority of Blacks have moved into integrated middle-class neighborhoods, most workers who are Black remain trapped in neighborhoods that are as segregated as they were 20 years ago. And segregated housing means segregated schools with fewer resources and inadequate educational facilities. This results in inferior elementary and high school education for the children of working-class families that are Black, and fewer opportunities for ongoing education.

The percentage of Blacks attending schools with a predominantly Black or

Latino student body was 77 percent in 1968 and dropped to 64 percent in 1972. But the figure has remained roughly the same ever since.

And school segregation has increased during the 1980s in some states, such as New York, where 57 percent of Black students attend schools that are 90 to 100 percent Black or Latino. More than 80 percent of the Black students in the states of New York, Illinois, and Michigan go to schools that are more than half Black or Latino in composition.

Little wonder then that since 1976 the percent of Afro-American high school graduates starting college has declined from 34 percent to 26 percent. Meanwhile, the percentage pushed out of high school before graduating has risen.

The number of working-class families in which a woman is the sole income-earner has risen rapidly, and among Black families has soared from 25 percent in 1965 to 42 percent in 1986. The combined race and sex discrimination faced by these workers, along with utterly inadequate public child care and other social services, has resulted in a median income for these families of \$7,999.

The severity of the crisis for working-class families whose breadwinners are Black is intensified by the sharp decline in government aid. While the buying power of aid to dependent children and food stamps rose during the 1960s and early 1970s, it has fallen since. In 1984 it was 22 percent lower than in 1972, and had fallen almost to its level at the end of the 1950s.

Joblessness, government slashing of health services, and malnutrition literally spell death for workers who are Black. In some of the most impoverished working-class communities that are Black, infant mortality rates have gone up. In Central Harlem, the rate reached 27.6 per 1,000 live births by the end of 1986, a 73 percent increase since 1984. This is double the rate of 13.6 in Cuba, a country with far fewer resources. Nationally the infant mortality rate for Blacks is about 18 per 1,000 live births, compared to 10.6 for the population as a whole.

Tuberculosis, a disease that had virtually been wiped out in the United States, has risen in New York City from 17 cases per 100,000 residents in 1978 to 31.4 per 100,000 in 1986 — that is 83 percent. Black men contract TB at nine times the citywide average.

This past year in the United States an estimated 3,000 babies were born infected with AIDS. Babies who are Black are 25 times more likely to have this virus than babies who are white. Nationally, Blacks constitute 12 percent of the total population, but 25 percent of the people who have developed AIDS.

#### Growing inequality in the work force

The devastation of Black working-class families has widened the gap between their economic and social conditions on an average and those of the working class as a whole. This gap had begun to narrow following the civil rights victories that were conquered in the 1960s and that continued to be registered during much of the 1970s.

The big majority of workers who are unemployed or living below the poverty level are white, but workers who are Black make up a disproportionate number of those who have been driven into these conditions in recent years. In the 1980s a worker who is Black has been more than twice as likely to be jobless than other workers, a bigger gap than most years since World War II. The number of working-class families living on less than \$5,000 has gone up by 39 percent since 1975, but among them there has been a 60 percent jump for Black families. The median income of Black families is 60 percent of that of families as a whole in the United States, down from 63 percent in the early 1970s. Today the mortality rate for infants who are Black is more than 70 percent higher than for all babies born in the United States, up from between 60 and 65 percent in the early 1970s.

The figures speak for themselves. Under capitalism the life of a worker is simply worth less, and still less for the life of a worker who is Black. This is even codified by the courts and prison system. Prosecutors demand the death penalty in 49 percent of the capital murder cases where a Black is accused of killing a white, com-

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# ACTION PROGRAM

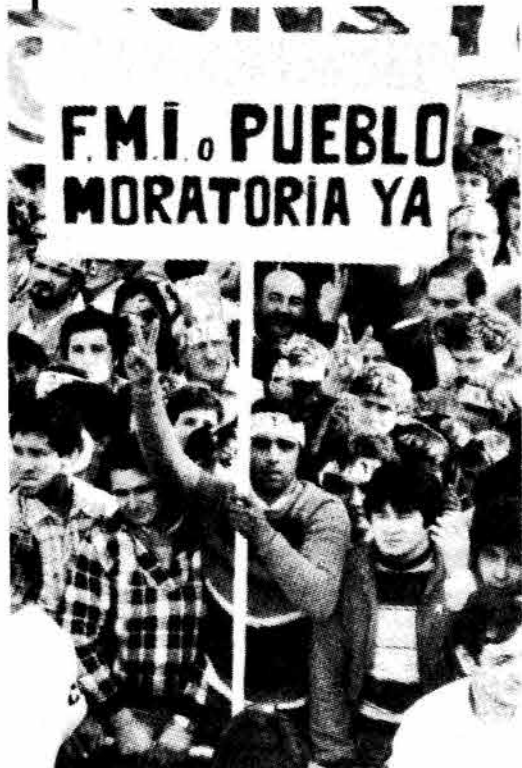
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pared to 11 percent of the cases where a Black is charged with killing another Black.

The devastation of working-class communities that are Black over the last decade is the product of the workings of capitalism in a society with a legacy of racial discrimination. Combined with the growing class differentiation within the Black population, the result for workers who are Black has been less desegregation and more re-segregation — in the job market, in the schools, and in housing.

This is a blow to the lives and living standards of all workers. Gains such as desegregation of schools and housing, securing political rights, unionization of workers who are Black, advancing Blacks into jobs once reserved for whites only, raising the minimum wage — all these laid the ground to improve the wages, working conditions, education, and living standards of all working people.

Most importantly, the victory over Jim



Protest in Buenos Aires, Argentina: "International Monetary Fund or the people; a moratorium [on debt payments] now."

Crow segregation by the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and 1960s strengthened the entire working class politically, and the rulers have not been able to roll back this historic conquest. The advances in the rights of workers who are Black promote greater unification of our ranks in the face of the divisions imposed by capitalism. These gains undermine the effects of individual competition for jobs and security that are used by the employers to pit us against one another to increase their exploitation of us.

The same is true for overcoming the divisions imposed by the capitalists to block unity with other workers targeted for discrimination because of their skin color, language, or national origin. Workers who are American Indians live and work under some of the worst conditions in the United States. Many workers who are Spanish-speaking or Asian are recent immigrants to the United States and face the added discrimination meted out to noncitizens. The employers seek to keep immigrant workers in the pariah status of "illegals" and "aliens." The aim is to superexploit the labor of these foreign-born workers, paying them subminimum wages, enforcing inhuman working conditions, refusing them basic social services — and trying to deny them even the hope of economic and social advancement.

## Segregation of women in the work force

The employers also seek to promote divisions between workers who are male and those who are female. Over the past five decades tens of millions of women in the United States have poured into the work force at an accelerating rate. Especially following the rise of struggles for equal rights in the 1970s, a vanguard layer of working women battled their way into jobs previously held almost solely by men. These include unionized industrial jobs in coal mining, steel, oil refineries, auto assembly lines, and construction.

Despite these gains, sex segregation in the workplace remains a massive barrier to women's equality and working-class unity.

Today half of all women and 70 percent of all men still work in jobs where at least 80 percent of their coworkers are of the same sex. Layoffs during the 1981-82 recession cut into some of the gains won by women in getting industrial union jobs, and the much deeper downturns ahead will lead to sharper attacks on women's equality in employment and job opportunities.

The majority of women workers, including millions of heads of households, work at jobs for minimum wage or close to it. Millions of other women who are single parents with small children are forced to live on welfare and federal aid to families with dependent children. This is not because these women don't want to work, but because they are unable to find jobs and affordable child-care facilities.

Women struggling to survive and raise families on their own have always constituted a high percentage of the most impoverished layer of the working class. Today their numbers are growing. High unemployment and declining real wages have intensified pressures on the working class, increasing the breakup of larger family units. At the same time, women have become less willing to accept a lifetime of economic dependence and subordination, whatever difficulties the alternative entails.

Breaking down sex barriers in employment and the workplace undermines prejudice against women and narrows one of the fundamental divisions used by the capitalists to weaken our class. As long as working-class women remain confined to the narrow world of the home, dependent economically on a man, it is much more difficult for them to engage in political activity and struggles to defend their class interests.

The influx of millions of women into the work force has brought them into social and political life in a qualitatively new way, increasing their self-confidence and fighting capacities to the benefit of all workers. This is particularly true for women who have been able to break through long-established barriers, get jobs in industry, and become members of industrial unions. These women are guaranteed wages equal to men in the same job categories — wages substantially higher on the average than women could find in "traditional" female occupations.

## New forces for the working class

The very workings of the world capitalist system that reinforce discrimination based on race, language, citizenship, and sex at the same time bring masses of new workers into the U.S. labor force — from Latin American and Asian immigrants escaping the unlivable conditions in their homelands, to women who must go to work to support their families, to members of farm families driven off the land here and abroad. The working class in the United States is being reinforced daily by the influx of more workers who are Black, more workers who speak Spanish, more workers who are immigrants, more workers who are female.

These new legions of workers will be an increasing component of the working class. Today workers who are male and white are 47 percent of the work force. But the majority of new entrants into the work force are Black, Latino, Asian, and female. In little more than a decade, 85 percent of the new entrants into the labor force in the United States will be Black, Latino, Asian, or female.

## IV. What the labor movement must do

These are the conditions facing working people in the United States and worldwide as we look ahead to the massive increase in joblessness and impoverishment that capitalism holds in store for us. How should the labor movement respond today to the new political situation opened by the inevitability of a depression and wrenching social crisis?

### Strong enough to fight back and win

Despite the blows we have been dealt the last few years, the employers and their

government have not been able to take back the gains for democratic rights and equality of the last two decades that have strengthened the unity and potential fighting capacity of our class, the working class. Defeats are not inevitable in our struggles to defend our rights and living conditions.

The Socialist Workers Party believes that the unions and other organizations of working people need to chart a course of action that will draw us together, help us recognize our common interests, and thus strengthen our ability to fight back and win. We don't have to start from scratch. We can build on struggles that have already begun to be waged by unions, Black and Latino organizations, women's rights groups, working farmers, and others among the oppressed and exploited in this country and around the world.

- We should join in the demand for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay that has been fought for by unions in South Korea, West Germany, and other countries. Only an international campaign by labor and our allies demanding action by governments worldwide can create the hundreds of millions of new jobs and lift the burden of capitalist-caused unemployment off the backs of working people.

- We should carry forward the battle that has been fought in the United States to overcome the race and sex discrimination used to divide working people on the job and throughout society. This fight to enforce affirmative action has begun to be waged in a number of countries and will more and more become an international campaign.

- And we should join in the fight that is

already being waged by workers and rural toilers — from Brazil to Zimbabwe, from Cuba to Trinidad — to cancel the debt to the imperialist bankers that is ravaging the semicolonial world and threatens a financial catastrophe that will devastate working people worldwide.

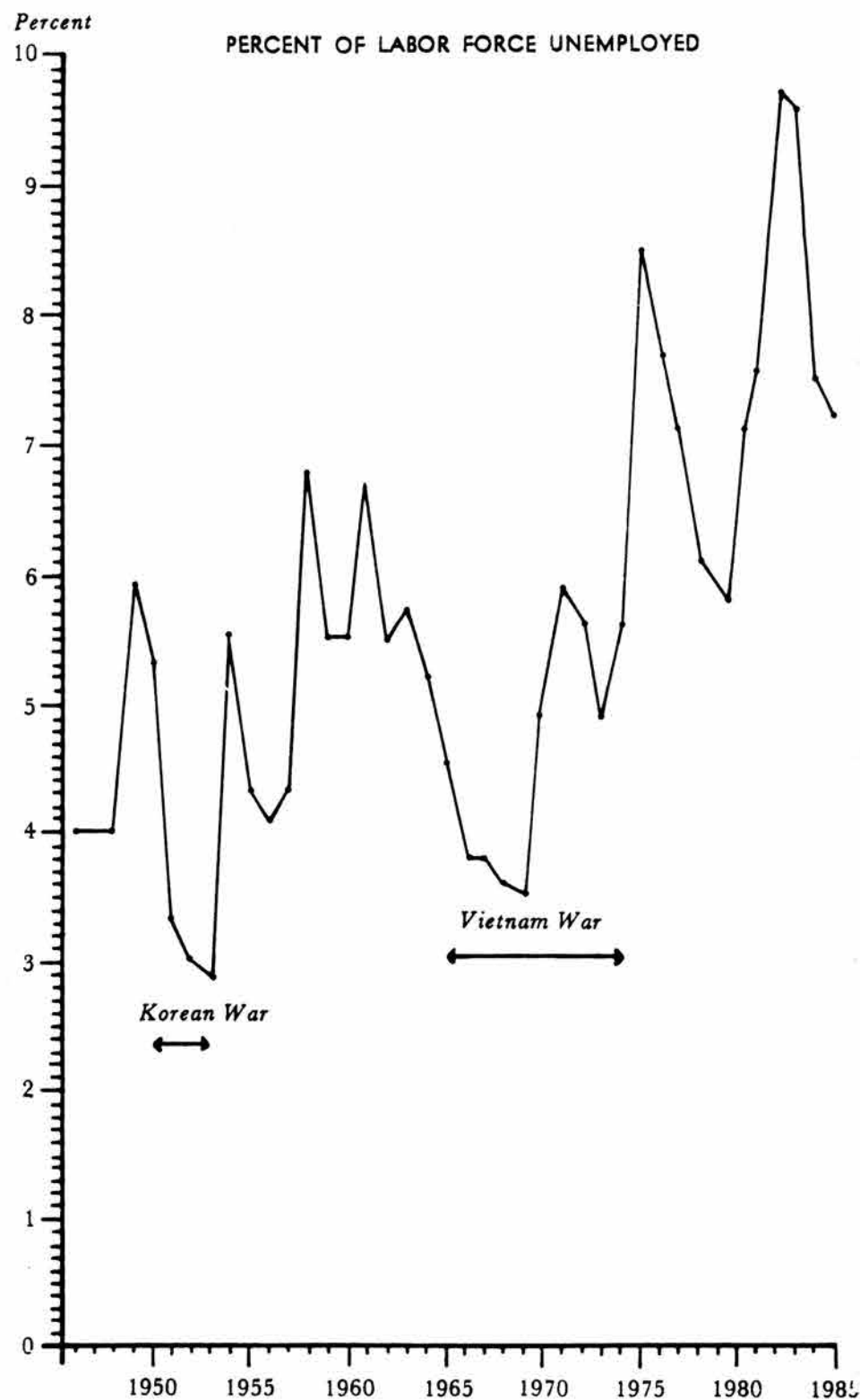
These are demands for us all, demands that call for action by every organization that claims to speak for working people. These demands correspond to the immediate and ever-more burning need to provide us protection today and as the crisis breaks over us.

Our starting point cannot be as "U.S. workers." Nor do we begin with the illusion that we can somehow protect "our own jobs" and let the devil take the hindmost. Only the devil will win!

Our fight encompasses the employed and the unemployed, from imperialist and semicolonial countries alike. Capitalism itself — through the world economic and social crisis it engenders — is driving more and more of us together to defend our interests as an international class.

A campaign for these pressing needs can unify workers around the world and give us the strength we need to win. It can increase our self-confidence and bring growing numbers into political action that points toward the struggle for a workers' and farmers' government.

The unions in the United States should take up these demands for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, for affirmative action, and for cancellation of the debt. The labor movement should discuss them, explain them, campaign for them, and reach out to workers and workers' organizations around the world to begin building an international movement to win them.



Economic Report of the President, 1986

Right, unemployed in Chicago in 1975 apply for jobs. Washington is crowing that jobless rate today is only 5.6 percent. But that represents almost 7 million workers, and is higher than most years between 1941 and 1975. Plus, millions are not counted in official unemployment statistics. For working people who are Black, unemployment is more than 12 percent; for Black youth, 35 percent.



Let's look more closely at these demands.

## V. An action program for the working class

The most fundamental division among wage-workers is between the employed and the unemployed. This reflects the basic condition of competition among workers under capitalism — a social system in which our abilities are reduced by the employers to a commodity — labor power — to be bought at the cheapest available price on the labor market. To cut costs and boost profits, the capitalists cold-bloodedly decide how many of us to replace with machines, and they become more and more resistant to improvements in wages and conditions on the job.

Today we already find ourselves divided in a hundred ways in the face of the grinding economic and social conditions we confront. And much worse times are coming.

The employers, and the politicians and newspaper editors who serve them, persistently try to get employed workers to look at unemployed workers as somehow not part of the working class. Those of us who are jobless are branded as "lazy," "shiftless," "dangerous," "welfare cheats," the "criminal class" and — most insistently — a threat to the jobs of others. Middle-class commentators who feign sympathy with our plight categorize us as the "poor," the "underclass," a "subclass," the "homeless" — anything and everything but what we are: workers who suffer the various conditions inflicted upon us by capitalism.

In the United States we are told to think



Impoverished area in New York City. "The creeping economic and social crisis in the United States today is most visible in working-class communities that are Black. What they are experiencing is preview of what capitalism has in store for wider and wider layers of our class."

Militant/Dick Roberts

of ourselves as "American" workers, with interests separate and apart from workers in other countries. The politicians of both big-business parties, from Daniel Moynihan and George Bush to Jesse Jackson and Michael Dukakis, say some form of protection for "U.S." industry is needed to protect "U.S." jobs. They urge us to join forces with employers and their government in Washington to impose tariffs, quotas, or other aggressive, restrictive, and inflationary measures against imports of goods produced in other countries.

Some say they are for "free trade" but call for using U.S. government muscle to force other countries to open their doors to more exports from the United States, with various forms of retaliation proposed "if necessary."

AFL-CIO officials top everyone in vocal support for these trade barriers. To win working-class support for such measures, the labor officialdom even tries to play on our feelings of solidarity with fellow workers abroad, demagogically railing against U.S. companies that "export jobs" to semicolonial countries where "slave labor" is used. They urge us to demand that employers instead "invest in America" and create jobs for the unemployed.

At the same time, when it comes to South Africa — the one country whose labor movement and organizations such as the African National Congress are calling for worldwide economic sanctions — the capitalist politicians and most union officials have refused to push for a 100 percent boycott on trade and other links with the apartheid regime.

In advocating restrictive trade measures, labor officials are in fact supporting the bosses' profits and power, not defending our jobs or unity. They promote the reactionary myth that the only way to prevent layoffs and joblessness is to help big business in the United States become more competitive and profitable. We are urged to be "more productive" and to collaborate with the owners of "our plant" and "our industry."

The ruling rich, the capitalist politicians, and the union bureaucrats all try to convince us that we are "Americans," not workers. And that the employers, too, are "Americans," not bosses. We are told that we have a common "national" interest with the employers that pits us against Japanese, British, Brazilian, Mexican, and other "national" interests. We're supposed to support the employers' government, their political parties, and their foreign policy in order to defend "our" national interests.

This entire propaganda effort is designed to prevent us from seeing and acting on the fact that we have no common interests with those who grow wealthy off our labor and who are responsible for the deteriorating conditions under which we work and live. It is designed to keep us from recognizing that we are all part of an international class of workers who face a coming catastrophe as a result of the workings of the capitalist system. This propaganda plays on our fears and insecurities. It introduces and reinforces racist and nationalist prejudices.

Acceptance of these reactionary notions points in the opposite direction from the greater unity that workers must forge to become strong enough to fight and win.

The number of unemployed around the world right now runs into hundreds of millions. The International Labor Organization reports that in 1987 official unemployment in Latin America had increased for the seventh straight year. It currently stands at nearly 70 million out of a population of 421 million — the equivalent of more than 40 million unemployed in the United

States! A similar devastation exists in Africa and Asia.

In the more economically developed capitalist countries, the jobless rate is at a historic high for nondepression years. According to government figures it is 20 percent in Spain, 15.6 percent in Italy, 14 percent in the Netherlands, 10.8 percent in Belgium, 10.3 percent in France, 8.8 percent in Britain, 8.9 percent in West Germany, 7.3 percent in New Zealand, and 7.9 percent in Australia. Japan boasts a jobless figure of less than 3 percent. But if you add in part-time workers seeking full-time work and workers so discouraged that they have given up looking for a job, then the figure jumps to more than 8 percent — the same as in the United States for comparable categories.

While millions are either out of work or underemployed, millions of others are forced to work overtime. The 40-hour workweek fought for by workers in the United States and codified into federal law in 1938 is a fiction for the many workers who put in 50-, 60-, and 70-hour weeks.

In addition, overtime, speedup, and reorganization of the work process have brutally increased the amount of labor we have to do. This intensification is leading to increased injuries, permanent disablement, and job-related deaths.

### Jobs for all — shorten the workweek

Working people must join together in an international struggle to protect ourselves from growing unemployment. We must mount a campaign to fight for jobs for all — a worldwide campaign to radically reduce the workweek, with not a penny reduction in pay. If the workweek were shortened to 30 hours with 40 hours' pay, that would immediately open up the possibility of jobs for millions of workers. It would strengthen us to fight speedup on the job, and to struggle for social programs to meet the needs of working people.

The fight for a shorter workweek must be a political fight directed at the federal government, not at each individual employer, plant by plant, industry by industry. We should demand:

Continued on next page



In New International magazine:

### Washington's 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation

By Larry Seigle

How government has concentrated ever more police powers into its hands to attack trade unionists, Black rights fighters, and other foes of government policies. Article describes how socialists' suit against FBI spying and disruption helped reveal and combat this undermining of Bill of Rights.

To order, send \$6.50 to New International, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.





**Woman fire fighter.** The employers seek to promote divisions between workers who are male and those who are female. A vanguard layer of working women have battled their way into jobs previously held by men. The labor movement can only combat the

inequality the bosses use to divide and weaken our class by demanding affirmative action quotas for preferential hiring and upgrading of workers who are Black, Latino, or women.

## Continued from previous page

- Legislation immediately establishing a maximum legal workweek of 30 hours and working day of 6 hours.

- Government enforcement of this legislation through provisions making any work beyond 6 hours a day or 30 hours a week completely voluntary, and setting the minimum premium pay for overtime at double the hourly wage rate.

- A full 40 hours' pay for all government employees. The government itself, which legislates and enforces hours of work, must guarantee that government workers take no loss in pay. A movement strong enough to win a 30-hour workweek will lay a powerful basis for a struggle by labor to maintain a full 40 hours' pay for every worker in every factory, industry, and workplace, as well.

This fight for a 30-hour week at 40-hours' pay can unite workers who are out of work, workers involuntarily pushed into part-time jobs, young workers who have never had a steady job, and workers forced to work overtime and victimized by speedup.

A shorter workweek would help lessen the increasing safety hazards in the workplace and the wear and tear on us that accumulates day after day. It would give us more time to ourselves and to relax with families and friends, and more energy to organize politically to fight for our rights.

When employers introduce new machinery and technology to intensify labor and boost profits, we, the producers, should not be the victims of our increasing productivity. We should not end up on the street with no job. This is yet another reason to mount a fight to reduce the workweek and spread the available work. Working people should benefit from new methods that have the potential to produce more with less labor.

The fight for adoption and enforcement of a 30-hour workweek goes hand in hand with other demands on the government to provide a job for every working person:

- Put those of us without jobs to work restoring what capitalism has destroyed and building public facilities we desperately need. Housing, schools, and medical facilities are all deteriorating today. The railroads, air transport, subways, highways, bridges, and tunnels are all in life-threatening disrepair. Rivers and lakes are polluted, and poisonous waste dump sites dot the map.

The capitalist government has the responsibility and the resources to correct these conditions. We must demand that it

launch a program of public works to give millions of workers productive jobs. Like other government employment, these jobs should have a 30-hour week and 40 hours' pay.

- Provide unemployment benefits to workers for as long as we're out of work, and no matter why we're out of work. Jobless benefits should be set at the level of the average union wage in manufacturing, not a pittance insufficient to get by on.

- Extend unemployment benefits to layers of jobless working people who are ineligible for unemployment compensation under current laws. These benefits should cover farmers who have been driven off the land by profit-hungry bankers. They must be extended to young workers who have been denied work since they began looking, and to women who have just begun hunting for work but have not yet found a job.

## An international fight

From the origins of the modern working class more than two centuries ago, struggles over the length of the workweek and the working day have been at the center of our battles against ruthless exploitation by the employing class. From the beginning, this struggle has spilled beyond national boundaries, as well. The struggle for the

shorter workweek is a demand that workers in every country can fight for. It is truly an international demand.

The shorter workweek is our answer to quotas, tariffs, and other weapons of Wall Street's economic aggression. Trade barriers can never be an international demand of the working class. Workers in Japan will never be won to support calls for higher U.S. tariffs to restrict the import of cars. Workers in Argentina will never be won to the fight for European Common Market quotas limiting imports of beef into Western Europe.

Those of us who believe we can escape the impending depression by trying to save "our" jobs at the expense of workers here or abroad will find ourselves out in the street along with hundreds of millions of others. There is no strategy to negotiate "job security" for workers in any single plant, industry, union, or country. We can only advance the fight against unemployment by uniting with all victims of the disaster capitalism is preparing.

## Protecting our incomes against inflation

The price explosions of the 1970s and early 1980s showed us that we will face massive unemployment and inflation as the economic crisis worsens.

To deal with this problem of rising

prices, some unions have won cost-of-living escalator clauses from various employers. In recent years, however, even these protections — which were rarely pegged to offset the true drop in buying power, and covered only a small proportion of workers — have fallen under the fire of the employers' drive to force concessions out of us and drive down real wages. Whereas more than 60 percent of unionized workers had cost-of-living clauses in their contracts in 1977, fewer than 40 percent still had such wage adjustments in 1987.

Working people are not responsible for inflation, any more than we're to blame for unemployment. Joblessness and rising prices result from the ceaseless competition for profits that is the heartbeat of the capitalist system.

To protect ourselves against the effects of these twin evils, the labor movement must campaign not only for a sliding scale of hours — the 30-hour workweek at no loss in pay — but for a sliding scale of wages, as well.

- Demand that the government establish automatic cost-of-living adjustments in the wages of all public employees; pensions; and welfare, unemployment, and Social Security payments.

- Wage a fight for a sliding scale of wages — that is, full and automatic cost-of-living protection — in all union contracts and for workers in every plant and workplace.

That's the only way to keep up with inflation.

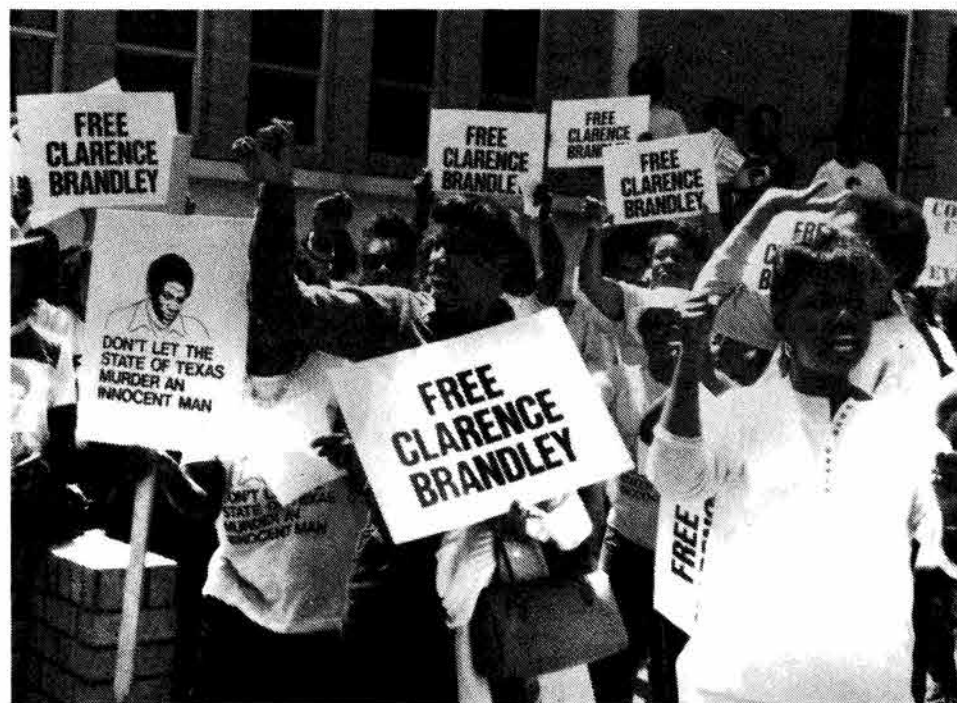
## Raise the minimum wage

Joblessness, declining real wages, and the decay of the infrastructure, health care, and education are all devastating growing numbers of workers. But the blows do not fall equally on all of us. Those who historically have been victims of race and sex discrimination are hit disproportionately.

It is not these workers alone who suffer the results of discrimination and inequality, however. As they and their families are plunged into deeper poverty, the living standards, working conditions, and health and education of all workers are dragged further down.

A fight for jobs can only be won through a broad social struggle that aims to raise the living standards and secure equal rights for those of us who are the most oppressed under capitalism. It is along this road that the labor movement will better the conditions of us all.

- Raise the federal minimum wage. For more than seven years the minimum wage



**Texas protest to demand freedom for Clarence Lee Brandley, a Black man on death row for a crime he did not commit. Blacks are far more likely than whites to be given death penalty.**

Militant/Nancy Cole



as set by Congress has been a scrooge-like \$3.35 an hour. This is the longest period without an increase since the minimum wage law was adopted in 1938. Taking account of inflation over that period, the current level has less buying power than 30 years ago! It is about one-third the average manufacturing wage, the lowest percentage ever.

A disproportionate number of those working at minimum wage are young, Black, Latino, or female. The employing class, through oppression and prejudice, has kept the price of the labor power of these sectors of the working class lower than that of the class as a whole.

In capitalist society wages are set from the bottom up, not the top down. In other words, what the bosses can get away with paying those of us who are worst-off sets the floor for what they'll get away with paying all the rest of us.

Raising the minimum wage would help increase the wage level for all working people, particularly benefiting those who are the lowest paid. This would increase the unity and potential political strength of the working class.

#### Affirmative action quotas

As long as the employers can deny jobs to some workers because we are Black, Spanish-speaking, Asian, American Indian, or female, they can keep our class divided and weaken our ability to protect the jobs, wages, and working conditions of all workers. As shown by the facts and figures cited earlier, such discrimination is institutionalized in capitalist society. Moreover, the very way that capitalism operates day in and day out constantly reproduces and thus reinforces these inequalities, to the benefit of the employers. Left to their own devices, the capitalists will never enforce measures to insure equality on the job market and in the workplace. We must demand that the government:

- Establish and enforce affirmative action quotas to achieve preferential hiring and upgrading of workers who are Black, Latino, or women.

The labor movement can only combat the inequality that the bosses use to divide and weaken our class by demanding such mandatory quotas. Under capitalism, "voluntary affirmative action" is a contradiction in terms.

Affirmative action applies not only in the job market and in the workplace. We must also demand that the government:

- Enforce quotas to guarantee that Blacks and other victims of race discrimination be given preference in college ad-



Militant/Sam Manuel

Trade union conference of Caribbean workers, held in Trinidad and Tobago in 1987, urged repudiation of foreign debt.

mission, loans, and housing.

- Enforce busing to desegregate schools in order to provide equal educational opportunities to students who are Black or Latino.

Special measures are also needed to overcome sex divisions in the working class. Most important, we need to fight to tear down the employment barriers of sex segregation that block women from the only jobs that can raise the value of their labor power over time and close the income gap with men. We must demand:

- Quotas for hiring women into industrial jobs, as well as preferential training and upgrading in the workplace. Only in this way can women's powerful numbers be brought into the industrial unions. Only in this way will the average pay of working women begin to be raised, boosting the wage level for the entire working class.

The discrimination against women by educational institutions, banks, and housing authorities is taking a greater and greater toll as more and more women find themselves responsible for the support of families. The labor movement must fight to:

- Enforce affirmative action for women in education, housing, and loans, as well as in employment and on the job.

Affirmative action measures are especially needed to defend the unity of the working class when large-scale layoffs begin. Otherwise workers hired through affirmative action programs are more likely to be laid off than other workers, deepening divisions in the working class at the very moment when our potential unity and fighting capacity is most needed. To counter this sapping of labor's strength, the unions must wage a fight to:

- Structure the seniority system in such a way that when layoffs hit, the percentage

of workers who are Black, Latino, and female does not decline. Past affirmative actions gains in hiring and upgrading must not be permitted to erode during recessionary downturns.

#### Cancel the Third World debt

Unifying workers around the world also requires a fight to alter the unequal economic and social relations that perpetuate the oppression of the semicolonial nations by the ruling capitalist families of the United States, Canada, Western Europe, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand.

The labor movement should call on Washington and the other imperialist governments to:

- Cancel the entire debt owed by the semicolonial countries.

- Eliminate all measures used to maintain unequal trade relations.

- Stop the dumping of goods on the world market at prices set to undercut sales by producers in semicolonial countries.

- Reestablish normal diplomatic and trade relations with all semicolonial countries, including Cuba, Vietnam, Iran, Nicaragua, Libya, and North Korea.

- Resume foreign aid to Nicaragua, which has been ravaged by seven years of Washington's contra war. Tens of thousands of Nicaraguan workers and peasants have been maimed and had their homes and farms destroyed. They continue to face shortages of food and other essential items. The U.S. government should provide the people of Nicaragua with construction materials, medicines, food, farm implements, and other badly needed supplies.

- Support the development of barter — that is direct exchanges that don't require hard currency — and other mutually advantageous trade agreements among the semicolonial countries.

- End all restrictions on trade union rights throughout the world.

- Abolish all restrictions on immigrant workers — regardless of citizenship — that reduce them to second-class status with less than equal protection under the law.

- Abolish all restrictions on travel between countries so that working people are

free to seek work wherever we want and to hold meetings and discussions with fellow workers in other countries.

\* \* \*

The creeping social crisis that has been devastating broad layers of working people and regions of the world has driven some of us to the point of giving up hope. The pressures will mount still further with the worldwide economic and social crisis that inevitably lies ahead.

But an international movement for a shorter workweek to provide jobs for all, affirmative action quotas aimed at achieving real equality, and cancellation of the Third World debt can convince hundreds of millions of workers and farmers worldwide that now is the time to take up the fight.

By championing these demands, the labor movement in the United States will be joining in a campaign that has already been launched by working people in Africa, Asia, and Latin America for what they have called a "new international economic order."

Through such a campaign, each and every one of us has the potential to recognize not only our strength as part of a united movement of working people, but also our individual worth as human beings with the capacity to think and to act. Working people the world over will discover that we are not only the ones who suffer under capitalism, but are also those who are capable of waging a united and victorious fight.

That is what the action program laid out here aims to achieve. These perspectives should be taken up by workers' organizations in the United States and around the world. They should be discussed, explained, and circulated as widely as possible in organizations of working people and the oppressed.

This is a fighting perspective to unite working people in an international movement to defend our most immediate interests today, with a clear view to the much bigger battles that will inevitably confront us with the onset of the economic catastrophe that capitalism will bring tomorrow.



Hyundai auto workers rally in Ulsan, South Korea. Action Program is a fighting perspective to unite working people internationally to defend our interests today, with a view to the much bigger battles we will face tomorrow.

## ACTION PROGRAM AVAILABLE IN PAMPHLET

Pathfinder is rushing into print two pamphlets with the "Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis." The pamphlets — one in English and one in Spanish — will include a brief preface by James Warren, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president.  
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# 'Che is being restored to his true historic dimensions'

The following contribution by Mary-Alice Waters was presented at the International Scientific Seminar organized in Argentina by the National Commission to Honor Ernesto Che Guevara.

This gathering, held in Buenos Aires June 8-11, brought together revolutionary forces, especially from throughout the Americas, to discuss the importance of Guevara's legacy for struggles taking place today. It culminated a year of activities commemorating the 20th anniversary of Guevara's death. It also coincided with the 60th anniversary of his birth.

Waters is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States.

## Mary-Alice Waters

It is indeed an honor to be here with you on the occasion of this conference to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the birth of Ernesto Che Guevara, one of the greatest Marxist leaders of our century.

Che was an Argentine, of Irish extraction, whose contributions to the victory of the Cuban revolution and the political armament of the Cuban Communist Party were irreplaceable; who made Africa part of the homeland for which he fought and died; who rallied anti-imperialist forces the world over to aid the fighting people of Vietnam; who gave his life battling to extend the free territories of the Americas. He was truly a citizen of time, whose heritage is international. He belongs to the world.

I hope I will be able to convey to you a sense of what Che means to those of us who live and struggle in the imperialist colossus of the north, but who share with you a common commitment to fight for "our America," not "their America."

The Americas of the workers and farmers, not the Americas of the imperialist families and their countless institutionalized forms of exploitation, oppression, and debt peonage.

The Americas of the future, not the Americas of the past.

The 20 years that have passed since the murder of Che have been marked by the gradual transformation of Che from a real human being who lived and fought at a given historical time in a concrete world, into an icon on a wall. Some have contributed to this effacement of the real Che Guevara out of ignorance and innocence; others out of fear and loathing of the revolutionary communist legacy Che left us.

### Separated from Cuban revolution

More than anything else, over the years the idealized Che has been separated from his greatest life work and accomplishment, the Cuban revolution. He is portrayed by many as the heroic, courageous, and morally impeccable, but isolated, fighter: a Che remolded in the grotesque image of bourgeois society. In the process, he has been removed from his real place in history as part of the team led by Fidel Castro that brought the workers and peasants of Cuba to victory, opened the socialist revolution in the Americas, and changed forever the world in which we live.

One of the greatest gains of the last year has been the beginning of the reversal of that process in which the real Che was erased from the record and his legacy obscured. Che is being restored to his true historic dimensions as a communist of great depth and consistency, as a revolutionary who made the serious study and application of political economy the basis of all politics. He is being restored as a materialist, who understood that the only basis for revolutionary morality — for creating the new man and new woman — is the fight to eradicate the domination of the law of value and its invisible and mystifying hold on the consciousness of men and women who are the products of a world still dominated by capitalist relations of production and exchange.

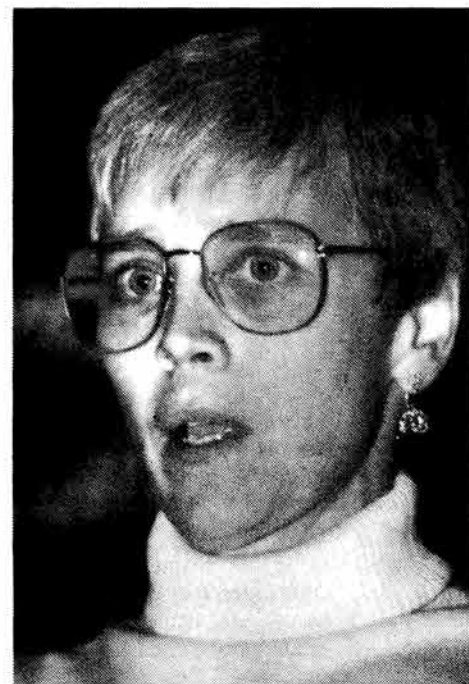
As Cuban President Fidel Castro expressed last October in his speech on the 20th anniversary of Che's death, "It is my deepest conviction that if we ignore [Che's] thought it will be difficult to get very far, to achieve real socialism, really

revolutionary socialism, socialism with socialists, socialism and communism with communists."

To what can we attribute this change, this reversal of the historic fate Che has suffered for 20 years? Why is it that many are more willing and more able today than we were 10 or 15 years ago to hear and understand what Che was arguing for and doing in his most profound writings and actions?

First and foremost, I believe, we have all been deeply changed by the revolutionary victories in Nicaragua and Grenada in 1979. Those mighty advances of the oppressed and exploited of our Americas reconfirmed, after a 20-year hiatus, the reality of the perspective of revolutionary victories. They dealt a mighty blow to lurking fears, fostered by years of defeats, that the Cuban revolution, Che's revolution, was an historical aberration.

Separated by only a few months, two new giants arose on the doorstep of Yankee imperialism, demonstrating in practice that the victory in Cuba by the workers and peasants, the popular masses, if properly understood, would be repeated. And in the process of their struggles, the people of Nicaragua and Grenada have also given the world two more great Marxists — Carlos Fonseca and Maurice Bishop — revolutionary leaders of our era whose contributions, like Che's, deserve to be made



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Mary-Alice Waters

known and studied by all serious revolutionists.

These two mighty advances in Central America and the Caribbean prepared the ground for, and made possible, the second historic development that is restoring Che to his rightful place, the rectification process in Cuba. No longer alone as a revolutionary power in our hemisphere, the Cuban people, too, are once again breaking new ground and opening new historical paths. Now entering its third year, the rectification process was necessitated, as the Cuban leadership has explained on numerous occasions, by the fact that some of Che's most profound and important contributions to building socialism and communism had been labeled naive and idealistic, and abandoned.

"In essence," Fidel remarked last October, "Che was radically opposed to using and developing capitalist economic laws and categories in building socialism. He advocated something that I have often insisted on: building socialism and communism is not just a matter of producing and distributing wealth but is also a matter of education and consciousness. [Che] was firmly opposed to using these categories, which have been transferred from capitalism to socialism, as instruments to build the new society."

"He knew that communism could never be attained by trekking along those worn capitalist paths and that to follow along those paths would mean eventually to forget all ideas of solidarity and even internationalism. To follow those paths would imply never developing a new man and a new society."

Che knew that belief in the automatic efficacy of mechanisms and categories of socialist planning simply paralleled a belief in capitalist laws and mechanisms. He organized and led the working people of Cuba to act in a conscious and deliberate way to begin to break the utter domination of the commodity. Che charted a course toward that day when man-as-a-commodity will cease to exist, and men and women will begin reconstructing their human nature through liberated social labor.

### Conscious men and women

With the rectification process in Cuba, some of Che's most important political contributions to building socialism and communism — and to building socialist and communist consciousness — are at the center of new revolutionary advances. Most important, the rectification process is based on a profound confidence in the revolutionary capacities of the average working person, and a deep conviction that only conscious, revolutionary, free men and women can and will build socialism. It is based on the revolutionary mass action of the Cuban people who are taking their most pressing social problems in hand and working to solve them today through their own efforts, using the resources of the Cuban soil. Rectification means not waiting for some mechanism — a magic formula — to spontaneously create what can only be created by the freely given labor of conscious men and women working together.

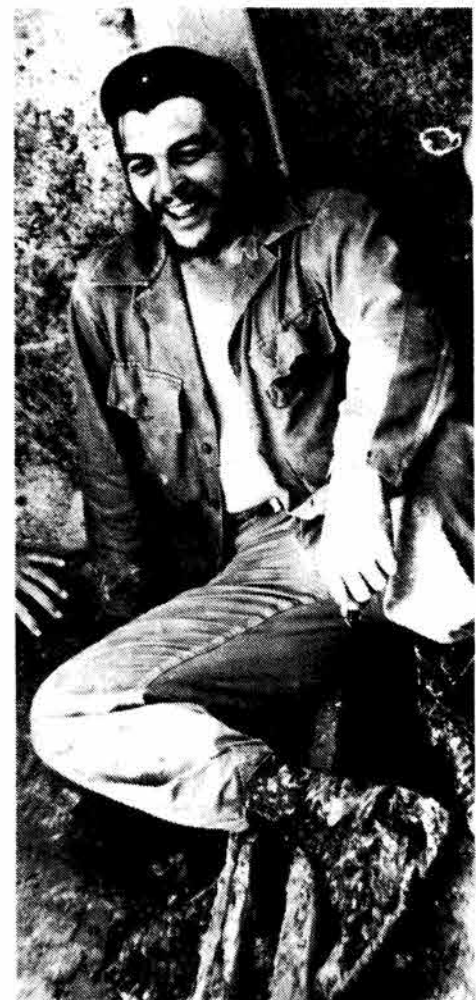
As Fidel explained last October, Che was not naive. He was not an idealist. He was not out of touch with reality. What distinguished Che, Fidel said, was that "Che believed in man. And if we don't believe in man, if we think that man is an incorrigible little animal, capable of advancing only if you feed him grass or tempt him with a carrot or whip him with a stick — anybody who believes this, anybody convinced of this, will never be a revolutionary... never be a socialist... never be a communist."

The Cuban people are once again proving that Che was right.

### Debt crisis

The third development that has changed us, changed the world, and helped us to begin to see more clearly the immediacy and relevancy of Che's legacy has been the explosive growth of the foreign debt crisis for the countries of Asia, Africa, and especially Latin America. The scope of the economic catastrophe that Latin America is already experiencing, and the character of the volcanic social explosion that is building, was something that Che foresaw and explained as the inevitable workings of the laws of capital. In his famous 1965 speech in Algiers, addressing the Second Economic Seminar of Afro-Asian Solidarity, Che pointed to the workings of the unequal terms of trade between the industrially developed countries and the Third World, and warned of the future consequences.

Che would not be surprised at the mag-



Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia

Che Guevara takes a break while participating in Cuban voluntary work brigade. He was a leader of the Cuban revolution until his murder in Bolivia in 1967.

nitude of the debt peonage imposed on Latin America today by finance capital. But he would be mobilizing his considerable political abilities and resources to lead the toilers of our hemisphere to understand and act on the fact that the debt is economically, politically, and morally unpayable.

The fourth change of world importance that has brought us closer to understanding and hearing what Che was saying to us about the revolutionary road forward in the building of socialism has been the eruption of an historic economic and social crisis in the largest countries that have overthrown capitalism. *Perestroika* is a word that has entered the vocabulary of the world, in many languages, because the problems it reflects are real and the debate over resolving them will become even more far-ranging. As Fidel modestly noted on the 20th anniversary of Che's death, Che's economic and political thought has a place in this discussion. All we ask, Fidel said, "is that Che's economic thought be made known; that it be known here, in Latin America, in the world: in the developed capitalist world, in the Third World, and in the socialist world. Let it be known there too!"

### October crash

And finally, the fifth international development that has changed us and heightened our consciousness occurred last October 19. The crash on the world's stock markets that day announced a catastrophic economic and social crisis of the world capitalist system. In the imperialist countries, a sense of foreboding has begun to mark the thinking of working people who

Continued on next page

Just off the press . . .

## Che Guevara's Socialism and Man in Cuba



Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia has reissued Ernesto Che Guevara's well-known article on the first years of the Cuban revolution. This 48-page pamphlet in English or Spanish also includes Cuban President Fidel Castro's 1987 speech marking the 20th anniversary of Che's death.

Available for \$1.95 from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Specify English or Spanish pamphlet. Please include 75¢ for postage and handling. Or from Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia, P.O. Box 37, Leichhardt, Sydney NSW 2040, Australia • Pathfinder, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England.



# International conference on Che Guevara

Continued from front page

Dominican Republic. Also participating were individuals who formerly belonged to various political currents that organized guerrilla fronts in several Latin American countries in the 1960s and 70s, groups that were later crushed by military dictatorships.

Leaders of the forces that are today united in the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador, and the National Revolutionary Union of Guatemala participated, as did representatives of the Communist Party of Cuba and of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua. Also part of the conference were leaders of the United Mariateguista Party of Peru and the Workers Party of Brazil. Both parties have emerged in recent years, regrouping currents from different origins, including class-struggle forces in the organized labor movement, proponents of liberation theology, and some Trotskyist and ex-Maoist groups.

Most of the participants were veterans of many years of struggle. Some, however, such as the representatives of the Democratic Movement of Paraguay and the Free Bolivia Movement, are from a younger generation that has entered political activity in recent years.

While the conference was composed primarily of Latin American and Caribbean activists, important political forces from outside Latin America also participated.

Vietnamese representative Xuan Phong spoke of Guevara's role during the U.S.-Vietnamese war in mobilizing anti-imperialist forces the world over to come to the aid of the Vietnamese people.

Kiva Maidanik, a Soviet historian who specializes in Latin America, discussed the importance of Che as a revolutionary example for the youth of the Soviet Union. He expressed the view that Guevara is one source of inspiration for Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of *perestroika*.

David Deutschmann talked of the growing interest in the Cuban revolution among revolutionary-minded forces in the Pacific today, especially in the Philippines. Deutschmann is the director of Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia and editor of a new English-language collection of Guevara's writings and speeches, entitled *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*.

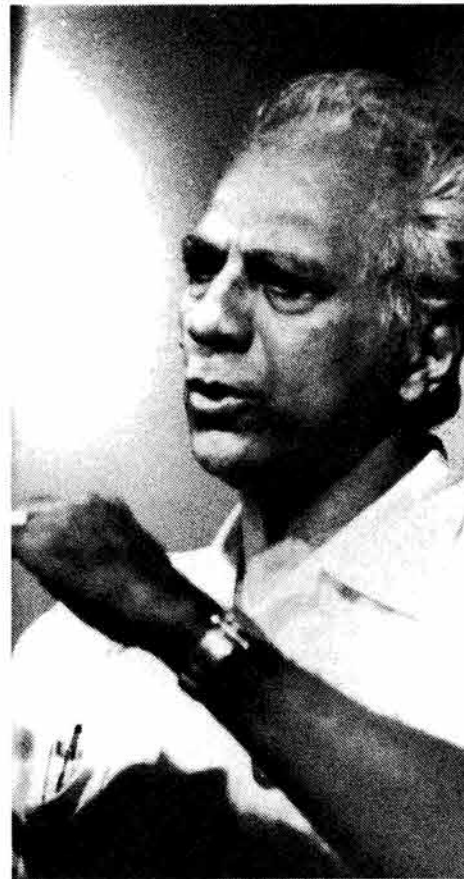
The participation of representatives of political forces from the United States brought into the discussion the perspective of increasing resistance by working people within the United States to the effects of the economic and social crisis that is building within the imperialist country that dominates the hemisphere. Edward Boors-tein, author of *The Economic Transformation of Cuba*, who represented the Communist Party, and this reporter, a director of Pathfinder Press and leader of the Socialist Workers Party, were the two participants from the United States.

## Pressures building

The final declaration issued by the Buenos Aires conference noted that "the people of Latin America and the Caribbean are today suffering under the political, economic, and social consequences of the deepest, longest, and most generalized crisis of the last 50 years."

This economic and social devastation has reached its present level, moreover, during a period when the economies of the imperialist countries have been expanding, even if the expansion has been sluggish. As several participants in the conference stressed, when the economic and social crisis that was announced by last October's stock market crash explodes in the United States and the other advanced capitalist countries, the consequences for Latin America will be far worse. This will generate even more explosive conditions.

These objective pressures are accelerating the political process that was registered in the broad composition and fraternal tone of the Buenos Aires conference. In order to prepare for the struggles that are on the agenda, political forces within the anti-imperialist and workers' movement are being pushed by world events to reexamine their own histories. They are being spurred to try to draw the lessons of the attempts to build revolutionary organizations in the three decades since the victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959 opened a new political epoch



Militant/Fred Murphy

**Former Guyana prime minister Cheddi Jagan participated in Buenos Aires gathering.**

for Latin America and the Caribbean. Most of those efforts ended in defeats.

Serious forces are now more open than ever to studying the real history and lessons to be learned from the Cuban revolution, the only victorious socialist revolution in the Americas.

And this is new. Over the years, the Cuban revolution, like Che, has been more often saluted than objectively studied and understood.

The Buenos Aires conference was an important step in the process of recognizing the real historic place of the Cuban revolution and its leadership, headed by Fidel Castro. Luis Suárez, director of the Center for Study of the Americas in Havana, noted that Che Guevara's political contributions are little understood today. Since Guevara was captured and murdered in Bolivia 20 years ago, Suárez said, he has been reduced to a black-and-white picture. "The real multicolored, multifaceted Che," a leader of great capacity and a profoundly

scientific Marxist, Suárez insisted, has been washed out.

Restoring the richly multicolored Che and the concrete history of the Cuban revolution is a process that has just begun. This was registered in the unevenness of the discussion and written contributions at the international seminar.

Rhetorical appeals to the authority of Che and the need for unity of anti-imperialist forces, for example, were not infrequent. But Clara Charf, representing the Brazilian Workers Party, received a spontaneous ovation — the only one during the conference — when she pointed out that it is a waste of time to discuss unity in the abstract. What is at issue, she said, is a question of achieving unity of concrete forces to accomplish concrete goals, and that is not achieved with words.

The challenge before revolutionary forces claiming the heritage of Che, Charf insisted, is how to make his real ideas known to the growing numbers of working people throughout the Americas whose conditions of life are leading them more and more to the conclusion that a socialist revolution is necessary.

## Argentine Communist Party

The principal organizers of the conference in Argentina came from the Communist Party, an organization that one and a half years ago adopted a sharply critical assessment of its own recent history and political line. The Argentine CP did not oppose the military dictatorship of General Videla that came to power in 1976 in Argentina. During the years of the dictatorship, more than 30,000 people were assassinated or disappeared in the military's "dirty war."

The course of the CP, said Patricio Echegaray, deputy general secretary of the party, flowed from its position that the national bourgeoisie was "the motor force of the revolution," and that the anti-imperialist, antioligarchic revolution was a "rigid stage separated in time and in the alliance of class forces involved from a later socialist perspective."

Under the impact of the Nicaraguan revolution and a new appreciation of Che's writings on the need for revolutionaries to have the will to take power, Echegaray told the conference, these positions have now been abandoned.

## Material foundations

An exchange of views also took place on the assessment of the real legacy of Che

and the Cuban revolution. Numerous speakers, including former Guyana prime minister Cheddi Jagan and Soviet historian Kiva Maidanik, argued that the most important aspect of Che's legacy was his own personal integrity and moral example, reflecting the weight Guevara gave to the need to develop a new and communist morality among men and women striving to build a socialist society.

Others, such as Pedro Vuskević, minister of the economy in the Chilean government of Salvador Allende before it was overturned in 1973, and Germán Sánchez of the Communist Party of Cuba insisted on the importance of Che's profoundly revolutionary political ideas, rooted in a thoroughly scientific understanding of political economy. This was the foundation for Guevara's views on everything — from the struggle against imperialism, to socialist revolution as the only road to economic development for the countries of Latin America, to the central place of volunteer labor in the transition to socialism and communism.

It is not unusual, Sánchez noted, for those who write about the debate over material and moral incentives in Cuba, and Che's contributions on developing communist consciousness, to end up with one-sided and erroneous positions. This is "due to an incomprehension of the political-economic foundations of Guevara's concept of morality," he said.

In the course of the conference, virtually every aspect of Che's political contributions to the Cuban revolution and their relevance for today were touched on by one participant or another.

For a number of those present, the Buenos Aires seminar was a second round, a continuation of some of the themes discussed at a conference on "Crisis and Revolutionary Alternative in the Americas" that took place a year ago in Managua.

Other participants noted that the series of conferences organized in Havana in 1985 to discuss the foreign debt crisis in Latin America also helped lay the groundwork for the Buenos Aires gathering. They set an example of the kind of broad forces that could be brought together to fruitfully discuss questions of decisive importance for the working people of the Americas.

The positive balance sheet drawn by participants, as well as the shared conviction that much of Guevara's legacy and Cuba's example remains to be studied and understood, point toward the value of more such gatherings in the future.

# Historic dimensions of Che being restored

Continued from previous page

anticipate what is coming. They correctly sense that we are hovering on the threshold of a truly cataclysmic world depression.

It will be a depression that comes on top of the devastating debt crisis with the economic and social conditions that it has already created. On top of unemployment rates in the imperialist countries that are already at depression levels for tens of millions. A depression that will fall hardest on those layers of working people — like workers in the United States who are Black, like immigrant workers everywhere — who have already been ground under with great force by the unfettered workings of the laws of capital throughout the escalating crisis of the last years.

Working people in the imperialist countries such as the United States are looking with increasing concern at the world that is coming into being. As their unease grows, they become more and more open to explanations and ideas they would have dismissed as irrelevant a few years ago. As they discover that they, too, have been dragged into the debtors' prison, they will confront this coming crisis together with their brothers and sisters around the world.

Within the borders of the United States, a truly multinational and multilingual working class confronts the coming crisis. In the course of their struggles working people in North America will find the road to greater unity and international consciousness, and as they do so another thing will happen.

One day soon the entire world will discover that the working people of North

America too are not incorrigible, greedy little animals that the capitalists believe them to be. They do not live for grass and carrots either. They too will be part of the great humanity that has said "Enough!" and begin to march. In struggle they too will transform themselves into the human material in whom Che had such revolutionary confidence.

## Reclaiming Che

It is because of these kinds of changes in the world we live in that growing numbers of people are more capable of hearing what Che said, of understanding what Che wrote. In the world that is today coming into being, appreciating Che's contributions to revolutionary politics is no longer a luxury reserved for a few serious students poring over nine volumes of Che's collected works in Spanish. It is more and more a necessity for all humanity.

That is why it is necessary above all to place Che back in the real world he lived in, to understand the experiences that shaped him, to reconnect him with the Cuban revolution and the leadership he was a part of. Only then will we be able to fully appreciate what Che can teach us, because no revolution can — or should be — copied or repeated. It must be understood in all its complexity. Only by doing this can we give Che and Fidel and the Cuban revolution to the world as a communist leadership to be emulated today.

The process of reclaiming Che has only just begun. It will be up to us to pursue that course. From Cuba, to the advanced capitalist countries, from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union to the countries living

under the boot of imperialist domination — we will continue to transform Che from a picture on a T-shirt, a romantic poster on a wall. We will help the world to see him once again for what he was — an exceptional revolutionary leader of men and women, and a serious student of Marxism who applied his scientific understanding of political economy to the tasks of the transition in Cuba and in the process left an irreplaceable historic legacy. Not only did Che advance the Cuban revolution, he left us the tools and the experiences that deepened our understanding of communism.

As a part of the effort to reclaim Che for the world, we who are revolutionaries in the mightiest and most brutal imperialist country will try to do two things.

We will do all in our power to mobilize working people in the imperialist countries to make cancellation of the foreign debt and the establishment of a new world economic order a part of our fighting program. This is not a utopian perspective, but one born of the reality that we are all part of the same world, that working people internationally are all being drawn into the debt trap, that we can only fight back successfully if we are united.

Second, we will do what we can to publish and distribute Che's speeches and writings throughout the world — to make Che known to the broadest numbers of people on every continent. The real Che. Che the leader of the Cuban revolution from which he cannot be separated. Che the selfless communist. Che the man who worked and bled to make science the basis of all thought, all action, all revolutionary perspectives.



# Gains registered as Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement meets in Grenada



Militant/Rena Cacoullous



Militant/Lou Howort



Militant/Rena Cacoullous

**Leaders of Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, which fights for interests of workers, farmers on Caribbean island of Grenada. From left, Terry Marryshow, elected leader at convention; outgoing head Kendrick Radix; and Don Rojas, who was barred from Grenada by the U.S.-imposed government.**

## BY RENA CACOUULLOS

ST. GEORGE'S Grenada — "We will build this party in the tradition of Maurice Bishop. We have pledged ourselves to that course. We are going to be the champions of democracy. We will make it a party rooted in the struggles of our working people: the workers, farmers, women, and the youth."

Terry Marryshow addressed these words to the delegates and international guests attending the first convention of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM), which took place May 28 and 29 in the parish of St. John's in Grenada. Marryshow was elected as the central leader of the organization at the gathering.

The convention took place just four years after the party was founded in the wake of the October 1983 murder of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and the overthrow of the revolutionary government he headed.

The theme of the convention was MBPM: "Toward Greater Patriotism, Organization and People's Democracy." A total of 110 delegates participated in the gathering, which culminated in a mass rally at St. George's Market Square. Some 500 people turned out for the rally to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the MBPM, the 44th birthday of Maurice Bishop, and African Liberation Day. This was the first public activity organized by the party in St. George's, which is the capital of this Caribbean island nation.

Convention delegates came from across the island after taking part in meetings and seminars by touring party leaders over a period of weeks. Farmers, laborers, clerks, unemployed workers, young and old, men and women, were present. A constitution and a program to guide the organization over the next year were adopted.

Delegates viewed the selection of a new leadership as a major achievement. In addition to the election of Marryshow, Einstein Louison was elected deputy party leader. The new executive also includes Benny Lang-ange, financial secretary; Joseph Charter, secretary for international affairs; George Thomas, secretary for workers affairs; and Lyle Bullen, secretary for Carriacou and Petit Martinique, the two smaller islands that are part of Grenada.

Wilton DeCoteau of the Grenada Foundation in New York was elected executive member responsible for work in North America. Don Rojas was also elected as part of the executive. He is the representative of the MBPM in Cuba and in the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America, which includes political parties from the entire region.

Kendrick Radix, former minister in the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) led by Bishop and a founder of the MBPM, announced that he was stepping down from the central responsibilities of party head because of worsening health problems. In

recognition of his longtime leadership Radix was elected president of the MBPM.

## Bannings backfire

The banning by the Grenada government of guests to the convention from other Caribbean countries became a political issue in the region. News of the exclusions swept the radio, television, and press throughout the East Caribbean.

Scoring the Herbert Blaize regime at the May 29 rally, Marryshow charged that the list of international guests that the MBPM had submitted in advance to the authorities became a "black list." "Never before have the rights of the Grenadian people been trampled on as by this puppet government," he said.

The Blaize government denied visas to the Cuban delegation on the grounds that Grenada has no diplomatic relations with Cuba.

Rojas, former press secretary to Bishop, was barred even though he is a Caribbean Community (Caricom) and Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) citizen.

Themba Ntinga, deputy representative to the United Nations of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) had already been granted a visa by the Grenadian consulate in New York. But he was detained for nearly six hours in the airport, denied access to a telephone, and threatened with a night in jail and deportation. His travel documents were seized. Ntinga was allowed entry into Grenada only under the pressure of an emergency campaign organized by the MBPM.

David Abdullah, treasurer of the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union (OWTU) of Trinidad was sent back to Trinidad and Tobago immediately upon arrival at the airport.

In a television broadcast the same night Rojas was denied entry and sent to Barbados. Blaize stated the authorities would deny entry to anyone the government regards as a threat to national peace and democracy.

The next day the *Barbados Advocate's* front-page banner headline was, "Grenada Puts Out Ex-Bishop Comrade."

Barbados is a major communications center for the region. A two-hour news conference June 1 featuring Marryshow got extensive coverage throughout the East Caribbean. Marryshow told the *Militant* that the Blaize government's attempt to isolate and intimidate the MBPM became the occasion for the most prominent coverage to date for the party.

Grenadian officials named a number of Caribbean political figures and activists who are officially banned from entering the country.

Even other pro-Washington politicians and newspapers in the region took their distance from the exclusionary policies of the Grenada government.

The *Barbados Advocate* editorial on June 1, entitled "To ban or not . . ." argued, "Any meaningful integration of the countries of the Commonwealth Caribbean must include the right of citizens to travel

without hindrance through all the countries of Caricom."

As a better means for repression the *Advocate* suggested, "They could be debarred from holding public meetings."

Blasting the Blaize government's treatment of Ntinga, Radix explained to the May 29 rally, "For the house niggers who run Grenada today, who were put in power by the guns of the United States, for them the world begins and ends not in Grenada, or in Africa. For them the world begins and ends in Washington, D.C., on Pennsylvania Avenue."

## Victimizations and intimidation

Blaize's New National Party (NNP) won the December 1984 elections staged to legitimize the regime that the U.S.-organized occupation forces had placed in power.

Many participants at the MBPM convention noted that the exclusions are part of the systematic violation of democratic rights in Grenada.

In addition to the regular police, U.S. authorities have trained a paramilitary cop force, the Special Services Unit. Also on call are the troops of the so-called Regional Security System, which was set up under Washington's tutelage.

Delegates told the *Militant* of cases of detention without charges, beatings and torture while in custody, and police killings.

MBPM supporters have been especially targeted. Many are prevented from getting jobs in their profession. School teachers during the years of the revolution, for example, have lost their jobs. New ap-

pointments are made on the basis of cronyism and allegiance to the NNP.

Marryshow is the only one of 10 medical doctors trained in Cuba who has been denied a licence to practice. He has been denied employment for close to two years.

The government seized Louison's passport three years ago, claiming that he is a national security threat. The Grenadian high court, which upheld this action, has refused to issue a written judgement in the case to date.

The MBPM has launched a campaign in defense of Louison's right to travel and Marryshow's right to work.

In a discussion with the *Militant* Louison described the impact of U.S. domination since the October 1983 invasion.

Farmers face mounting difficulties. Coconut oil, for example is being replaced with soy and other oils made from crops grown in the United States. Many farmers are left with bananas rotting in the fields. Bananas, which are sold to a British company used to be brought to town and sorted. Farmers could then sell the ones rejected for export locally in town. Now the bananas rejected by the exporters stay in the fields, because the farmers have no means to transport them to town.

Progress begun under the revolutionary government to develop Grenada's own agroindustries has halted. Goods farmers previously received at reduced prices through the Marketing Board, such as rice, sugar, and cement, have been eliminated from the program.

While the government gives no figures, Louison estimates that unemployment is between 40 and 45 percent. The government has carried out massive layoffs.

In an attempt to "balance the budget," the NNP regime has introduced a series of taxes. For example, a 20 percent value-added tax ("vat") has been imposed on all imported goods, a 10 percent surcharge on goods from outside Caricom, and a 5 percent "vat" on every item sold.

"The abrupt way in which the revolution came to an end left people in a state of shock and disappointment, the scars of which we still see today," explained Marryshow. "But today people are much more receptive to our ideas. There's a lot of attraction to our movement, especially among youth, who see in us the kind of vehicle that will take the country back on the path of social progress and prosperity."

Last October 19, the fourth anniversary of Bishop's murder, the MBPM sponsored a meeting of some 3,000. More than 4,000 participated in the March 13 celebration this year of the anniversary of the 1979 revolution. This event took place in the rural parish of Gouyave under the theme "We are the makers of our own history."

Louison told the *Militant*, "The NNP re-

## U.S. socialists express solidarity with conference

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — "I see a people determined to struggle," said Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president James Warren at the May 29 MBPM mass rally in St. George's.

"We have a special responsibility to raise with workers and farmers in the United States the true impact of the U.S. invasion and domination of Grenada. The fate of the U.S. people is linked to the fate of the Grenadian people. The imperialist rulers have driven us together."

"We can stand on the shoulders of Maurice Bishop and all become better fighters," Warren told the rally.

The next day Discovery TV, the television station in Grenada, carried an interview with Warren. In answer to a reporter's question on why he was running for president of the United States, Warren explained that he is trying to win working people to the political perspective of the fight for a workers' and farmers' government in the United States, like the People's Revolutionary Government led by Maurice Bishop.

Warren was also interviewed by radio stations in Grenada and in Barbados.

In their message to the MBPM convention on behalf of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance, Warren and YSA National Chairperson Rena Cacoullous, stated, "The first convention of the MBPM is cause for celebration for working people the world over, and especially for workers and farmers inside the borders of the United States."

The message concluded, "We will do everything in our power and encourage others to fight to end the U.S. domination of the sovereign state of Grenada."

Convention participants purchased numerous books published by Pathfinder. The most popular were *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, collections of speeches by Fidel Castro, and books by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, and V.I. Lenin. Eight subscriptions to the *Militant* were bought, and more than 30 single copies distributed. Fifteen copies of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist* were also purchased. — R.C.



gime has no positive influence over the people. The opposite is true. There's a deep memory of the policies of the PRG [People's Revolutionary Government] and prorevolutionary sentiment."

#### MBPM Convention

After voting on the constitution, program, and new leadership, the second day of the convention was devoted to four discussion sessions.

The questions discussed were Central America, led by MBPM executive member Joseph Charter; the role of progressive parties, led by Socialist Workers Party leader James Warren; the struggle against apartheid, led by Themba Ntinga; and the proposed East Caribbean unification, led by executive member Lyle Bullen.

The discussion in the first session focused on Panama and Nicaragua. "We are led to believe the problem in Panama is Noriega," Charter said. "That is a diversion, a smokescreen. The real issue is the sovereignty and independence of Panama." Delegates took up the U.S. big-business interests in the drug trade, the U.S. government's attempts to isolate Cuba, and the significance of the victory of the Nicaraguan people over the contras.

In his presentation, Warren began by stating that the tasks are fundamentally the same in all countries. "Our goal is to build organizations that will be capable of being at the head of a massive movement of working people in the countries we are operating in, to build a political movement that can take political power to organize the workers and farmers to become the rulers, the organizers and administrators of society as a whole." Central to building political organizations of workers and farmers is political education and propaganda, he explained.

Warren discussed the meaning of the Oct. 19, 1987, crash of stock markets around the world. "We are headed toward a gigantic economic crisis, a great depression, that will be devastating for working people around the world."

"Those who will suffer the most," Warren said, "will be the people of the oppressed countries of the world." He emphasized the need to cancel the debt of



**Maurice Bishop meets with secondary schoolchildren in Grenada. Bishop as prime minister led 1979-83 revolutionary government, which expanded education and sharply reduced unemployment. "We will build this party in the trad-**

**ition of Maurice Bishop," declared Terry Marryshow at recent convention of Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement. "We will make it a party rooted in the struggles of working people."**

Third World countries and to eliminate unfair trade practices and protectionist measures by the imperialist countries.

"We present this as a proposal to workers and farmers in the U.S. as the first thing they must fight around as part of defending themselves in the context of a generalized social crisis in the U.S. You can't defend yourself when the world is going under.

"Second, we raise the fight for affirmative action," he said. "Most Blacks in the U.S. are already living in depression-like conditions."

Warren also raised the struggle for a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay to unify working people in the fight for jobs.

"If we can't explain the reality of where the world is headed today after the stock market crash, we will not be able to be part of a leadership capable of advancing a perspective out of the crisis that is coming and toward the conquest of political power."

Warren pointed to the importance of the discussions at the MBPM convention. "Political organization is essential. Cooperation and collaboration on the basis of ag-

reement on this broad perspective is decisive for the future," he concluded.

#### Importance of Bishop's speeches

Many delegates discussed the importance of reading the speeches of Maurice Bishop and taking these ideas out to people as a necessary task toward winning members and building the organization.

Einstein Louison explained, "We have a legacy of colonialism in the Caribbean. They set up a two-party system to ensure that a cockfight takes place, where we can exercise democracy for five minutes every five years. They have tried to keep working people out of politics.

"The reason why the U.S. is so hostile to Fidel Castro is because Cuba broke that tradition and working people have a chance to exercise politics.

"Grenada," Louison explained, "put another path and type of party on the agenda for the Caribbean. In defense of working people, parties of our type are essential. We must build our membership, our parties must be the parties of the future."

The discussion on South Africa at the convention was part of growing awareness and solidarity throughout the region with the struggle against apartheid.

Ntinga described the outrage that people in Grenada expressed to him over the government's behavior toward him. People were especially incensed because this action came on the heels of the Blaize government's vote in the UN to abstain, along with the United States, on sanctions against South Africa. Grenada was the only Third World country to take this stand.

Participants in the convention were proud of the MBPM's ability to force the government to back off from deporting Ntinga. He was enthusiastically received at the May 29 rally.

The ANC leader was interviewed extensively while in Grenada and at the June 1 press conference in Barbados. "My detention at the airport is not an embarrassment to the people of Grenada, but an indictment of this government itself," he told reporters.

Ntinga contrasted the attitude of an airport worker who told him, "This would never have happened at the time of Bishop."

Reflecting the heightened interest in the region around the liberation struggle in South Africa, reporters asked whether ANC President Oliver Tambo would be making a tour of the Caribbean.

In the discussion following Ntinga's presentation many delegates underlined the need to educate people in Grenada and the Caribbean on the fight against apartheid and the role of the ANC. MBPM members participate in the newly formed Grenada Anti-Apartheid Committee.

#### Anti-imperialist unity

The Blaize government's banning of citizens of East Caribbean countries struck at one of the central questions in politics in the region, the proposed unification of the seven island countries in the East Caribbean. These countries all belong to the OECS, which was created in 1981 at the

bidding of the United States to block off a repetition of the 1979 Grenada revolution. Washington is promoting an OECS unitary state as a security force to consolidate the militarization and repression in the region under U.S. supervision.

What is needed, Bullen said, is unity between the peoples of the Caribbean, who have been kept separated and divided by colonialism and imperialism. The MBPM opposes "unity" imposed from "above." Bullen explained that the MBPM stands on Bishop's perspective that "we are one people in our Caribbean with one future."

Today the MBPM participates in the coordinating committee of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America.

One of the projections announced at the convention was for the MBPM to organize a conference on OECS unity, and to invite leaders of political organizations and trade unions from other islands to participate.

The convention heard greetings from Bennett Berkeley, vice-president of the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union of Trinidad. Messages were received from Don Rojas, and from the Socialist Bloc of the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Democratic Labor Party of Dominica, People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and Workers Party of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, Barbados Industrial Workers Union, and the Maurice Bishop Youth Organization, Havana Branch, also sent greetings.

The message from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba said in part, "Such an important gathering is of great historic significance for Grenada and its friends all over the world. The Grenadian people, as a tiny giant, are on their feet again, staunch and determined to continue the struggle until the victory of their ideals and aspirations.

"We are sure that the success of your congress will be the best tribute to Maurice Bishop, who was the leader of the Grenadian people and beloved friend of the Cuban people."

In addition to Terry Marryshow, the closing rally in St. George's was addressed by Louison, Radix, Ntinga, Berkeley, Warren, DeCoteau, Bullen, and Charter.

In closing the rally, Marryshow invited youth to join the MBPM. "The MBPM represents the interests of the working people. We are guided by the wishes and aspirations of the workers, farmers, women, and youth. Our party is the party of the future."



**Young farmers during revolution. Since overthrow of revolutionary government, murder of Bishop, and U.S. invasion of 1983, Grenadian farmers have faced growing economic difficulties.**

Wayne Carter

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# Thousands in N.Y. hit U.S. bombs, war

Continued from front page

vehicles if the veterans attempt to take them across the border.

"I learned two things in Vietnam," she told the rally. "One was how truly horrible war is, and the other — although this took me 15 years to understand — was who I was really angry at. It was not the people of Vietnam, but the government of our country."

A contingent of Vietnam Veterans Against the War participated in the march from the United Nations to Central Park. They led participants in chanting, "Feed the children, not the war, let the convoy go."

Feldstein followed Rosa Carlotto Tünnermann, a poet who is a cultural attaché at the Nicaraguan embassy in Washington, D.C. Tünnermann described the price the Nicaraguan people had paid for Washington's contra war.

"The casualty total is 50,000, of whom 25,000 were killed — the majority of them women, children, and poor farmers. Aggression has cost Nicaragua damages in excess of \$12 billion. We have suffered a longer war than the U.S. Civil War, World War I, and World War II.

"That is why we support the peace process, why we have always sought a negotiated solution with the United States, why we want the U.S. government to stop sabotaging cease-fire negotiations and stop the war against Nicaragua."

The march and rally were initiated by a national coalition to coincide with the United Nations Third Special Session on Disarmament. Antinuclear demonstrations were also held in New York in 1978 and 1982, at the time of the first and second special sessions.

The events leading up to the march and rally included a June 7-9 international meeting on peace and disarmament attended by 350 delegates from more than 50 countries.

The June 12 *New York Times* reported that the Police Public Information Office estimated the number of participants at 60,000. From the platform in Central Park, organizers of the march said that 100,000 were present. A number of marchers gave estimates ranging from 30,000 to 50,000.

The participants included thousands of college, high school, and junior high school students. A contingent of high school students from Milwaukee marched under their own banner. Another banner carried by a group of New York City youth read, "Junior High School 51 Teachers and Students Concerned About Peace and Disarmament."

"I am really upset over what the U.S. government has been doing in Nicaragua," Karl Pflanz, who recently moved here from the Midwest, told the *Militant*. Mary Mark-

us said she had come because she opposed nuclear weapons and had read about the march in a local weekly.

Dozens of young people carrying gigantic puppets created by the Bread and Puppet Theater led the march from the UN building.

## Japanese peace activists

Hundreds of Japanese peace activists made up some of the most impressive contingents. One group marched behind a banner voicing joint solidarity against nuclear weapons by Jichiru, the Japanese public employees union, and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

The Japanese participants moved through the crowd getting signatures on the "Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki for a total ban and elimination of nuclear testing and weapons." More than 30 million people in Japan have signed the appeal and organizers hope to sign up a billion worldwide.

Behind the contingents from Japan came one carrying banners calling for a nuclear-free Pacific and supporting the nuclear-free policy in New Zealand. A Kanak in this contingent carried a placard demanding an end to French colonial rule and occupation in New Caledonia. Kanaks are the indigenous people of that South Pacific island country.

One of the most colorful and striking contingents was organized by the Young Koreans United. Their bilingual banners called for getting U.S. troops out of South Korea, barring U.S. nuclear weapons from Korea and the Philippines, and for reunification with North Korea.

A contingent of Haitians denounced U.S. support to the military-dominated government in their country, while Filipinos marched behind a banner calling for the elimination of U.S. bases in the Philippines.

"Grandmothers against nuclear weapons," read a sign in Norwegian carried by one woman in a group hailing from Sweden and Norway.

"There is no such thing as an illegal human being," read the banner of a group defending immigrants' rights.

Scores of participants marched in a contingent voicing support for the Palestinian uprising in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Many predominantly Latino contingents voiced solidarity with the struggle of the peoples in Central and Latin America. About 20 Latinos marched behind a banner denouncing violations of human rights in Colombia. Another group marched with a banner demanding an end to U.S. military aid to the Guatemalan regime. Other participants carried the banner of the Dominican Workers Party.

along with 37 copies of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*. In addition, demonstrators bought more than 600 *Militant* and 90 *PM* single copies.

At the San Francisco action, 18 introductory *Militant* and *PM* subs, and six *New Internationalists* were sold.

There was also a lot of interest in the new *Young Socialist* magazine, with 350 copies being sold at the New York march. Many YS salespeople reported that the interview with African National Congress youth leader Malombo Ntshilontshilo and information on volunteer brigades to Nicaragua were two of the most attractive features in the new issue.

In both New York and San Francisco, open houses were held after the demonstrations. They featured brief talks by Warren and Mickells, along with local SWP candidates and Young Socialist Alliance leaders.

Several hundred people attended the New York open house, including a number of young people who had met the YSA for the first time that day. Five young people asked to join the YSA. Some 150 people attended the San Francisco open house, which was held at a downtown hotel, and three young activists joined the socialist youth organization.



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Contingent in N.Y. march on June 11 demanded independent, nuclear-free Pacific.

One contingent's banner called for peace in El Salvador. Participants in this group carried flags of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, which is leading the armed struggle against the U.S.-dominated repressive regime there. Another group marched behind the banner of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

Hundreds of participants carried signs or wore T-shirts voicing their solidarity with Nicaragua. The Nicaragua Network and groups providing medical and other aid for Nicaragua marched.

One of the most vocal contingents chanted, "Money for AIDS, not war!"

While many unionists — ranging from members of the United Paperworkers International Union to the United Mine Workers of America — participated, several groups marched with banners and placards reflecting the official support of their unions and locals for the action.

One marcher's placard, bearing the insignia of AFSCME District Council 37, read, "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua."

There were banners of the International Association of Machinists, Social Service Employees International Union, United Auto Workers Local 259, United Farm Workers, National Union of Hospital and Health-Care Employees, District 1199, and other unions in the march. A group of workers from the Youngstown, Ohio, area carried the banner of the Save Jobs Committee of Mahoning County.

Supporters of several political organizations also marched behind their banners. These included the Communist Party, Young Communist League, Rainbow Coalition, and Young Socialist Alliance. The YSA banner called for massive U.S. aid to rebuild Nicaragua.

And there were hundreds of banners and placards from groups opposed to nuclear weapons and nuclear power, from those of national peace organizations to religious organizations to local groups fighting nuclear pollution of the environment.

People had come long distances. Besides the international participation, there were banners of SANE/Freeze chapters from Texas and Detroit, and antinuclear groups from Rhode Island.

## Survivor of Hiroshima

There were two rallies, one as marchers gathered near the UN building and a second in Central Park at the conclusion of the march.

Two speakers at the UN site voiced themes that recurred throughout the day's events. One was a *hibakusha*, as the Japanese call survivors of the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The other was Neo Mnumzana, the head of the mission to the UN of the African National Congress, which leads the struggle against the apartheid regime in South Africa.

The Japanese speaker described her experiences in the wake of the bombing of Hiroshima, and her struggle with the radiation-caused illnesses that afflict both her and her daughter. She called on everyone to sign the appeal against nuclear testing and weapons.

Mnumzana spoke, he said, "on behalf of the people of South Africa, on behalf of the peoples victimized by the destabilization and aggression of the Pretoria regime in southern Africa, and all the peoples of Africa." He voiced solidarity with the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and with the

worldwide struggle against nuclear weapons and testing.

He greeted the agreement to reduce the number of intermediate-range nuclear weapons signed by the U.S. and Soviet governments, which was ratified by the U.S. Senate last month. Mnumzana added, "This truly must be followed by more comprehensive steps or it will be devoid of meaning. Any number of treaties on disarmament can be negotiated and signed, but unless the causes of war are removed, they won't be worth the paper they are written on."

"People all over the world who are oppressed must be liberated," the ANC leader continued. "The struggle for peace includes the struggle for peace in Nicaragua, for the right of the people of Nicaragua to defend themselves against U.S. aggression. The struggle for peace in the Middle East means supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people."

"The struggle for peace in South Africa means the struggle against apartheid. Peace in the final analysis must mean freedom, independence, and development for all the people of the world."

A similar chord was struck at the Central Park rally by Edward Said, a professor at Columbia University who is a member of the Palestine National Council. "For people who seek a just peace in the Middle East," he declared, "the great event of the past seven months has been the Palestinian uprising in the West Bank and Gaza, one of the most powerful antiwar protests of the 20th century."

Behind the Israeli regime's actions against the Palestinians, he charged, "is the government of the United States, whose policy has been to supply Israel with more arms and more economic aid than any state in the history of U.S. foreign aid."

## Oppression of Puerto Rico

Digna Sánchez of the Committee for Hispanic Children and Families gave a vivid description of U.S. oppression of Puerto Rico.

"Puerto Rico, a nation invaded by the United States in 1898, has since been the focal point of U.S. military intervention," she said. "Our land and waters are used for U.S. bases. Our island of Vieques is used to provide target practice for bombers and artillery."

"Our economy has been devastated," Sánchez continued. "About 70 percent of our families must rely on food stamps, while the military is a prime source of employment. Our ability to procreate has been affected by a campaign of sterilization. More than 30 Puerto Rican political prisoners are in U.S. prisons."

"We must abolish and will continue to confront the forces of death and destruction in every corner of the world," she concluded, "and we will overcome."

Entertainment was provided by about 15 groups and individual performers.

Other speakers included Coretta Scott King; Stanley Hill, executive director of AFSCME District Council 37; Rabbi Bal-four Brickner; Dennis Rivera, vice-president of hospital workers' Local 1199 of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union; Bishop Thomas Gumbleton of the Catholic Diocese of Detroit; Mark Fotopoulos, of the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP); Edith Ballantyne of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; and Leslie Cagan, coordinator of the SSD-III national coalition which initiated and built the June 11 action here and in San Francisco.

## Socialist candidates join protests

BY ANDY COATES  
AND SUSAN LAMONT

James Warren, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, participated in the June 11 antiwar, antinuclear demonstration in San Francisco, and his running mate, Kathleen Mickells, joined the New York march and rally.

Hundreds of socialist campaign supporters from around the country spent the day marching and talking politics with some of the thousands of young people and other activists who came out June 11 to protest Washington's war-making and nuclear threats.

In New York, more than \$900 in literature was sold from large Pathfinder tables at both the assembly and rally sites, as well as from a number of smaller "satellite" tables distributed throughout the crowd. Throughout the day, a steady stream of marchers stopped by the tables to talk with the socialist candidates and buy literature.

Socialist campaigners emphasized introductory subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* as the best way for those who were interested to learn more about communist ideas. At the New York demonstration, 114 *Militant* and 30 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions were sold,



# Jailing of Israeli editors sparks protest

BY HARRY RING

An Israeli paper opposed to the oppression of the Palestinian people has been shut down in Jerusalem and members of its editorial staff jailed. In prison they have been abused and tortured by members of Shin Bet, Israel's internal security force.

The paper, *Derech Hanitzotz* (Way of the Spark), was ordered shut February 18. Also closed was an Arabic edition of the paper. An editor of that edition, Ribhi al-Aruri, was jailed for six months without charges under Israeli detention regulations. The six-month term can be renewed indefinitely.

The staff members of *Derech Hanitzotz* are charged with being members of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. An affiliate of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the DFLP is outlawed by the Israeli regime.

If convicted, the defendants face 40-year terms. They are being defended by a legal team including Felicia Langer, the noted civil rights attorney.

Five members of the staff of the Hebrew-language biweekly were jailed. They were: Yacov Ben-Efrat, Roni Ben-Efrat, Michal Schwartz, Asaf Adiv, and Hadas Lahav.

Lahav was released May 26, but will be compelled to appear as a prosecution witness against the others, including her companion, Adiv.

In an important gain, a judge ruled June 13 that Roni Ben-Efrat, Michal Schwartz, and Asaf Adiv be released on bail until their trial, slated for September.

The government quickly appealed this to the supreme court. On June 16, the high court ruled that bail be denied.

In ordering bail for the three, the judge said he was acting on the basis of confessions they had made in prison and then retracted, charging they were illegally obtained.

Defendant Yacov Ben-Efrat, editor of the paper, was denied bail. The judge said this was because he had not confessed.

According to the judge's version, the three had said in their confessions that they intended to join the political wing of the DFLP, not its armed wing. This, the judge said, indicated they did not aim to abolish the Israeli government by force.

Since Ben-Efrat had not "confessed" to such a legal aim, the judge reasoned, his release could endanger the public. He also asserted the government had offered evi-

dence of concrete actions by Ben-Efrat on behalf of the DFLP.

## Views of victims

When the government announced last January that it intended to shut down *Derech Hanitzotz*, a public appeal was issued against this by supporters of the paper.

The appeal explained that the paper reflects the political views of the organization Nitzotz/A-Sharara (Spark). It declared that the group favors the establishment of "an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO" and, in Israel, "a new democratic regime, free of national discrimination and class exploitation."

The statement declared: "Our newspaper took a courageous and determined position in support of the rising revolt, and submitted all its energies to expose the crimes committed by the occupation in its attempt to suppress the struggle of the Palestinian people."

In a major article on the case, the Israeli daily, *HaAretz*, said May 6 that the *Hanitzotz* editors described the charge of membership in the DFLP as "nonsense."

Describing *Hanitzotz*, *HaAretz* said, "Among leftists and journalists, it came to be considered an accurate and reliable source of information, especially in regard to the territories and the Palestinian situation. Many scoops exposed by *Derech Hanitzotz* later filtered into the establishment press."

The Palestinian member of the staff, al-Aruri, was tortured during three weeks of interrogation and then jailed without charges. He is imprisoned in the West Bank town of Nablus. Amnesty International has adopted him as a "prisoner of conscience."

The other prisoners have described the torture and abuse directed against them.

In a signed declaration, editor Yacov Ben-Efrat said he is held most of each day in a tiny cell without light or windows.

He is deprived of sleep and forced to stand for hours with a sack over his head.

The cops have threatened that codefendants Roni Ben-Efrat and Michal Schwartz, each the mothers of two children, will be jailed until Yacov Ben-Efrat talks.

## Abuse and humiliation

An Arab prisoner who looked as though he had been tortured was brought before him. The cops told Ben-Efrat that until he



Editor Michal Schwartz holds copy of *Derech Hanitzotz*, shut down by Israeli government. Arabic edition of paper was also closed down because of opposition to oppression of Palestinians.

confessed they would continue to torture the Arab.

Hadas Lahav, the *Hanitzotz* writer who was released, described to reporters the abuse and humiliation she was subjected to.

As with Ben-Efrat, an Arab prisoner was brought before her, and she was told he would be tortured until she talked.

She was reviled with sexually abusive language, much of it focused on "sleeping with Arabs."

In a May 31 affidavit, Roni Ben-Efrat and Michal Schwartz said prison authorities incited other prisoners against them.

Ben-Efrat's cell door was opened and she was beaten by a prisoner.

Foodstuffs, boiling water, and urine were hurled at the two women in their isolation cells.

In a telephone interview, a supporter of the Spark organization said the case has won wide media coverage in Israel and has been reported extensively internationally.

He said the government attack was aimed not only at the paper and the individuals jailed, but at the organization itself.

But, he said, "We are also making points against them, and we will continue the fight."

He said that under Israeli law, publication of a single issue of a paper does not require a government license. After *Derech Hanitzotz* was ordered closed, three one-

time newspapers with different names appeared. Then came the arrests.

## Opposition to moves

After the editors were jailed, the recently established Israeli peace organization, The 21st Year, challenged the government's ban by publishing a one-time edition of a paper called *Somer Hanitzotz* (Guardian of the Spark).

The editorial board included an array of noted academics and other public figures, along with several well-known columnists for Israeli dailies. An editorial in the paper assailed the shutdown of *Derech Hanitzotz*.

Other protests are being made.

At least three members of the Israeli parliament and other public figures have added their voices.

The National Union of Journalists and the Association of Civil Rights in Israel have scored the attack on democratic rights.

The ban was assailed by the Belgium-based International Association of Democratic Lawyers. An early protest was lodged by the 250,000-member International Organization of Journalists.

In Israel, the Forum of Action for Freedom of the Press has issued an appeal at home and internationally for help in defraying the cost of the fight. It asks for funds for publicity, legal defense, and assistance to the families of the defendants.

Contributions should be sent to Forum of Freedom of Press, P.O. Box 4362, Tel Aviv, Israel 61043.

## Calif. peace march on June 11

BY MALIK MIAH

SAN FRANCISCO — The 2,500 participants in the peace march here June 11 carried signs and banners demanding an end to nuclear arms, U.S. government support to the apartheid regime in South Africa, and U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

Marking the United Nations Third Special Session on Disarmament, the protest was one of several around the world. Marchers came from cities and towns on the West Coast, Salt Lake City, and other western cities, and from several countries, led by a delegation from Japan.

The international delegation led the march from UN Plaza to Union Square in the heart of the city. Handmade signs and banners touched on many issues — from the U.S. war against Nicaragua to the Palestinian uprising against Israeli rule.

Prominent were signs saying: "Freeze and reverse the nuclear arms race," "We want peace in El Salvador, no more Vietnam wars," "No Star Wars," "End U.S. support for South African apartheid," "Cancel the debt" (in Spanish), "Hands off Central America," and "Lift the embargo against Nicaragua."

A group of Korean youth demanded: "U.S. troops and nukes out of South Korea" and carried a banner demanding an end to apartheid in South Africa.

A number of antiwar and solidarity groups carried signs or distributed literature, including the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES), Witness for Peace, and the Bay Area Peace Navy.

Union participation was light. Only a few signs identified unions — teachers and social workers were most prominent.

Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council, spoke at the wind-up rally.

A highlight of the day's events was a presentation by survivors of the world's first nuclear bombings, of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, in 1945.

Speaking in Japanese, the survivors pledged their determination to fight nuclear weapons. "Let us work together to eliminate all nuclear weapons and war," concluded one victim to warm applause.

The Japanese delegation actively worked the crowd, signing up protesters on a petition demanding the total elimination of nuclear weapons.

The Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice, organizers of the demonstration, flew in Hal Muskat from Laredo, Texas. Muskat is the Bay Area coordinator of the Veterans' Peace Convoy.

Muskat reported that 130 solidarity activities have already been held in 91 cities in 42 states since the convoy left Jay, Maine, three weeks ago.

Hearing chants of "Nicaragua won, El Salvador will win," Mercedes Salgado, official representative of the revolutionary and democratic forces in El Salvador, spoke about the struggle against the U.S.-backed regime in her country and the significance of June 11.

"These kinds of events," she said, "are very important for the Salvadoran struggle."

Other speakers included a leader of the Young Koreans United in San Francisco; Walden Bello, a Filipino activist and supporter of a nuclear-free Pacific; Bassam Shihadeh, leader of the Palestine Solidarity Committee; Yelena Petroskova, vice-president of the Soviet Union's Peace Committee; Alex Foreman, from SANE/Freeze; and several local bands and singers.

## Israeli gov't presses drive to jail activist for links to Palestinians

Israeli officials have postponed until July 5 the trial of Michel Warschawski, a longtime fighter for the rights of working people in Israel.

Warschawski is charged with "rendering services" to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a proscribed organization.

Postponement of his trial marks an escalation in the attack on Warschawski. The delay came after the prosecutor decided to have the case tried by three judges rather than one.

One judge can impose the maximum sentence of 10 years; a three-judge panel can mete out a sentence of 23 years.

Warschawski was jailed in February 1987. A month later, Israel's supreme court ordered him released on \$50,000 bail.

He is the director of the Alternative Information Centre in West Jerusalem. The center provides information on the situation of Palestinians and governmental abuse of their rights.

Its newsletter, *News From Within*, offers a range of information on the Palestinian struggle.

At the time of the arrest, the center was ordered shut for six months. Its printing equipment and library were seized. *News From Within* has continued to appear.

Warschawski was the first Israeli Jew to be arrested under a "Prevention of Terror" regulation. His prosecution has been widely protested within Israel and internationally.

The evidence offered by the government against him is that he provided typing services to groups allegedly linked to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Proof that these groups were "fronts" for the PLO consisted of a statement to that effect by a member of Shin Bet, Israel's internal security police. The police agent asserted that the ideology of these groups makes plain that they are PLO "fronts."

It was because of the flimsiness of that "evidence" that the supreme court ordered Warschawski released on bail.

In a telephone interview, Warschawski stressed the importance of the stakes in the current defense case of the editorial staff members of *Derech Hanitzotz*.

He emphasized that along with the issue of freedom of the press, there is, as in his case, the attempt to frame up the *Hanitzotz* editors as linked with "terrorists."

He said the Israeli government takes the position that every politically active Palestinian is linked to the PLO and the PLO, by definition, is deemed to be "terrorist."

Therefore, Warschawski said, any progressive Israeli that establishes any relation with Palestinians is thereby also linked with "terrorism." And today, he added, "there are a growing number of Israelis who want to cooperate with Palestinians, or at least have a dialogue with them."

At his trial, Warschawski will be defended by a team of lawyers, including Lea Tsemel, who is widely known for her defense of democratic rights. —H.R.



# THE GREAT SOCIETY

**How about Good Humor trucks?** — Even though it's slated to be scrapped, the Shoreham nuke plant on Long Island was the



Harry Ring

site of an evacuation drill. Of 89 warning sirens, 57 didn't work. But, no problem. If it had been needed, an official assured, "we would have gone out with sound trucks."

**Sleep well** — "Poisonous radio-

active materials are inexorably seeping out of the nation's nuclear weapons production facilities. Land, air, and water, and all biological species including humans, are being contaminated." — From a study on radioactive military landfills by the New York-based Radioactive Waste Campaign.

**Near homeless** — We knew there was a housing shortage in New York, but didn't grasp how bad it really was. According to William Miller, a high-powered real estate shark, "we have a shortage of good quality units priced above \$1.2 million."

**The just society** — The W.R. Grace & Co. was permitted to plead guilty to one of two counts

of lying to the government about the use of a dangerous chemical at its Woburn, Massachusetts, plant. It was fined \$10,000. Earlier, Grace had paid \$8 million to eight Woburn families who charged that company contamination of town wells caused the leukemia deaths of five children and an adult.

**Sure, they're working** — "First jobless rate rise in '88, but analysts unconcerned" — New York *Newsday* headline.

**Legal issue** — A chap delivering four frozen cadavers was busted on a Los Angeles-area freeway for driving in the carpool lane reserved for vehicles with at least two riders. The judge said corpses didn't count. So, let's assume your passenger dies of asphyxiation on the freeway. Do you

have to leave the carpool lane?

**They do posters?** — If you have a problem hanging your art work properly, check out Picture Hanging Specialists in New York. They'll see that the pictures are properly situated and hung straight: \$200 an hour, one hour minimum fee.

**Flushed out** — The *Bathroom Journal* folded after four issues. Sighed the publisher, "Apparently all the publicity and hype in the world won't move a product off the shelf if consumers don't have a need for it."

**Psst** — National Intelligence Community Week ceremonies were held at the statue of Nathan Hale, first U.S. spy to be executed. Participants in the salute

were photographed with their backs to the camera.

**With puns yet** — A Boston jeweler offers a 14-karat gold pen-and-pencil set, \$1,000, assuring they will "create the proper impression."

**March of technology** — We don't know the nasal equivalent of a voyeur, but if you're having a bad time on a diet, try the book, *Zero Calorie Desserts*. Seven desserts in living color. Scratch the sniff stickers for the purported aroma of chocolate fudge cake, etc. 14 pages, \$4.95.

**Thought for the week** — "After meeting Reagan, the Russians will find it very difficult to see America as a threat." — Margaret Thatcher.

## CALENDAR

### 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

**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.

### FLORIDA

#### Miami

**South Africa: the Fight Against Apartheid Continues.** Speaker: Pat Hunt, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 18, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

**Art and Revolution: an Update on the Pathfinder Mural Project.** Speaker and video on New York City mural. Sat., June 25, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore and Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

### IOWA

#### Des Moines

**The Crisis Facing Working People: a Program to Fight for Jobs.** Speaker: Nan Bailey, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress, 4th C.D. Sat., June 18. Open house, 4 p.m.; program and discussion, 6:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Iowa Campaign. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

**Action Program to Fight for Affirmative Action.** Speaker: Bob Miller, spokesperson for Socialist Workers Iowa Campaign, member United Auto Workers Local 562. Sat., June 25, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Iowa Campaign. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

### MARYLAND

#### Baltimore

**The South African Freedom Struggle Today.** Speakers: G.I. Johnson, United Steelworkers of

America Local 2610 Civil Rights Committee; Mary Bennis, co-chair Baltimore Rainbow Coalition; Reba Williams-Dixon, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers Local 738. Sat., June 25. Dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2, dinner \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**An Action Program to Fight for the Rights of Workers and Farmers.** Speaker: Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president; Mark Friedman, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., June 24. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Michigan Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

### 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

**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 U.S. 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

#### St. Louis

**The Struggle Against Apartheid Rule in Southern Africa Deepens.** Speaker: representative of Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 25, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

### NEBRASKA

#### Omaha

**The Working-Class Road to Peace.** A report back by participants in the June 11 antiwar demonstration. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 18, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

**What's Behind the Government's "War on Drugs"?** Speaker: representative of Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 25, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**Report Back From Cuba.** Slide and video presentation sponsored by the 19th contingent of the New York Chapter of the Venceremos Brigade. Sat., June 18, 7 p.m. Hunter College West, Room 217 West, 695 Park Ave. (near 68th St.). For more information call (212) 349-6292.

**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.

### TEXAS

#### Houston

**The Struggle for Liberation in South Africa.** Speakers: Professor Mwambi; representatives of Young Socialist Alliance, Children Against Apartheid, and City A, an anti-apartheid group. Sat., June 18, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

**Why the U.S. Government Blocked the Veterans Peace Convoy.** Eyewitness report from representative of Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., June 25, 7:30. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

### WASHINGTON

#### Seattle

**Rally in Defense of Mark Curtis.** Speakers:


Nat Ford, president Metal Grades Council; representative Committee in Defense of Immigrant Rights; Roger Yockey, labor journalist; Neil Fox, National Lawyers Guild; Julie Nelson, director Associated Students of University of Washington Women's Commission; Bob Barnes, Labor Committee on Central America; Tomas Villanueva, United Farm Workers of Washington State; Mark Curtis. Sat., June 25, 7 p.m. American Postal Workers Union Hall, 2450 6th Ave. S. Sponsor: Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

### WEST VIRGINIA

#### Morgantown

**Defend Mark Curtis.** Speakers: Sister Brendan Conlon; Charlotte Henline, Women's Aid in Crisis; Mark Curtis. Mon., June 20, 7 p.m. West Virginia University, Monongahela Room, Mountainlair. Sponsors: Latin America Solidarity Project, Lawyers Guild, Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

**ISRAEL'S WAR AGAINST THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE**  
BY DAVID FRANKEL  
A WILL REISSNER



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**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1809 W. Indian School Rd. Zip: 85015. Tel: (602) 279-5850. Tucson: YSA, c/o Ursula Kolb, P.O. Box 853. Zip: 85702-0852. Tel: (602) 795-2146.

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



# S. Korea students: reunify our country

Continued from front page

independent regime," said a student leader at Yonsei University in Seoul June 10. "We have realized we can't have true democracy with a regime represented by military force and manipulated by a foreign invasive force — the United States."

## Police crackdown

The South Korean government's response to the students' planned march was a massive police crackdown throughout Seoul. The meeting with students from the north, said officials, was illegal. While tipping his hat to the widespread support that exists among the South Korean people for taking serious steps toward reunifying the country, President Roh Tae Woo said that all contact with North Korea has to be carried out through government channels. Leading opposition figures, including Kim Jae Dung, backed Roh in this stance.

Some 60,000 riot police were deployed around the city June 10. They were outfitted with helmets and large rectangular shields, and wore gas masks to protect themselves from the choking, blinding fumes of the tear gas they fired at the protesters.

To keep the students from leaving Seoul, the cops erected blockades around the city, sealed off the universities, guarded bus and train stations, and put up roadblocks on the road to Panmunjom.

## "Yankee, go home!"

At Yonsei University, the organizing center for the march, 5,000 students tried to break through the police cordon, but were forced back by armored "minitanks" shooting rapid-fire volleys of tear gas. The students shouted, "Yankee, go home!" and fought the police with sticks, rocks, and Molotov cocktails.

While this battle was going on, several thousand other students managed to get through the barricades, and head toward the main railroad station. After police spotted them regrouping by the station and nearby markets, the whole area — busy with shoppers and other pedestrians — was blanketed with tear gas volleys.

Several thousand students managed to keep going. They headed into the northern part of the city, toward the road leading to Panmunjom. Then they laid down in the road, with their arms linked together, chanting.

After waiting a while for the students to disperse, the armored police vehicles attacked, firing off more tear gas. As the students fled, they were chased down by cops. Although they offered no resistance to arrest, witnesses reported that many students were brutalized by the riot police. Some were kicked in the back, after being forced by the cops to kneel, arms behind their backs, and put their foreheads to the ground.

At least 800 students were arrested during the protests June 10, and 100 students and cops were reported injured. One stu-

dent, Chon Woo Yong of Yonsei University, was listed in serious condition.

Some 1,000 students at another Seoul campus, Korea University, also battled with police.

On June 9 — the day before the planned march — 15,000 students fought with police at Yonsei University and 57 other campuses throughout South Korea. More than 200 students were arrested that day.

On June 11, the protests continued. About 25 students forced their way into the main government building in the center of Seoul — called the Combined Central Government Complex — which houses the prime minister's office, the foreign ministry, and other offices. The Government Complex building is across the road from the U.S. embassy. Police drove the students out and arrested 18.

Several thousand students rallied at Yonsei University the same day, and applauded

speakers who demanded that Washington withdraw its troops from South Korea. Plans for another march to meet with North Korean students on August 15 were announced.

Student protests also took place June 11 in North Korea's capital, Pyongyang, to denounce the South Korean government's actions.

## Pressure for democratic rights

Over the past year, the South Korean government — long dominated by the military — has been under increasing popular pressure to expand democratic rights. Large mobilizations of workers and students in the spring of 1987 forced the government to allow direct presidential elections, which were held last fall.

The parliament recently announced investigations into corruption on the part of the previous regime and into the 1980 mas-

sacre of hundreds of antigovernment demonstrators by army troops in Kwangju.

And in early June, President Roh announced that a debate on the question of reunification with North Korea would be opened. Earlier, public discussion of this question was illegal.

At the same time, many workers and farmers are calling for an end to U.S. strong-arming of South Korea in trade matters. Recently, Washington has forced South Korea to allow U.S. cigarettes, beef, and other goods to be sold cheaply on the Korean market.

In addition, demands for an expansion of union rights and improved wages and working conditions are being made by thousands of workers. A wave of major strikes has been taking place throughout the country, including at Hyundai Motor Co., where 20,000 workers are seeking a substantial wage increase.

# Interview with Dominican anti-imperialist

Continued from Page 11

situation of the communities that live in this area, and the possibilities of encouraging solidarity among our struggles. In addition, we've tried to clarify the best roads to success in these struggles.

We've condemned Washington's aggression against Nicaragua, against Grenada, and against the Salvadoran liberation fighters. We've supported the people of Haiti in their struggle for democracy, and called for the immediate return of the Canal Zone to Panama and Guantánamo Bay to Cuba. We've called for independence for Puerto Rico and for all the remaining U.S., French, Dutch, and British colonies in the region.

This is not an organization with a lot of structure. It's more a forum for discussion. Our aspiration is not to create rules in the sense of converting it into an institution. Rather, we want it to have great flexibility so that we can participate in it, achieve some agreement that can be of use in our own movements, and create a moral sense of collaboration and mutual solidarity.

But above all, to develop the sentiment of fraternity and brotherhood in the region on the basis of our belief that the Caribbean should have been a single republic, despite the differences in race and language, despite the diversity of the colonial powers that have subjected us, and the aggressions that the region has suffered throughout its history.

From this point of view, the Anti-Imperialist Organizations is a point of convergence. It contributes to giving us confidence of greater possibilities of success if we are united than if we keep ourselves apart.

The Anti-Imperialist Organizations encompasses left-wing political organizations

from the Spanish-, French-, Dutch-, and English-speaking parts of the region in one organization for the first time. These include the Cuban Communist Party, Sandinista National Liberation Front, People's National Party of Jamaica, Dominican Liberation Party, Curacao Socialist Movement, Guadalupe Communist Party, National Congress Party and People's Progressive Party of Guyana, Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador, and Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union. Never before has such a representation been possible.

It is the most diverse, broadest, and the most democratic forum that has been constituted in the area. It includes organizations that are part of the left wing of the Socialist International, Communist parties, national liberation fronts, and parliamentary oppositions. The greatest ideological spectrum is integrated under the common denominator of anti-imperialist sentiment and the struggle for the independence and sovereignty of our peoples. This brings all the forces together, as well as the aspiration that we all share of socioeconomic development.

The Anti-Imperialist Organizations has proved that despite its weaknesses, its very existence is a means through which exchange of ideas and coordination of actions

can be organized. We have committed ourselves to promoting a joint campaign of solidarity, each of the movements supporting the other ones, and continuing to create conditions for the Anti-Imperialist Organizations to become a political force in the region.

I believe that more links are going to break from the chain of imperialist domination in this region. The Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Grenada revolutions were not exceptions. The Caribbean and Central America will continue being the center of the greatest sharpening in the class struggle within North and South America. This is because here there are concentrated the greatest number of contradictions, and also the highest level of resistance.

For the small nations and islands of the region this imposes the primary need to seek a closer relationship among one another. We must promote forcefully the consciousness that exists in the region of the need for unity, strengthening our ethnic and cultural ties and the political identity given us by the common aspiration of emancipation that we share.

It also underscores the need for a close relationship with the people of the United States, with the progressive sectors of the North American nation, with all progressive forces in the world.

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE June 23, 1978

Irish freedom fighter Bernadette Devlin McAliskey and French writer Simone de Beauvoir are among the well-known international figures who have rallied to the defense of Héctor Marroquín, a young trade unionist and socialist who is fighting deportation to Mexico.

The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee has issued an "International Appeal to Save the Life of Héctor Marroquín." The appeal calls upon the U.S. government "to grant political asylum to Héctor Marroquín" and notes that deportation would mean "jail, torture, and possibly death." It explains that "a victory for Marroquín would be a victory for human rights the world over."

The appeal has received especially broad backing in Mexico, where Marroquín was a student activist in the early 1970s. There the appeal has been endorsed by many trade union, campus, and political organizations.



The assassination of Medgar Evers, Mississippi NAACP field secretary, in Jackson proves that Negroes in the South have no police protection whatever. They

cannot look for protection to the very racist police who are illegally clubbing them off the streets and jailing them for peacefully demonstrating for their rights.

There are even strong indications of collusion between the Southern police and the racist terrorists of the civilian variety. In Jackson it was common knowledge that Medgar Evers was under constant surveillance by local police. His phones were tapped, his car was followed wherever he went.

But when Evers was murdered at 1:20 a.m. June 12 as he stepped from his car in front of his home, there were no police present. Why did Jackson cops refrain from tailing the Negro leader on just the night an assassin lay waiting in the bushes to shoot him down?

Nor can Negroes in the South expect protection from the FBI. The FBI knew Evers was in danger. On May 29 Evers' home had been bombed with a "Molotov cocktail." The FBI, which has restricted itself to "observing" in case of civil rights violations, doesn't even do that competently. Where were the FBI men "observing" the night Medgar Evers was killed?

There are news reports that Negroes in Jackson, Mississippi, are buying guns. This is their right and that right must be defended.

It is not enough, however, to protect the Negro neighborhoods. It is also necessary to provide defense guards for leaders and activists to prevent their assassination. Both this and neighborhood defense should be organized on a disciplined, well-equipped and well-trained basis, where that isn't already being done.

# Jail attackers of Tawana Brawley!

Continued from back page

be impossible to rally support for forcing the governor to move this thing along," said Harris. "State authorities and the big-business-owned media have been able to use their refusal to cooperate to raise serious doubts in the minds of many people that the assault ever happened."

Mason and Maddox, said Harris, "are letting Governor Cuomo off the hook. Simply denouncing the system as racist doesn't accomplish anything. It's empty rhetoric, which under the present circumstances is becoming an obstacle to defending Brawley. As long as capitalism exists, the 'criminal justice' system will always be used as a tool against working people — no matter who's in the governor's mansion or the state prosecutor's office.

"That's why the only way to defend and extend the rights of Blacks and other working-class victims of the system is by mobilizing the broadest numbers of working people possible against each and every case of injustice, putting the maximum pressure on the authorities to punish those who carry out racist and sexist violence.

"Fighting for a 'better' prosecutor than

Abrams is a diversion from the fight for justice," Harris continued. "There is no individual, appointed by the capitalist rulers of this state, who can guarantee fair treatment for Blacks and other working people. That includes Maddox. Because what's ultimately decisive is not how good or bad this or that lawyer or other government official is, but how hard we fight.

"Many working people — Black, white, Latino, and Asian — were outraged when they heard Tawana's story last year," Harris added. "Thousands demonstrated, demanding that the government do something to see that justice is done in this case.

"But after Cuomo was forced to appoint Abrams to prosecute the case, instead of pressing for the most thorough and rapid investigation, Mason and Maddox decided not to cooperate. This has demobilized, disoriented, and demoralized many of those who are partisans of Tawana Brawley's fight," the socialist candidate said.

Harris urged that "everyone who wants justice for Brawley should demand that Cuomo and Abrams stop harassing Brawley's family and instead, find the criminals and put them in prison."



# Free the Sharpeville Six

Opponents around the world of the South African apartheid regime must once again organize a massive campaign of protests against the impending execution by the South African government of a group of young Blacks, known as the Sharpeville Six. Just such international protests forced Pretoria to halt an earlier planned execution of the six on March 18.

Oupa Diniso, Duma Khumalo, Francis Mokhesi, Reid Mokoena, Theresa Ramashamola, and Mojalefa Sefatsa are charged with the murder of a Black member of the apartheid-sanctioned township council. During their 1985 trial none of them were proven guilty of committing the killing. Pretoria Supreme Court Judge W.J. Human ruled that the six had "common purpose" with the crowd that attacked the councilman.

Under international pressure and evidence that the government's key witness may have lied, Human granted the six a one-month reprieve pending a judicial review of their trial. Now the same judge has denied an appeal to reopen the case. The defendants have further been denied the right to appeal the judge's decision.

But the stay of execution has been extended to July 19. The international anti-apartheid movement, labor organizations, and governments must act now!

The South African government resorts to the most barbaric actions in its attempt to suppress the freedom struggle against its rule, from long imprisonments to hangings. Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National

Congress, has spent 23 years in prison. The Sharpeville Six are among some 44 Blacks in South Africa awaiting the hangman's rope.

The executions are the regime's answer to the massive revolts against apartheid rule over the last three years. Since the proclamation of the state of emergency in June 1986 more than 30,000 people have been detained, about 10,000 of whom are under the age of 18.

One million people have died in the last eight years as a result of South Africa's aggression against the neighboring African countries of Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Zimbabwe, and Zambia. The regime maintains 100,000 troops in Namibia to defend its colonial rule.

The U.S. government, along with those of Britain and West Germany, while declaring their opposition to apartheid, remain the greatest source of economic, political, and military support to Pretoria. They have refused to carry out the will of the majority of humanity and impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

The Sharpeville Six are among the millions throughout southern Africa who are locked in a life and death battle to bring an end to the system of modern-day slavery called apartheid. A victory in the struggle to save their lives would be a powerful blow struck in defense of those still awaiting the gallows and all those fighting the regime. We must demand: Stop the executions! Free the Sharpeville Six! Break all U.S. ties to apartheid!

# Key battles for democratic rights

July 6 will be an important day in the battles for democratic rights of Héctor Marroquín and Mark Curtis, two workers and political activists who have been victimized by the government for their political views and activities.

On that day Marroquín has an appointment in Toronto, Canada, with U.S. Consul General Lyle van Ravenswaay. The State Department official is to rule on the Mexican-born socialist's application for permanent residency.

Broad and vocal support for Marroquín's right to permanent residency is particularly vital at this decisive turning point in his battle for the right to live, work, and be politically active in the United States. This struggle began when Marroquín came to this country in 1974.

Van Ravenswaay agreed to meet with Marroquín five years after he applied for permanent residency, and only after the failure of the government's decade-long effort to deport him because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

The deportation effort was stymied by the broad support Marroquín won from unionists, civil rights fighters, civil liberties groups, and many others. In April, the Immigration and Naturalization Service was forced to grant Marroquín temporary residence in response to his application for amnesty.

To express support for Marroquín, a broad delegation of supporters of the rights of immigrants will accompany him to Toronto. The breadth of this delegation — which ranges from a leader of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; to Tomas Villanueva, president of the United Farm Workers of Washington State; to officials of the Methodist Church — highlights the importance that this case has won as a battle for the democratic and human rights of immigrants.

On July 6 in Des Moines, Iowa, Mark Curtis, a union member and political activist, goes on trial on frame-up felony charges of burglary and third-degree sexual abuse. If convicted, he faces 23 years in prison.

Curtis, who is a union worker at the Swift meat-packing plant in Des Moines, had been an antiwar activist and socialist for some years before moving to Iowa.

When immigration police raided the Swift plant and arrested 16 Mexican and one Salvadoran worker on March 1, Curtis became a leading participant in the fight to defend them. Three days later, he was arrested and savagely beaten by Des Moines cops.

As the cops beat him, they called him a "Mexican lover" and denounced him for "loving those coloreds too." Curtis' "crime" is standing up for the rights of his coworkers at Swift and all working people.

A rapidly growing number of unionists and political activists in the United States and around the world are supporting the demand that the charges against Curtis be dropped and that the cops who beat him be punished.

Working people recognize the stench of the operation against Curtis — the same odor emitted by police frame-ups in the United States and abroad against union supporters, fighters for the rights of farmers, opponents of imperialist war, and other activists.

In the days leading up to the opening of the trial, supporters of democratic rights should step up their efforts to circulate petitions, build meetings, raise funds, and carry out other activities to get out the truth about the Curtis case and rally opposition to the frame-up.

Justice for Mark Curtis would be a blow to cop brutality and frame-ups, and an encouragement to workers, farmers, and democratic-minded people everywhere to exercise their rights.

# Help circulate 'Action Program'

*Militant* readers will note that this issue is expanded to 28 pages. That's so we could print "An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis," along with several other special features.

This program is available in Spanish in the July-August issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, which has also just come off the press — ahead of its regular schedule.

It will soon be reprinted by Pathfinder and be available as pamphlets in both English and Spanish.

The Action Program is based on a report adopted by the Socialist Workers Party National Committee last year following the October stock market crash.

Moreover, it details the course of action the labor movement needs to take to unifying working people internationally and to strengthen our ability to fight back against employer and government attacks that will mount in the coming world capitalist depression.

We urge readers to study the program and to help distribute it as widely as possible. We think it will be of interest to working people — from farm workers in the Yakima Valley in Washington State to fighters against the apartheid regime in southern Africa; from coal miners in Britain to the workers and peasants of Central America and the Caribbean fighting U.S. imperialism.

Publishing this special expanded issue goes hand in hand with the decision to extend until June 24 the international circulation drive to win 9,000 new readers for the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazine *New International*.

Distributors around the world are also planning to step up sales at factory gates, mine portals, and rail yards.

Supporters of the *Militant* and *PM* will be taking the Action Program with them to the meeting of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America, which begins in Panama City, Panama, on July 20.

It will be sold to striking paperworkers and their supporters, who are holding a rally in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, on June 18.

It will be sold to workers and young people in Britain participating in a month of anti-apartheid activities.

It will be a boost to supporters of the SWP presidential ticket who will be campaigning to get on the ballot in eight states during July and August.

An aggressive campaign to circulate the Action Program, starting with the current *Militant* and *PM*, can be an important step in convincing many others to adopt it as a fighting program to confront the coming world crisis.

# Labor's fight to reduce the working day

BY DOUG JENNESS

Usually when a writer or speaker reels off a lot of statistics, they can be pretty hard to follow and the main point gets lost. But when those figures are put in a visual form, the impact can be striking. The chart on page 13 is a case in point.

There are two things that immediately hit you when you study how the average number of hours in the workweek of manufacturing workers in the United States has

# LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

changed in the last 130 years.

First, is that there was a relatively steady decline between 1860 and the late 1940s — with the exception of the World War II years when extensive overtime drove the average up.

Second, is that for the last 40 years the average workweek has hovered around 42 hours. According to the chart this is the longest period without a substantial decline in 130 years.

The reduction in the average number of hours a week didn't occur naturally, as a normal part of the working out of the laws of capitalist development. Nor did the employers suddenly get an attack of good will and lower the workweek voluntarily.

It took a long, hard-fought struggle by several generations of workers to lower the average number of hours in the workweek.

When industrial capitalism first emerged and machinery began to be employed on a significant scale, the tendency of capitalists was to extend the number of hours. Working days of 14 and 16 hours became common.

It was natural that employers would do this. Once workers produce enough value to cover the costs of their own labor power — that is, enough to live on and raise a family in order to reproduce a new generation of wage workers — every additional hour worked creates more profits for the employer.

One of the first fights of the newly arising working class as it began to organize itself was to press for shortening the workday. The first significant struggle around this was the 10-hour day movement that emerged in Britain, the United States, and other countries in the 1820s and gathered steam in the next couple of decades. In the United States working-class organizations formed committees to fight for this. Scores of strikes were organized to press for this demand. Meetings, petitions, and other forms of activity were part of the campaign.

The fight won results.

In 1840, President Martin Van Buren issued an executive order setting the workday for public employees at 10 hours, with no reduction in pay. In 1847, New Hampshire became the first state to legislate the 10-hour day, and by the 1860s this had become standard for most states.

In Britain, legislation setting the workday at 10 hours was adopted in 1847.

Of course, getting this demand incorporated into law didn't make it a fact. Workers continued to have to fight to force the employers to abide by the law. Even so, the result was the average working day in the United States went from 12.5 hours in 1830 to 11 in 1860.

The 10-hour day movement was followed by the fight for an eight-hour day. After the U.S. Civil War (1861–65), there was a new rise in the labor movement both in the United States and Europe, and the fight to lower the legal workday got under way.

From 1866, when it was proposed by the National Labor Union, until well into this century, this became a major demand of the labor movement. And it was not always a peaceful fight. A good many workers lost their lives as a result of police attacks on demonstrations and strikes demanding the eight-hour day.

It also became an international fight as workers' organizations in many countries became part of the campaign. When the American Federation of Labor called for international demonstrations on May 1, 1890, demanding the eight-hour day, the labor and socialist organizations in many countries responded and tens of thousands of workers participated.

Frederick Engels, the foremost communist leader at the time, noted the importance of these actions for the development of international unity among working people. The workers, he said, "mobilized for the first time as One army, under One flag, and fighting for One immediate aim: an eight-hour working day."

Few workers today have any living memory of the fight to reduce the working day. This is an important part of the historical experience of the working class that deserves study. But we should do so with the recognition that there's not going to be any repeat of the 10-hour or eight-hour day movements.

That's not to say that there won't be a fight to reduce the working day; there definitely will be. But it will occur in a very different world context and stage of capitalism. This will be the topic of next week's column.



# North Carolina garment workers win union contract

BY MIKE FITZSIMMONS

After fighting for three years to keep the union out, Bates Childswear, a division of Gerber Baby Food Products, agreed to a contract with the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers. The pact, an important victory for garment workers, was signed April 11.

Just after the union won a representation vote in September 1986, the company filed charges with the Na-

## UNION TALK

tional Labor Relations Board (NLRB). The company claimed that workers had been bribed or threatened to get them to vote union.

The charges were so clearly baseless that the NLRB never moved to consider them. But the long delays helped the company because the future of the union appeared to be taken out of the hands of the workers and placed it in the hands of lawyers, government officials, and courts. The union members were largely reduced to the role of observers in the last stage of the battle for recognition.

In January 1988 the company closed its Troy, North Carolina, plant; laid off some 100 workers in other plants; cut all piece-work ticket prices by at least 3.5 percent; and eliminated the \$15-\$20 weekly incentive bonus.

Notices were posted explaining that business was down and economic prospects were uncertain because of the October 1987 stock market crash.

Less than a week later, the company announced it would recognize and bargain with the union.

During 10 weeks of negotiations, Gerber claimed it couldn't afford any pay raises and threatened to sell the apparel division if the profit rate didn't go up. In March, Gerber reported a division profit of \$12 million over nine months but said this wasn't enough.

While union representatives were at the bargaining table, workers in the plant organized a few plant-gate rallies and held a union meeting in the cafeteria. On one occasion, women from one department marched through the plant, shouting prounion slogans.

Our first union contract included some significant gains such as a seniority system, retirement plan, and union access to the plant floor. At the contract ratification meeting, the loudest applause greeted the recognition of two additional paid holidays, Martin Luther King Day and Memorial Day, and an affirmative action trainee program for the job of sewing machine mechanic.

A grievance procedure was set up.

The package includes raises in the first and third years and a lump-sum bonus in the second year of the contract. But the increase fell short of making up for the cuts instituted at the beginning of the year.

The key things we gained are hard to measure — dignity and an organization that can wage further battles to

defend our interests.

The company has signaled that it will continue attempts to divide and cheat us. The question we face now is how to build a union that can successfully take on the employers.

The victorious organizing drive at Bates Childswear was one of several organizing drives won by ACTWU in the Southeast in the last six months. Six new locals were present at the recent southern regional meeting of the union in Atlanta.

The new locals included ones representing a J.P. Stevens plant in Virginia; a local of food workers from Charlotte, North Carolina; and Golden Belt in Randleman County, North Carolina — the first unionized plant in the county.

In April, ACTWU won representation elections involving more than 1,000 workers at S. Lichtenberg Co. in Georgia and Gardner Manufacturing in Tennessee.

These are notable gains in the textile and apparel industries, which remain 95 percent unorganized in the South. Low wages and weak unions continue to attract garment and textile firms to this area at a higher rate than anywhere else in the United States. Because of this, North Carolina ranked first in the country for new manufacturing facilities in 1987.

Mike Fitzsimmons, a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, works at Bates Childswear in Greensboro, North Carolina.

## LETTERS

### Panama

Over the past few months, the daily papers have been having fun with editorial cartoons about Panama. Most of these have portrayed the mighty United States reduced to a sniveling beggar in the face of the machinations of that Panamanian fox, Gen. Manuel Noriega.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Sam Manuel's article in the June 10 *Militant* hits the mark and clears away a lot of the journalistic fog.

The *New York Review of Books* recently carried a lengthy essay that focused on charges and evidence about Noriega's drug connections and dealings. It was all very titillating reading, but there was little said about the real political issues such as the Panama canal and the war against the revolution in Nicaragua.

Even the *New Yorker* commented in the June 6 issue, "All that seems clear at the moment is that the officially stated reason — that we will have no truck with dictators or drug dealers — is a subterfuge."

It appears that former CIA director William Casey was so intent to destroy Nicaragua that he was willing to look away from Noriega's narcotics operations.

Francis McNeil, a former U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica, testified that following a meeting with Noriega, Casey "made clear that he let Noriega off the hook [on drugs]. If he could keep us happy on Nicaragua, he could do as he pleased."

The bipartisan drive to remove Noriega has nothing to do with restoring the democratic rights of the Panamanian people. The official discussions that have entertained options such as kidnapping and assassination seek only to replace the general with a more pliant stooge, like Arturo Delvalle, who will protect U.S. imperialist interests.

Craig McKissic

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### Reliable source

The *Militant* has excellent coverage of critical revolutionary movements. I have come to count on the *Militant* as the only reliable news source.

D.R.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

### Islamic republics

Although socialist organizations in America demand separation of church and state in the West, they never seem to criticize

"Islamic republics" in the Middle East. You might use the argument that most people in the Mideast are Muslim, but there was a time, and maybe still is, that most people here are Christian.

Both Islam and Christianity have enslaved Africans in the past, are antigay, and subordinate women to an inferior status.

Some say Islam is leftist and Christianity rightist, but when Marx said that "religion is the opiate of the people" it was obvious that he wasn't talking only about Christianity, although that quote seems to be used only against Christians.

I can understand supporting a Third World country that's being threatened by imperialists, but we should not hesitate to criticize the religious nature of the state.

Gary McIntire

St. Paris, Ohio

### Picket against IP

More than 250 striking members of the United Paperworkers International Union picketed International Paper Co.'s annual stockholders' meeting here in Denver. Delegations of strikers made long trips from Jay, Maine; De Pere, Wisconsin; and Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, to be at the May 10 gathering to call public attention to their strikes. There were also five union members representing the work force locked-out by IP at its Mobile, Alabama, mill.

The paperworkers were joined by members of the Colorado Building Trades Council, the Denver Newspaper Guild, and unions representing hospital, bakery, communications, postal, and service workers.

UPIU member Bob Welch from Jay emerged from the stockholders' meeting and reported that IP claimed they were covering their losses from the strikes and lockout. IP Chairman John Georges, in fact, says that company earnings were up in 1987. When asked how much the strikes and lockout were costing IP, Georges replied, "According to by-laws, I don't have to answer that."

Strikers, however, say the four plants are experiencing increased waste and poor product quality. In De Pere, for example, more than 20 truckloads of sludge a day are being hauled away, as compared to the usual two or three. At the stockholders' meeting, one IP customer complained, "I can't even thread your paper in my machine anymore."

Georges also got some heated in-

quiries about the recent series of dangerous chemical leaks at the Jay mill. Members of the IP Board of Directors were mainly concerned with figuring out a way to avoid legal liability should a Bhopal-type disaster happen at one of IP's mills.

Hos Kerr

Denver, Colorado

### Unlawful system

After reading successive issues of your publication, I'm convinced that yours is the voice of freedom.

As you very well know, justice and due process is a thing of the past, for all Americans. Coal miners, foreigners, whites and Blacks, we have all been victimized by the judicial branch of the federal government, known as the United States district, appeals, and Supreme Court of the United States.

Every person who believes in America and justice and equality at least should know the truth. The whole system is fabricated and unlawful.

A prisoner

Detroit, Michigan

### Tax reform act

By eliminating loopholes that favor special interests, the 1986 Tax Reform Act made progress toward fairness.

But it rolled back our progressive tax structure. In two years we've gone from a system in which people in 14 income levels paid widely ranging rates to one in which nearly all taxpayers pay one of two flat rates.

Historically our tax structure has been based on a simple principle: the more you make, the more you pay.

But loopholes and elaborate tax-dodging schemes undermine the code's integrity.

Tax reform pays lip service to the problem. In the name of "simplification," it assumes that fewer tax brackets are better.

Fewer brackets make taxes no easier to calculate. Fewer brackets are better only for wealthy individuals called on by the progressive system to pay a greater share.

"Reform" is a tragic misnomer for a program that asks working- and middle-class taxpayers to pay more while well-to-do taxpayers pay less.

Must Americans settle for such a trade-off?

Jeff Bullock

Phoenixville, Pennsylvania

"HELLO? I WANT TO REPORT SOMEONE LURKING AROUND HERE WHO IS ACTING KIND-OF UN-AMERICAN"



### James River mill

Pulp and paper workers in Hal-sey, Oregon, have ended their six-week strike against the James River Corp. They approved a new contract on May 29, after rejecting another offer on May 26.

The five-year pact was adopted by locals 1176, 1171, and 1234 of the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU). It provides for three wage increases and two bonuses over the life of the contract. Some of the medical coverage lost in the last contract was regained.

The main issue in the strike was the company's proposed "High Performance Work System," which would have gutted job rights. The new contract language allows the company to make "reasonable extensions" to current job classifications.

Don Durden, a member of Local 1171 who was on the negotiating committee, said that the union had obtained enough modifications of the proposal to protect workers from what he called a

"worst-case scenario."

Durden said that workers approved the contract, based on this compromise struck with the company. He said it remains to be seen exactly what the new work rules will mean in practice.

"Through the 45 days we stayed pretty unified," he said, "something the company has never seen before from the three locals. That should be worth something for the future."

Lisa Hickler

Portland, Oregon

### Correction

In last week's *Militant* article on "Rallies in Canada back Pathfinder expansion," Armand Vaillancourt was improperly identified. Vaillancourt is a well-known Québécois sculptor.

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.



## Tawana Brawley defense unravels

### Socialist candidate: 'N.Y. governor must jail racist attackers'

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW YORK — "The fight for justice for Tawana Brawley is rapidly unraveling," warned James Harris, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from New York, in a telephone interview on the evening of June 15. Earlier that day, two major developments in the Brawley case had hit the news:

- Gov. Mario Cuomo issued a statement condemning the Brawley family and its advisers for refusing to cooperate with a special grand jury investigation of the crime. He also called for arresting Glenda Brawley, Tawana's mother, for defying a grand jury order to testify. Cuomo's statement was in the form of a letter to State Attorney General and special prosecutor in the case, Robert Abrams. No one has yet been charged by the grand jury.

- A former aide to Brawley family adviser Al Sharpton publicly declared that the story of the assault on Tawana Brawley is "nothing but a pack of lies." Perry McKinnon, a former cop and private investigator, accused Sharpton — a self-confessed police informer — and the two Brawley family lawyers, C. Vernon Mason and Alton Maddox, of having no evidence that Tawana Brawley's story about being assaulted was true, but of publicly pushing it in order to build a political movement.

McKinnon was immediately served with a subpoena to testify before the grand jury. Hours after a live interview with McKinnon appeared on television, special prosecutor Abrams held a news conference in downtown Manhattan saying that McKinnon's statements "deserve immediate and careful" attention, and that if they're true, Sharpton, Mason, and Maddox "were consciously perpetrating a hoax."

Appearing on the *Phil Donahue Show* after McKinnon publicly told his story, Glenda Brawley, Mason, Maddox, and Sharpton repeated their demand that Abrams is unqualified and should be replaced as special prosecutor, preferably by Maddox himself. The show was held in the Bethany Baptist Church in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, where Glenda Brawley has sought sanctuary against state attempts to arrest her.

Tawana Brawley was found Nov. 28, 1987, partly naked and wrapped inside a plastic garbage bag in the upstate New York town of Wappingers Falls. Patches of her hair had been hacked away from her head. She had been smeared with dog feces. The word "nigger" had been written on her stomach and the letters "KKK" across her chest.

Unable to speak clearly for a few days, the Black 15 year old scribbled notes and made disjointed statements to give her account of being abducted, beaten, raped, and sodomized by six white men. One of

the men, she said, had what appeared to be a badge and told Brawley he was a cop.

Since her assault, Brawley has not made any public statements about her ordeal. On advice from her counsel, she turned down a request to testify voluntarily in front of the grand jury. She has not publicly participated in the defense effort in her case.

#### Protests force investigation

From the start, county and state authorities dragged their feet in investigating the crime against Brawley.

It took protests and a major effort to publicize the case throughout the state and the country in order to force Cuomo to appoint an independent prosecutor.

And even this was done only after both Dutchess County District Attorney William Grady and a court-appointed local prosecutor, David Sall, asked to be removed from the case due to "conflict of interest" in their offices.

Attorney General Abrams, the highest law-enforcement official in the state, was chosen as special prosecutor, thus putting the authority of the state's top officials behind the investigation.

A 23-person grand jury began hearing testimony on the case in March. Mason and Maddox have named three government officials in upstate Dutchess County as being part of the gang that assaulted Brawley though there's no evidence that this lead is being actively pursued by the prosecution. The lawyers have called for a new grand jury and urged Brawley and her mother not to cooperate with the current one.

Attorney General Abrams had announced that he is considering ending the state's grand jury investigation. "We may well be at that point of time, if we have no cooperation, that this investigation may have to wind itself down," he said on June 6. Abrams has also said that he is considering a way to have attorneys Mason and Maddox disciplined.

The FBI already ended its inquiry into the case on April 28, announcing that it



"Fight is urgently needed to force Gov. Mario Cuomo [left] to carry out serious investigation of kidnap and rape of Tawana Brawley [right]," said James Harris, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate.



was unable to corroborate any violation of Brawley's civil rights. What the FBI actually uncovered, if anything, was never reported.

Both the *New York Times* and *New York Newsday* have called for ending the investigation, citing Glenda Brawley's refusal to testify.

#### How to win justice for Brawley

Socialist candidate Harris said, "Every opponent of racist violence should demand that Cuomo and Abrams quit stalling and conduct a serious and rapid investigation into this crime, and arrest and prosecute the perpetrators of the assault on Tawana Brawley."

"The subpoenaing of Glenda Brawley — the mother of the victim, who is neither an eyewitness nor a suspect — is outrageous."

"Abrams was able to move with amazing speed to subpoena McKinnon, obviously in the hopes of getting the goods on Mason, Maddox, and Sharpton. This

stands in sharp contrast to the pace of the rest of the investigation. The highest official in the state should be going after the perpetrators of the crime against Tawana, not victimizing her family and trying to prosecute her attorneys."

Harris also discussed Mason and Maddox's approach to the case. Many supporters of Brawley's fight for justice have either been critical of their tactics, or proposed alternatives to find a way out of the current impasse in the case. These include Assemblyman Roger Green, chair of the New York State Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus; Herbert Daughtry, pastor of House of the Lord Church in Brooklyn; Hazel Dukes, head of the New York State National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and longtime civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn.

"As long as Brawley's attorneys maintain their opposition to cooperating with the state's investigation of the case, it will

Continued on Page 25

## 5,000 union miners in Alabama stage one-day work stoppage over safety

BY JOHN HAWKINS

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Coal production at union-organized mines in this state came to a halt for one day on June 9 as 5,000 miners stopped work. They were protesting proposed changes in the federal mine safety law.

Using a provision in the contract that allows the union to call "memorial days," United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) members stayed off work at some 40 mines.

More than 2,000 miners and their relatives responded to the union's call to gather at the Birmingham-Jefferson Civic Center. Representatives of the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) were conducting hearings there on proposed changes in the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act.

Similar hearings are being held throughout the coalfields, but this is the first time that the union had called a districtwide memorial day.

The placards dotting the crowd expressed the miners' displeasure with MSHA's proposals: "UMWA families would rather starve than burn," "It's our law, our lives," and "We don't beg, we demand safety."

The mine safety law was passed in 1969 as miners mounted substantial protests throughout the coalfields demanding black lung benefits and an end to the coal operators' disregard for safety.

The new changes proposed by MSHA touch on mine ventilation — the quantity and quality of the air operators are required to maintain in the mines. This has a crucial impact on the levels of methane and coal dust in miners' working atmosphere. Methane and coal dust are a common cause of mine explosions. Coal dust is also the cause of black lung, a debilitating respiratory disease.

MSHA's proposed changes include:

- Increasing the allowable limits of methane;
- Eliminating required 20-minute checks for methane at the mining face;
- Lengthening the amount of time companies can keep miners underground when ventilation fans go down before mandatory evacuation must begin.

At the hearing, MSHA's director of Standards, Regulations, and Variances, Patricia Silvey, attempted to defend the new proposal, saying that it was simply a rewording of the current law to make it more readable.

In response, District 20 UMWA President Mike Gosset said, "MSHA has an obligation to protect mine safety, not increase the productivity of the mine operators. MSHA has failed miserably in its obligations."

"We are here today to tell you in no un-

certain terms," continued Gosset, "that MSHA's proposed changes in the mine safety standards is no more than a license to commit murder."

Following Gosset's testimony, dozens of miners took the floor to voice their opposition to the proposed changes.

Ray Wakefield from UMWA Local 2133 has been maintaining mine ventilation fans for three years at USX's Oak Grove mine. The original plan for the Oak Grove mine, Wakefield pointed out, called for seven fans to be in operation when the mine reached its current size. But only three are in operation, with no plans for more.

Wakefield noted that it takes "up to 45 minutes" to evacuate a mine that size. If the time were lengthened before mandatory evacuation begins, it would mean miners remaining underground during a period when the methane buildup is highly likely.

Discussions in the bath house and underground the day after the one-day work stoppage and protest at the hearings reflected miners' determination not to take any backward steps on health and safety.

John Hawkins is a member of UMWA Local 2368 at the Jim Walters Resources No. 5 mine in Brookwood, Alabama.



James Harris

Militant/Janet Post