

Vets convoy members protest in Washington

BY NORTON SANDLER

"We are asking people to call the Treasury Department and members of Congress to demand that we be allowed to take the convoy across the border."

In a phone interview, Veterans Peace Convoy to Nicaragua spokesperson Ed Deaton explained the latest developments in the fight to get 38 trucks filled with humanitarian aid for the Nicaraguan people across the border between the United States and Mexico.

Claiming the convoy violated Washington's trade embargo with Nicaragua, agents of the Treasury Department seized four trucks as they approached the border checkpoint separating Laredo, Texas, and Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, on June 15.

Deaton said that after being halted by the government, more than 100 convoy members traveled to Washington, D.C., arriving in the capital on June 22. The veterans circled the White House in a two-hour afternoon protest June 23. That night they held a protest rally in a nearby park.

Government officials first stopped the convoy at the Laredo border June 7. The veterans and their supporters had collected some 30 tons of oats, clothing, and school and medical supplies in more than 100 U.S. cities. Dozens of groups and organizations pitched in on the effort.

A press statement released by the veterans explains, "Treasury officials demanded that Convoy drivers complete forms acknowledging a restrictive and illegal interpretation of the embargo and guaranteeing that the trucks be returned to the U.S. within 30 days."

"The Veterans Peace Convoy was singled out for special treatment by the Treasury Department," the statement continues. "It is clear it was a political decision, not a legal one, and it was made in Washington, not Laredo. The Reagan administration has waged war on Nicaragua on two fronts. The most visible has been the Contra war, but even more devastating to the children has been the economic violence."

There have been numerous demonstrations in support of the convoy — "primarily during the time we were in Laredo, particularly on the Wednesday we attempted to go across," Deaton said. "There were probably 50 demonstrations or actions in support of the convoy that week."

Anti-imperialist meeting in Panama opposes U.S. moves to topple gov't

BY JUDY WHITE

PANAMA CITY, Panama, June 20 — As a people, we are deeply proud to be able once again to host a meeting that represents the historical unity in struggle of the oppressed of this continent."

These words of welcome opened the Third Assembly of the Anti-imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America here.

They were spoken by Eligio Salas of the Revolutionary Democratic Party (PRD) of Panama. The PRD holds the majority of seats in both houses of the Panamanian legislature.

The opening session was addressed by Panamanian Foreign Minister Eduardo Ritter and Anti-Imperialist Organizations President Rafael "Fafa" Taveras.

The members of the anti-imperialist body include 37 political parties and groups from 22 countries in Central Amer-

Coup in Haiti sets up open military rule

BY HARRY RING

With the seizure of power June 20 by Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy, the Haitian regime of President Leslie Manigat was shoved aside. General Namphy had been instrumental in installing Manigat as president after an election in January.

Now Namphy has declared himself president and ordered the national assembly abolished. He named a cabinet of 11 army officers and a lone civilian.

Manigat has fled to the Dominican Republic, which shares the Caribbean island of Hispaniola with Haiti.

The current crisis erupted June 17 when Manigat tried to strike out on his own, firing and arresting Namphy. Three days later, the army chief emerged from house arrest and seized the presidential palace with troops.

Washington expressed unhappiness with the Namphy coup. But Secretary of State George Shultz said it could have a positive result if it curbed the role of Col. Jean-Claude Paul.

Paul has been indicted in the United States as an alleged drug trafficker.

The power conflict between Namphy and Manigat was reported to have been triggered when Namphy reassigned Paul from his troop command to a desk job. Paul refused the order and reported the action to Manigat. The president then charged that Namphy had violated the constitution by issuing the order without his knowledge or consent.

Namphy had been army chief of staff during the murderous regime of Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier.

When Duvalier was driven out of Haiti by a popular rebellion in early 1986 his last act was to appoint a military-dominated government headed by Namphy.

In the face of strong popular opposition that it tried to violently suppress, Namphy's military junta had clung to power for two years.

Under pressure from protests in Haiti, it made a pretense in January of moving toward democracy by staging an election in which Manigat was declared the winner. The national assembly was established in the same election.

Few people voted in the election, which was opposed with a strike and boycott.

One of the poorest countries in the world, Haiti has long suffered under U.S. domination.

From 1915 to 1934, the country was run



Haitian dictator Henry Namphy, former army chief under Jean-Claude Duvalier. Duvalier fled country in February 1986 in face of massive popular upsurge. Namphy has now ousted president who won army-controlled election held in January.

by U.S. Marine occupation forces.

In 1957, the tyrannical dictatorship of François "Doc" Duvalier was fastened on the Haitian people. In 1971, his son, Jean-Claude, succeeded him as "president for life," continuing the repressive rule until the people drove him out in 1986.

Washington, which armed and financed the Duvalier dynasty until the string ran out, also bankrolled its successors.

Last November, after a slated election was canceled amidst bloody government attacks on the people, Washington deemed it expedient to suspend most of the aid money it sends to Haiti.

Since the 1970s, several hundred companies, mostly U.S.-owned, have set up assembly plants in Port-au-Prince, Haiti's capital. They were attracted by the "firm" rule and a nonunion, low-wage situation.

More than 80 percent of Haitian workers earn less than the legal \$3 a day minimum wage.

Consequently, decent housing and medical care are virtually nonexistent for the mass of Haitians.

Unemployment is more than 50 percent. Figures in 1985 showed that 90 percent of the people earned less than \$150 a year.

An equal percentage of Haitian children suffer malnutrition.

Eighty percent of the population suffers illiteracy.

Since they booted out Duvalier, Haitians have fought to establish a trade union movement. Newly established workers' organizations have resisted military rule and battled to organize workers and upgrade sweatshop conditions.

The principal new union organization is the Autonomous Confederation of Haitian Workers (CATH).

In addition to urban workers, CATH affiliates include peasant associations. Earlier this year, union spokespeople reported 176,000 members in 172 affiliates.

Gov't pays damages awarded in socialists' suit against FBI

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Check for \$280,544.95 was received from U.S. government June 21 by Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Payment included \$264,000 in damages that government had been ordered to pay by Judge Thomas Griesa, who ruled in August 1986 that FBI had illegally spied on and disrupted SWP and YSA for years. One year later, Griesa barred government use of illegally obtained files. Justice Department's decision early this year not to appeal ruling ended court battle that began when SWP and YSA filed suit in 1973. The check also included an amount set by Griesa as payment for part of court costs, other than attorney's fees. Griesa is still considering request that government be assessed for lawyers' fees incurred by socialists.

Continued on Page 13

Local artists join painting of mural

BY FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK — Salem Kriege and Franc Palaia had dropped by the Pathfinder Building to check out how the mural was progressing and to talk to Mike Alewitz, the mural project's artistic director, about what they could do to help. I talked to them for a few minutes while they sat eating lunch in their pickup truck.

Kriege and Palaia are well-known painters and photographers who live just across the Hudson River in Hoboken, New Jersey. They plan to help paint the six-story mural that was begun on the south wall of the Pathfinder Building last fall.

Palaia described his art as "political, although not exclusively so." One of his recent works, now on the wall of the Tunnel Club Disco in New York, was the *Hall of Shame*—portraits of 15 U.S.-backed dictators from around the world. They include Chilean military ruler Augusto Pinochet, South African President Pieter Botha, and former Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos.

In March and April *The Berlin Wall Series*—a collection of Palaia's graffiti, paintings, sculptures, and large-scale painted photographs, were on display at a local gallery.

Kriege said he is presently creating a series of murals exposing what he termed "the myth of corporations."

"We got involved with the mural," Palaia said, "because we know Mike, and because we are involved with the same kind of issues that Pathfinder is—we march in antiwar demonstrations and other protests."

The portrait of Fred Halstead was one of the latest to be painted into the mural. Halstead was a communist, unionist, antiwar fighter, and revolutionary journalist and author for four decades until his death June 2.

Pathfinder, the publishing house that has offices in the building, has published or distributed many of Halstead's writings, including *Out Now!*, his account of the U.S. movement against the war in Vietnam, and the pamphlets *What Working People Should Know About Nuclear Power* and *The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers' Strike in Austin, Minnesota*.

Wendy A. Miller, or "WAM" as she signs her paintings, said she enjoyed helping to paint the giant printing press into the mural. She said she particularly liked the opportunity to "play with the texture of metal." The printing press is the centerpiece of the mural, which portrays the role of the revolutionary press in arming workers and farmers with the ideas and experi-

ences of the revolutionary working-class movement.

The mural includes portraits of many working-class leaders—from Karl Marx to Mother Jones to Malcolm X and Fidel Castro. The writings of many of these revolutionary figures are published by Pathfinder.

Miller, who is in her 20s, usually paints "figurative and color-field abstracts." She said she liked working on a project of this scope. The mural is visible to the tens of thousands of motorists who pass by each day on the nearby West Side Highway.

After spending hours every day painting on canvases in a cramped New York apartment, Miller said, "it feels great to climb a scaffolding and paint outdoors."

Miller is one of many artists, who range from internationally known figures to young people still struggling for recognition and opportunities to work, who have participated in painting the mural.

"It was a nonstop kind of thing," Chris Rayson told me. He was describing the response to a photo and literature display set up to publicize the mural project at the June 11 peace demonstration in New York.

"Hundreds of people stopped by—the mural was totally news to almost all of them. We distributed 700 pieces of literature, including the letter appealing for funds signed by muralist Eva Cockcroft, film maker Emile D'Antonio, folksinger Pete Seeger, and poet Sonia Sanchez.

"Many people were attracted by the photographs we had of the paintings of Augusto César Sandino, the leader of the struggle against U.S. occupation of Nica-



Militant/Janet Post

At Ben Linder Fiesta held by antiwar groups in Portland, Oregon, children got a chance to color in sketch of mural that is being painted in on Pathfinder Building in New York City.

ragua in the 1920s and '30s, and Carlos Fonseca, the founder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front."

Enrique Linaza, an artist from Madrid, Spain, has donated \$25 to the mural project.

"Good luck with the mural," read a note from the Greenwich Mural Workshop of Macbean Centre in London, England, enclosing "a small contribution—but all for artistic freedom." They sent \$20.

"Please keep us informed of project," their note concluded, "we would like to see this massive work when complete."

The Pathfinder Mural Project is now campaigning to raise \$30,000 to meet the costs of finishing the project. To make a contribution and/or receive further infor-

mation, fill out and mail the coupon below.

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

☐ I would like more information about the mural project.

Name _____
Organization/title _____
Street _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Phone _____

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

Millions protest in S. Africa June 16

BY SAM MANUEL

Millions stayed off their jobs and away from shopping markets in South Africa on June 16. The massive protest action marked the 12th anniversary of the uprising against apartheid in the South West Townships (Soweto) just south of Johannesburg.

On June 16, 1976, some 10,000 students marched in Soweto, protesting the attempt by the apartheid regime to impose Afrikaans as the main language of instruction in schools. Afrikaans is the language spoken by the majority of whites and is used only in South Africa.

Without warning, police fired on the protest. More than 100 students were killed. The protest then spread throughout the country. June 16 has become known as

South African Youth Day.

The June 17 *London Guardian* reported that there were few people to be seen in Soweto during this year's commemoration of that event. Soldiers occupied extra roadblocks around the township. The South African Transport Services reported that trains and buses carried few commuters in the industrial Reef district around Johannesburg and in Pretoria.

Similar conditions prevailed throughout the country, including in Cape Town where many people of mixed race, labeled Coloureds by the apartheid regime, also observed the protest.

Observance of June 16 was weakest among gold and coal miners according to the *Guardian*. The Chamber of Mines

claimed that just over a third of the miners stayed off their jobs.

The widespread observance of June 16 is a powerful blow to efforts by the government to prevent this date from becoming an official holiday. Some companies gave Black employees leave, and some shut down for the day.

The June 16 observance is also another blow to the special emergency measures imposed by the regime on February 24. The measure effectively banned the activities of 17 major anti-apartheid organizations, with the exception of "administrative functions."

A three-day strike June 6-8, organized by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, was observed by 3 million workers.

Subscribe today!

"The *Militant* tells the truth. I was in Nicaragua and you've got good coverage. I've checked it out pretty carefully and you've not lied about things."

— John Cruz
World War II vet and member
of the Veterans Peace Convoy

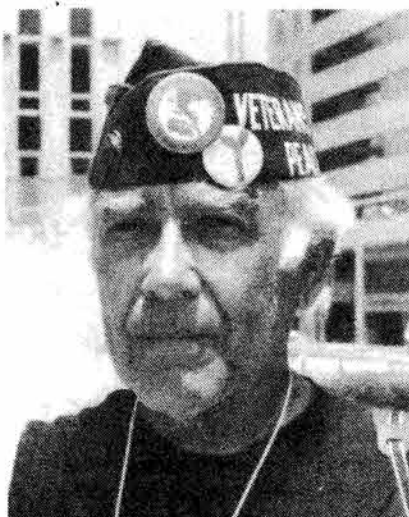
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SPECIAL
OFFER



The Militant

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Puerto Rican independence fighter jailed in New York

BY SELVA NEBBIA

NEW YORK — On June 15 Nelson Ramírez turned himself in to police officers at the federal courthouse in Brooklyn. He will serve a 15-month sentence. His crime? Refusing to cooperate with a grand jury.

"People will witness the incarceration of an individual who has not been charged with any criminal activity or committed any crime," said Ramírez.

The 28-year-old emergency medical service technician and supporter of independence of Puerto Rico was approached by four FBI agents on May 23 as he was leaving work at Metropolitan Hospital. The agents questioned him about the individuals involved in the Puerto Rican independence movement. They then served him with a subpoena to appear before a grand jury.

Ramírez said the agents reminded him

that his wife was involved in a "high risk pregnancy" and that his best friend was in the hospital seriously ill. "This led me to believe that they thought these conditions made me vulnerable, as did the fact that I have not been active in the movement nor been a member of any organization for about four years," he said.

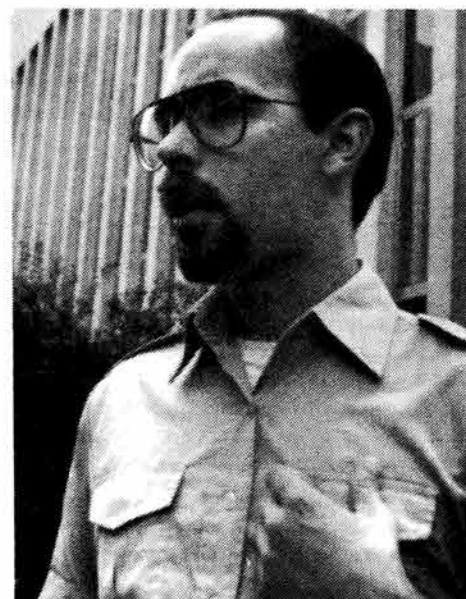
"But they made a serious mistake when they made that assumption," he added. "As a Puerto Rican I have always been for independence of Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States," he continued, "and colonialism as we all know is a crime against humanity and people have a right to decolonize themselves."

"The United States government has no moral or legal right, being an occupying force in Puerto Rico, to ask me or any Puerto Rican questions pertaining to the independence movement or any of the people therein," Ramírez said. "I would never cooperate with them in the repression of that movement."

Ramírez became active in the independence movement in the late 1970s. "I went into my first semester of college, I was 18 years old at the time, and found out that there were five Puerto Ricans being held in jail for an incredible amount of time," he recalled, "something like a quarter of a century for their belief in independence of Puerto Rico. I joined the committee to free the five nationalists, that was my first political involvement," he added.

The five Puerto Rican nationalists were Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Oscar Collazo, Irving Flores, and Andrés Figueroa Cordero, who in 1979 after a broad international defense effort were released, having spent 25 years in prison.

Ramírez was also president of the Puerto



Militant/Selva Nebbia

Nelson Ramírez, speaking to supporters at Brooklyn federal courthouse before turning himself in to police.

Rep. Conyers calls for justice for Mark Curtis

BY BOB MILLER

DES MOINES, Iowa — "I write to express my concern about the recent arrest of union and political activist Mark Curtis," Michigan Congressman John Conyers, Jr., said in a recent letter to Des Moines Police Chief William Moulder.

Conyers continued, "As a member of Congress and Chair of the Subcommittee

demanding that all charges against Curtis be dropped and that the police who beat him be investigated and prosecuted.

New endorsers for the committee include the Nicaragua Network; Lorretta Ross, who heads up the Women of Color department of the National Organization for Women; and Bill Calahan, a leader of Quest for Peace and the Quixote Center in Washington, D.C.

Among the hundreds who recently added their names to petitions in support of Curtis are 50 members of United Auto Workers Local 10 at the General Motors plant in Doraville, Georgia; more than 40 International Association of Machinists Local 796 members in Washington, D.C.; and more than 30 participants in a recent conference on immigration in New York.

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.

BY HOLLY HARKNESS

LOCK HAVEN, Pa. — "The Des Moines police are out to frame me up because of my political beliefs and my union activities," Mark Curtis told a rally of striking paperworkers and their supporters here June 18. The rally had been called to mark the first anniversary of United Paperworkers International Union Local 1787's strike against International Paper.

Curtis briefly explained the background to the charges he faces. "Like you I'm going around the country getting support. Not just support for my case, but to expose these types of frame-ups that the cops and the government use to try to intimidate workers from fighting for our rights."

On June 22 Polk County District Judge Anthony Critelli denied the motion by Mark Curtis' attorney, Mark Pennington, to postpone Curtis' July 6 trial on burglary and sexual abuse charges.

on Criminal Justice, I have what you might call a vested interest in seeing this case, and others like it, receive the most stringent and impugnable attention of our justice system."

Conyers said that Curtis' union and political activity and the reports of a physical attack against him while in police custody "speak to the grave necessity for an intense investigation of the conduct of the officers involved and the circumstances which led to the arrest."

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 at the Swift Independent packinghouse. He has been charged with first-degree burglary and third-degree sexual abuse.

The 29-year-old activist is also charged with two counts of assaulting police. The trial on these charges is set for July 18.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is

GE unionists hit cop brutality

BY VAL LIBBY

EVENDALE, Ohio — A hundred members of the United Auto Workers converged on the Evendale City Council June 2 to demand an independent investigation of police brutality against union members that took place during a strike against General Electric Co. A GE jet engine plant here where 7,000 members of the UAW Local 647 and International Association of Machinists Lodge 912 work was struck for eight weeks last spring. Evendale is a suburb of Cincinnati.

After initially refusing the unionists a point on the agenda, Mayor Donald Apking backed down and allowed Marion Spencer to read a statement into the record. Spencer's statement, on behalf of the Citizens Committee for Justice in Evendale, called on the town to drop its charges against UAW member Judith Hurst, a victim of a police beating during the strike.

Hurst had been stopped by three Evendale police cruisers March 6 on her way back to the union hall. The cops claimed she was speeding. She was handcuffed, taken to the police station, and beaten. Hurst was then charged with disorderly conduct while intoxicated, and assaulting a police officer. The cops have claimed that her wounds were self-inflicted.

The union held a news conference at the

time to protest the beating and organized a demonstration against cop brutality.

"Ms. Hurst is charged with assaulting a police officer," Spencer said. "The fact remains that Ms. Hurst was placed in handcuffs from the time she first encountered the police. During her whole time in Evendale police custody, Ms. Hurst's hands were cuffed behind her back. How could Ms. Hurst assault a police officer while her hands were cuffed behind her back?"

"Were these charges justified?" Spencer asked, "or were they a cover for police misconduct or an expression of police disdain for the UAW strikers? Was Judith Hurst to be an example for other UAW members of what could happen to them if they questioned police authority, or was she the unwitting target of police frustration?"

As a show of support for the union members, about a dozen religious leaders attended the city council meeting, along with Cincinnati AFL-CIO Labor Council head Dan Radford.

UAW Local 647 is planning to organize people to attend Hurst's trial, which is set for June 27.

The Evendale City Council took no action on the Hurst beating.

Val Libby is a member of UAW Local 647.

Justice for Mark Curtis

Drop all the charges — prosecute the cops who beat him!

Political and union activist Mark Curtis was beaten and framed up by Des Moines cops on false charges of burglary and attempted rape. Only a few hours earlier he had attended

a meeting to defend immigrant coworkers at the Swift meat-packing company. He has been a victim of an FBI spy operation for his opposition to the U.S. war in Central America.

Attend an international defense rally

Des Moines, Iowa

Sunday, July 3, 2 p.m.

Des Moines Convention Center, 5th and Grand

Hear: **Neo Mnumzana** representative of the African National Congress of South Africa at the UN; **Héctor Marroquín** Mexi-

can-born socialist fighting for right to permanent residence in the U.S.; **CISPES** representative; **Mark Curtis**.

Sponsor: **Mark Curtis Defense Committee**

For more information call (515) 246-1695

Rallies to defend Héctor Marroquín

Welcome the delegation accompanying Marroquín to Toronto, Canada, for the July 6 hearing on his 11-year fight to win permanent residence in the United States.

New York City

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

Ethical Culture Society, 2 West 64th St.

Toronto

Wednesday, July 6, 7:30 p.m.

787 Yonge St., Meeting Room D

Donations: New York \$5, Toronto \$3

Sponsor: **Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee**

For more information, call New York (212) 691-3270; Toronto (416) 861-1399.

Tributes to life of Fred Halstead

New York, L.A. meetings celebrate contributions of veteran SWP leader

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Hundreds of people attended two meetings held in New York and Los Angeles June 18 and 19 to celebrate the life and contributions of longtime Socialist Workers Party leader Fred Halstead. He died on June 2 at his home in Los Angeles.

Those who came were inspired by the story of Halstead's life, which was devoted to building the SWP; the class battles he participated in for more than 40 years; and the legacy he leaves to the new generation of young people fighting to make a socialist revolution in the United States.

The New York meeting, held at the Goddard Riverside Center on Manhattan's Upper West Side, was filled to overflowing with nearly 300 people, most of them members and supporters of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance from around the country. A number of activists who had worked with Halstead during the movement against the war in Vietnam attended as well.

In Los Angeles, nearly 250 people from up and down the West Coast, and Arizona,

Next issue of *Militant* will feature messages sent to Halstead meetings.

packed the National Association of Letter Carriers Hall to participate in the tribute to Halstead. Among those who joined the many SWP and YSA members and supporters present were several of Virginia Garza's coworkers from the Hollywood Sunset Community Clinic. Garza is a longtime SWP member and Halstead's wife. Anti-apartheid activists, fighters against U.S. intervention in Central America, and unionists also participated.

The New York meeting was chaired by Doug Jenness, coeditor of the *Militant*, and James Harris, chairperson of the New York SWP and the party's candidate for U.S. Senate.

In Los Angeles, longtime SWP leader Betsey Stone chaired the evening's program.

Jack Barnes, national secretary of the SWP, was the featured speaker at both meetings.

Both celebrations began with a message from three members of the Veterans Peace Convoy to Nicaragua. They wrote from Laredo, Texas, where convoy participants and their supporters were on the front lines, battling federal authorities for the right to take 38 trucks filled with humanitarian aid across the U.S.-Mexican border, and on to war-ravaged Nicaragua.

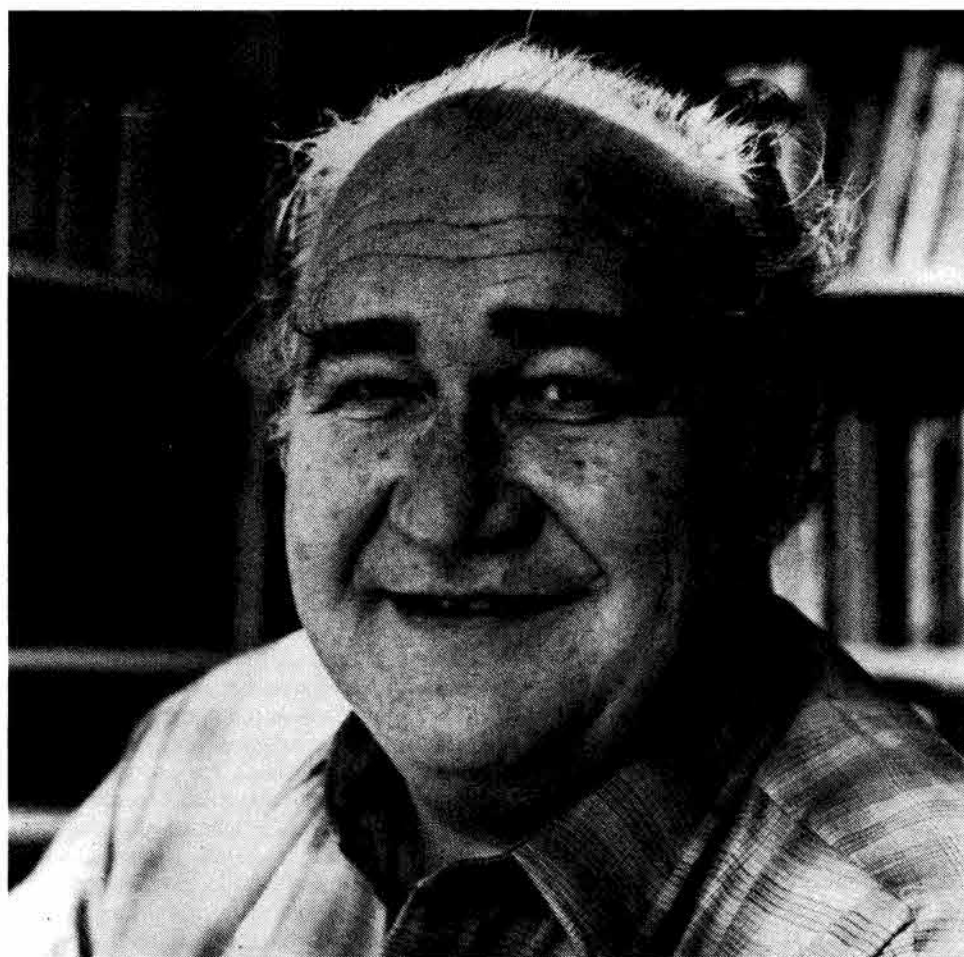
Canadian leader denied U.S. entry

John Steele, a leader of the Revolutionary Workers League of Canada, had hoped to present a message from his organization at the New York celebration of Fred Halstead's life.

However, after clearing U.S. customs at the Toronto airport on the afternoon of June 18, Steele was barred from entering the United States by U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service agents. He was told by INS officials that they were not permitted to explain why they were refusing to allow him to board a plane for the United States, except to say that they had "reason to believe that you are an inadmissible person."

When Steele requested the law under which he was being denied entry, the agent in charge cited a section of the McCarran-Walters Act, adopted during the 1950s anticommunist witch-hunt.

A written message from Steve Penner, executive secretary of the Revolutionary Workers League, was sent to both the New York and Los Angeles meetings.



Fred Halstead in 1987

"This is a fight Fred would have loved," the message said. "It is a fight to feed children, not the war. Fred's political concerns always encompassed two things that lie at the heart of the convoy. He was always concerned with how the struggle for justice and socialism served the needs of everyday people. And Fred always understood the significance of GIs in building a powerful antiwar movement. In our efforts to reach Managua with our cargo of material aid, we join with you in saluting the achievements of Fred's life."

Among the dozens of other messages that poured in for the meetings was one from Angela Sanbrano, executive director of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), and Don White, from the Los Angeles office of CISPES, who attended the California meeting.

Early years in Los Angeles

The first speaker of the evening in New York was Ethel Lobman, a 45-year veteran of the SWP, who was part of the Los Angeles branch of the party when Halstead joined in 1948 at the age of 21.

Los Angeles immediately after World War II was a much different city than it is today, Lobman recalled. "It was in many ways a southern city, a Jim Crow city; Blacks could not eat in the restaurants there," she said. "It was a city that still had the earmarks of the depression of the 1930s. Many of the workers, especially in the garment industry, had come from Oklahoma and parts of the south in the previous decade."

The SWP was part of the working class and unions of Los Angeles, she explained, in the auto, aircraft, rubber, garment, and maritime industries, and among farm workers who were trying to organize a union. Halstead, who got out of the navy in 1948, was one of a number of students and young workers who joined the SWP in this post-war period.

Halstead learned how to be a garment cutter from SWP members who were active in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in Los Angeles.

During the early 1960s, Lobman and Halstead again lived near each other, on New York City's Lower East Side.

When a rent strike movement broke out in the area they lived in and in Harlem, Halstead and his wife Virginia jumped right in, Lobman said, and "helped bring organization to the Lower East Side." Halstead wrote the text for *Harlem Stirs*, a book that documented that movement.

In 1968 he ran for president on the SWP

ticket. "I remember our excitement," said Lobman, "when we sent Fred to South Vietnam to meet with GIs there. Until then, many in the movement against the Vietnam War thought of GIs as part of the enemy, since they were fighting the Vietnamese. Fred helped change the movement's view of GIs, who began to organize against the war themselves. This was part of forcing the United States out of Vietnam." Halstead's worldwide trip that year also took him to Japan, India, Egypt, West Germany, France, and Britain.

Square D strike

After joining the party, he spent a few more years in Los Angeles, and then moved to Detroit in 1953 to help reinforce the SWP branch there. He worked in the auto industry as an upholstery cutter.

This was the period of the Cold War anticommunist witch-hunt, during which the SWP, Communist Party, and others in the labor movement were coming under fierce red-baiting attack.

Halstead and other SWPers were active in mobilizing labor solidarity for the Square D strike in 1954. (See next page.)

Leadership school

Harry Ring, a staff writer for the *Militant* since 1953, spoke in New York. He described how he first got to know Halstead at a session of the party's leadership school they both attended in 1954. During sessions of the school — located at that time at a camp in New Jersey — a group of party leaders would be relieved of their other political responsibilities to study for about six months.

"Fred and I formed a cooking team at the school," Ring recalled, "with me doing the washing and Fred doing the cooking. He had gotten experience as a cook in the navy during World War II. Fred always used a lot of pots, but he knew how to get the maximum out of the pennies we had in those days to spend on food."

In March 1956, Halstead took a Greyhound bus from Detroit to Montgomery, Alabama, to cover for the *Militant* the bus-boycott movement being organized by the Black community, said Ring. This struggle was an important chapter in the civil rights movement that ended Jim Crow segregation in the South. And the articles Halstead wrote for the *Militant* covering the boycott were examples of top-notch working-class journalism. When he returned to Detroit, Halstead helped organize a station-wagons-for-Montgomery drive.

Among those who sent messages to the meetings were veteran civil rights fighters Robert F. Williams and Anne Braden.

Later that year, Halstead moved to New York to join the *Militant* staff. He worked as a garment cutter during the day, and at night would come down to the paper's office to write.

Working together on the *Militant*, Ring described how painstakingly Halstead worked to develop his skills as a writer, "sweating over every word until 2:00 a.m., if needed."

Jenness also noted that the development of Halstead's craft as a journalist meant that over the years the *Militant* asked him to take on many different assignments, from covering labor battles and civil rights fights, to reporting on the Nicaraguan revolution in the first few weeks after it triumphed in July 1979. "We knew that if Fred went," he said, "we would get the facts."

Anti-Vietnam war movement

Halstead was a central leader of the movement to end U.S. aggression in Vietnam during the 1960s and early '70s, Jenness explained. And he was known for and personified the SWP's orientation to the working class, especially workers in uniform — the GIs.

During the 1968 presidential campaign, the party published an "Open Letter to GIs" from Halstead that was circulated to tens of thousands of U.S. soldiers around the world. Halstead also edited *GIs Speak Out*, a book about the Fort Jackson Eight, a major defense effort for a group of antiwar GIs victimized by the army brass. Andrew Pulley, one of the defendants who soon joined the YSA and went on to become a leader of the SWP and its presidential candidate in 1980, sent a message to the meetings. Howard Petrick, another antiwar GI who faced court-martial in 1967 for his views, also sent greetings.

Halstead's book *Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War*, published in 1978, was praised in a number of greetings. One, from Bradford Lyttle — a pacifist who worked with Halstead during the antiwar movement — said, "Several years ago, while conducting research for a history of the Chicago anti-Vietnam War movement, I read *Out Now!* I recognized at once his gifts as an historian and an English stylist. There have been a number of books about the anti-Vietnam War movement. I believe that Fred's remains the best, and may never be surpassed."

Another message explained that *Out Now!* is one of the most widely read books among U.S. volunteers living and working in Nicaragua, with copies passed from hand to hand.

Many leading figures from the movement against the war in Vietnam who had worked with Halstead sent messages to the meetings, including David Dellinger, Norma Becker, Dave McReynolds, Sidney Peck, C. Clark Kissinger, Abby Hoffman, Tom Hayden, Jerry Gordon, Jim Lafferty, and Abdeen Jabara. The Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos; the A.J. Muste Memorial Institute; and unionists John T. Williams and Bill Nuchow also sent messages.

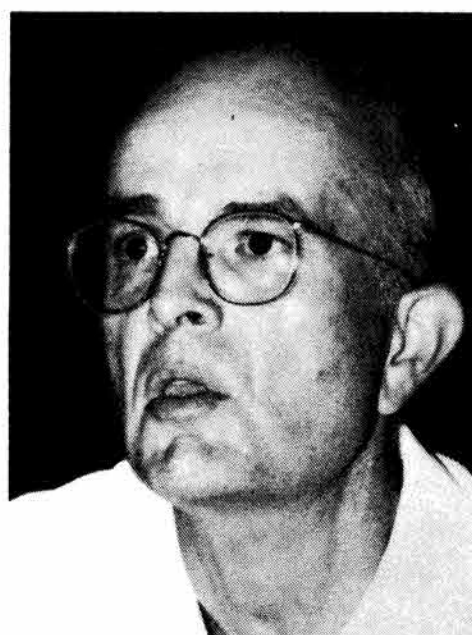
Legion of Justice

Pearl Chertov, a veteran SWP leader who joined the party in 1938, spoke in Los Angeles about Halstead's life, and recounted an important experience working with him in Chicago in 1969.

An armed right-wing thug outfit called the Legion of Justice was terrorizing radical and antiwar groups in northern Illinois, she recalled. In November 1969, they attacked and seriously damaged the offices of the SWP and YSA in Chicago, and injured several members. Other attacks followed. It was later revealed that the Legion of Justice was operating in collusion with the Chicago police and army intelligence apparatuses in the region.

In response to the attack, Halstead and Chertov went to Chicago to help organize a defense effort, with the aim of beating back the rightist goons, defending the party and YSA, and setting an example for the antiwar movement as a whole.

"Fred helped give the young comrades



(From left) Jack Barnes, Pearl Chertov, Francisco Picado, and Ethel Lobman.

Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Militant/Osborne Hart

confidence in themselves, that they could fight back against this gang and win," Chertov remembered.

Frank Wilkinson, executive director emeritus of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, sent a message to the meetings that paid tribute to Halstead and the SWP's role in defending democratic rights.

Boston desegregation fight

"Fred always tried to inspire young fighters to see their potential as thinking, acting human beings, who can make a leadership contribution to the fight for socialism. That's the effect he had on me when I met him as a young YSA member," said James Warren, SWP candidate for U.S. president, at the New York meeting.

He was describing working with Halstead in 1974 in Boston during the fight to implement school desegregation, which had come under violent attack from racist forces in the city. Halstead had gone there to write articles for the *Militant* on the struggle to defend the court-ordered busing plan.

In 1986 Warren worked with Halstead again — this time in Austin, Minnesota, where a strike by union meat-packers against Geo. A. Hormel & Co. was taking place. Halstead was there to write a pamphlet about the packinghouse workers' struggle. Warren was helping organize solidarity with the strike by members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9.

"It was hard for Fred to write that pamphlet," Warren remembered, "because so many people always wanted to talk to him. Part of my assignment in Austin was to make sure Fred finished the pamphlet."

"Fred was enthusiastic about the meat-packers' fight," continued Warren. "But he was also careful not to demand more of the workers than could be expected at that point. In the course of their struggle, they were beginning to shed 50 years of miseducation. But there was still a lot that they hadn't yet learned. Fred's pamphlet about the strike is not just for meat-packers — it's for all workers who are waking up, and who want to fight."

Several P-9ers sent messages to the meetings.

Work with youth

Francisco Picado, a member of the YSA National Executive committee, spoke at both the New York and Los Angeles meetings. He joined the YSA as a young immigrant worker in Los Angeles in 1981. That's how he met Halstead, who was once again active in the party branch there and working in the garment industry.

"Fred inspired me with the confidence that a revolution within the borders of the United States was possible," Picado said. "He woke up our political imagination and gave us confidence in the working class." Halstead enjoyed giving classes to the YSA, Picado said, on the Russian revolution, World War II, and other subjects. "It was always hard to end those classes," he added.

Picado described Halstead's role in educating the new generation of party and YSA members who went to work in the garment industry and became members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. "The ILGWU seemed so weak and corrupt that it was hard for us to imagine it could ever change," Picado said. "Fred taught us about the history of the

union, how it had always been a union of immigrants. The strikes and struggles that built the ILGWU to begin with showed what the ranks of the union are capable of, and will do again in the future."

Picado also described an aspect of Halstead's life that was touched on by other speakers and messages. "Fred and Virginia's house was always open. You could always go there, if you needed a place to stay or something to eat or someone to talk to," he said. "That house was always filled. Often we had dinners and parties there, and Fred would do the cooking, which he loved. Young people always felt comfortable there."

Betsey Stone described how Halstead was always drawn to struggle. "He was inspired to his death by the rise of the mass movement in South Africa," she said, "and the coming into that struggle of the working class in a massive way."

When members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions came to Los Angeles, Stone continued, Halstead rushed to hear them and write an article about them. He participated in demonstrations against apartheid, avidly read books about the history of the freedom struggle in South Africa, and educated others about it.

Post-World War II revolutionaries

Jack Barnes paid tribute to Halstead as a working-class fighter who joined the communist movement at the beginning of what was touted as the "American century" following the end of World War II in 1945. U.S. imperialism had emerged from the war as the dominant economic and military power in the capitalist world, he said, and it was difficult for many to see that the

communist road was the way forward for humanity. But Halstead did, and he made the decision to join the SWP.

"Fred was an internationalist to begin with, even before he joined the party," Barnes said. "From the time he was a sailor off the coast of China at the end of the war, he was unable to look at the world through 'American' eyes. He started with the world, and then put the United States in it."

"Perhaps the most important influence on Fred," continued Barnes, "was his trip to Montgomery, Alabama. There he was able to see with his own eyes the future in a living movement, in which working people themselves showed their capacities to organize their own revolutionary struggle. The Black working people of Montgomery were writing their own history for the first time, and Fred saw what they were capable of. This gave him confidence in the working class as a whole — that it is not just the suffering class, but the acting class that will change the world."

Barnes discussed Halstead's strength as a writer. "Fred was both a writer and a speaker," he said. "He knew you had to have both. But he also understood that unless experiences are put down in writing, you can't share the lessons of those experiences with broader layers of fighters, including in other countries."

Facts are key

"Fred was a deeply scientific person," Barnes said. "He was a student of *Capital*. But he didn't think the world had to live up to that volume; instead, he understood that the general conclusions to be drawn about the political evolution of modern times enriched *Capital*."

'A famous person' in Square D strike

Ed Shaw was a member of the Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party in 1953 when Fred Halstead moved there from Los Angeles. Shaw later became the SWP's national organizational secretary and was the party's 1964 vice-presidential candidate. Excerpts from a letter he wrote were read to both the New York and Los Angeles meetings. Shaw describes an important strike that Halstead and other party members took part in at that time.

In 1954, the Square D Co. decided to take advantage of the moment to destroy the United Electrical Workers union (UE) at its Detroit plant. The union had been branded "communist-led" and was under attack from all sides, including the AFL and CIO bureaucracies.

All the resources of the capitalist press, courts, and police were brought to bear on the striking workers, who were branded as — at best — unknowing of their union's communist leadership.

The Detroit branch of the SWP immediately immersed itself completely in defense of this strike. Party members joined the picket line around the plant.

Fred and I worked in the General Motors plant two blocks away from the Square D factory. We joined the picket line early in the morning before going to work, and after work. We also visited leaders of union locals who were known to be class conscious, to try to get support from the organized labor movement for the strikers. Fred also wrote articles for the *Militant*

about the strike. He always wanted to improve his skill as a writer and be able to serve the revolutionary movement in that way also.

We soon lost our jobs at the auto plant as a result of FBI and police surveillance of the Square D picket line and their identification of us as communists. We had time on our hands then, and devoted full time to the strike. We helped publish a mimeographed bulletin, and organize a soup kitchen.

Fred became a "famous person" in Detroit at this time. The company was running scabs in from other parts of the country. The courts had ruled against mass picketing, an order that was consistently defied. The police — mounted and on foot — formed a corridor each day to protect the scabs entering and leaving the plant.

One day Fred was invited by a couple of strangers to get into their car and follow a couple of scabs who had just applied for a job to break the strike. All they wanted to do was to try to convince the two applicants that they shouldn't become scabs by going to work for Square D. But the police followed this car and stopped it at some distance from the factory.

They opened the trunk and found a copy of the [Communist Party's newspaper] the *Daily Worker*, the United Mine Worker District 50 newspaper, and a BB gun.

"Headlines in the Detroit press proclaimed that armed communists active in the Square D strike had been arrested by the ever-vigilant Detroit police force. Fred was incarcerated for a couple of days. We

"Don't worry about the 'line,'" Fred would tell someone writing an article," Barnes said. "Worry about the facts. Root your story in the real events and history, and it will speak." That's why he was such a good Marxist journalist. He himself was a worker who had lived through a lot, and he presented the facts to workers."

Describing Halstead's role in the movement against the Vietnam War, Barnes commented, "Fred is least judged correctly in relation to that movement. He never looked back on those experiences as the 'high point' of his life. He was not one to reminisce. He was always moving forward, on to the next experience and struggle."

"Fred, who helped organize marshaling for many demonstrations, was good on defense because he hated violence and hated to fight," Barnes said. "That's what made him so effective defending a picket line against scabs or at a demonstration. His goal was always to make every action so strong that they had to be peaceful. It's really not unusual that Fred and the pacifist Brad Lytle worked so effectively together to organize marshals for the anti-Vietnam War marches — they both agreed the main job of the marshals was to prevent violence."

Nuclear power

Barnes described how Halstead's views on nuclear energy changed over time. During the 1950s, like most socialists, Halstead thought nuclear power had the potential to benefit humanity as a cheap energy source, if it was controlled properly.

Visiting Hiroshima, Japan, on his 1968

Continued on Page 13

couldn't see him but we could bring cigarettes and newspaper articles, none of which ever got to him. On being released from jail, and without notifying us, Fred got a ride to the parking lot where he had left his car. Police were waiting for him, and the minute he opened the door, they searched his car.

They found tools of his trade in the trunk, among which was a large pair of scissors. (Fred was a cloth cutter.) And they rearrested him for having a concealed weapon. He again became "famous" and in jail.

I think it might be useful here to insert the comment that none of us in that period claimed that we were not communist as a defense. That was what Social Democrats and liberals did. We were not members of the Communist Party but to deny that we were communist would be tantamount to the biblical Esau denying his birthright for a mess of pottage.

Also, we decided it was not a good idea to have handguns in our abodes.

Finally the Square D strike was settled, and was considered a limited success. Our efforts had helped convince some United Auto Workers locals to support the strike. A massive support force appeared on the scene one day. Members of UAW Local 600 at the Ford River Rouge plant and others appeared in violation of the court ban on massive picketing, and by the thousands marched around the plant. The strikers settled, but the UE lost the local, which then affiliated with one of the United Auto Workers locals.

Workers interested in 'action program'

BY NORTON SANDLER

Several distributors sent us early word that they are getting a particularly good response to the issues of the *Militant* and Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial* with "An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis," a statement of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee.

Some of the best examples have been reported by weekly plant-gate teams, which indicate that they sold a few more papers than usual. This was the case at a Conrail rail yard in New Jersey, where eight copies of the *Militant* were sold.

Supporters of the SWP campaign in New York sold 12 *Militant* and *PM* subscriptions and more than \$50 in literature from tables set up on weekdays in the heart of the Manhattan garment district.

In the United States and several other countries, distributors of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New International* are in the final week of a drive to win 9,000 new readers. As we go to press, supporters have already reported combined sales of 8,717.

We have topped the goal for *New International* and are closing in on the *PM* and *Militant* goals.

In local areas, supporters are using the final days of the drive to make sure they reach the goals set for all three publications.

So far, distributors in Phoenix; Morgantown, West Virginia; Minneapolis-St. Paul; and Miami have made their goals for all three. Supporters in Phoenix then raised their overall goal by 50.

Our distributors in Iceland have also gone over their goal.

The final circulation drive scoreboard will be tabulated on Wednesday, June 29 and printed in the issue of the *Militant* shipped the next day. We would like distributors to call the business office at (212) 929-3486 by 1:00 p.m. on June 29 so that we can be sure our final figures reflect everything that has been sold in local areas.

Included below are excerpts from a few of the reports we have received about the drive.

Ruth Nebbia reports on a four-person team that spent a week in Donna, McAllen, Mission, and Edinburg in Texas's Rio Grande Valley. Joining her on the team

were Todd Brown, Alicia Merel, and Steve Marshall.

"Many of the people we spoke with are farm workers or other working people familiar with the problems faced by farm workers in this area," Nebbia explained.

"We spoke with several organizers from the United Farm Workers of America. One of them took us with her into the melon fields where we were able to talk to people.

"We were struck by the working conditions in the fields. The union is campaigning around health and safety questions. One of its demands is for the growers to provide adequate toilet facilities near locations where the work is being done."

"We spent a good portion of our time focusing on door-to-door sales in areas where farm workers live and found lots of interest in the publications," said Nebbia.

"One woman wanted the *PM* sub so badly that she had her children go through all their pockets until they had the \$3 for a six-month subscription.

"Three people from Houston, including Al Budka, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Texas, joined us on the weekend. Budka participated in a farm worker picket line at a McAllen supermarket, protesting the use of dangerous pesticides.

"A campaign supporter also helped the team set up a meeting for Budka at Pan American University in Edinburg."

By the end of the week, Nebbia said, the team had sold 58 subscriptions to *PM* and the *Militant* and more than \$100 in Pathfinder literature.

Ron Richards sent in a report on sales in Puerto Rico.

"While waiting for me to pick him up at the airport in San Juan, an airlines worker from Miami sold seven copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant* to other airport workers.

"The two of us spent some time in Dorado, on the coast about 25 miles from San Juan," Richards said. "The town is famous for its resorts — hotel rooms can cost as much as \$300 a night. But Dorado is also an industrial center with three Playtex bra factories and other garment and electronic plants. We sold six *PM*s to workers at Playtex.

"Besides sales at industrial sites, our

Continued on Page 13



Militant/Steve Marshall

Farm workers harvesting melons in Texas' Rio Grande Valley. Workers told campaign team about their struggle to improve health and safety conditions in the fields.

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	160	119	115	122	15	31	5	7
Twin Cities, Minn.	285	311	109	230	241	35	45	20	25
Miami	225	245	109	145	162	40	40	40	43
Los Angeles	600	637	106	340	353	100	118	160	166
Austin, Tex.	90	95	106	65	77	15	11	10	7
Milwaukee	150	156	104	100	101	25	33	25	22
Newark, NJ	460	464	101	275	247	85	103	100	114
Baltimore	185	186	101	150	153	30	25	5	8
Birmingham, Ala.	185	185	100	145	137	30	40	10	8
New York	1,200	1,191	99	600	570	300	369	300	252
Boston	350	345	99	240	224	50	57	60	64
Price, Utah	60	58	97	40	42	10	8	10	8
Phoenix	300	286	95	155	141	45	46	100	99
Des Moines, Iowa	195	184	94	140	130	30	39	25	15
Detroit	250	230	92	185	191	40	23	25	16
Greensboro, NC	125	112	90	100	95	15	12	10	5
Omaha, Neb.	125	112	90	80	73	25	33	20	6
Kansas City	130	115	88	90	88	20	12	20	15
Seattle	275	243	88	200	176	25	22	50	45
Atlanta	205	181	88	150	143	40	22	15	16
Portland, Ore.	140	119	85	100	72	25	32	15	15
Chicago	350	271	77	215	169	60	56	75	46
San Francisco	350	269	77	200	158	75	55	75	56
Philadelphia	210	153	73	140	101	30	10	40	42
Pittsburgh	250	181	72	185	131	45	36	20	14
Charleston, WV	120	86	72	100	72	15	12	5	2
Washington, DC	250	174	70	170	91	50	40	30	43
St. Louis	250	167	67	190	124	50	41	10	2
Salt Lake City	150	99	66	115	68	20	19	15	12
Cleveland	145	91	63	110	70	20	7	15	14
Houston	215	134	62	140	94	30	4	45	36
Oakland, Calif.	265	152	57	150	106	50	25	65	21
* National Team	—	230	—	—	201	—	3	—	26
Cincinnati	18	11	61	18	11	—	—	—	—
Louisville	5	2	40	5	2	—	—	—	—
Other U.S.	—	25	—	—	24	—	—	—	1
U.S. totals	8,248	7,658	93	5,383	4,960	1,445	1,429	1,420	1,271
London	62	71	115	45	50	8	14	9	7
South Yorks	45	46	102	30	27	5	17	10	2
Manchester	34	30	88	24	25	5	3	5	2
South Wales	40	34	85	27	26	10	7	3	1
Nottingham	39	32	82	24	20	12	12	3	0
Other Britain	—	34	—	—	9	—	25	—	—
Britain totals	220	247	112	150	157	40	78	30	12
Vancouver	25	29	116	15	20	5	2	5	7
Toronto	250	288	115	150	193	50	47	50	48
Montreal	170	166	98	80	70	50	31	40	65
Other Canada	10	13	130	5	12	5	0	—	1
Canada totals	455	496	109	250	295	110	80	95	121
Australia	27	18	67	15	16	6	1	6	1
Iceland	15	17	113	15	17	—	—	—	—
New Zealand	220	205	93	180	172	30	24	10	9
* Puerto Rico	—	18	—	—	4	—	1	—	13
Other Internat'l	—	56	—	—	28	—	22	—	6
Totals	9,185	8,717	97%	5,993	5,649	1,631	1,635	1,561	1,433
Drive Goals	9,000			6,000		1,500		1,500	
Should be		8,766	97%						

Hearing set for professor victimized for his views

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

NEW YORK — A new hearing has been set for June 29 in a lawsuit filed by Prof. Fred Dube demanding his job back at the State University of New York at Stony Brook.

Dube, a leader of the African National Congress of South Africa, was fired from his teaching position at SUNY Stony Brook in 1987 for his political views. The hearing will take up a motion for summary judgement filed by the university in the Dube suit. SUNY seeks to have the suit dismissed without a trial.

The campaign to remove Dube was led by Arthur Selzer, former executive director of the Long Island chapter of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Federal District Judge Leonard Wexler has made a number of rulings unfavorable to Dube in the case, which was filed over a year ago. These include dismissing faculty and student coplaintiffs and refusing to grant an injunction reinstating Dube while the case is in court.

Wexler has now removed himself from the case because in May he admitted that "Arthur Selzer was a longtime close personal friend of mine" who "led the campaign against Dube."

A new leaflet issued by the Committee to Support Prof. Dube says, "The denial of Prof. Dube's rights and the rights of his

students, first by University administrators and now by judicial misconduct on the Federal Court, threatens and limits the rights of us all. Basic justice requires that immediate tenure be granted to Prof. Dube."

The leaflet urges supporters of freedom of speech and academic freedom to:

1. Immediately write or send a mailgram to Judge Thomas Platt, chief judge of Eastern District Court, 225 Cadman Plaza, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201 and urge that in the interests of justice, Dube's case be reassigned to another jurisdiction, not to Judge Mishlar, a close colleague of Judge Wexler.

2. Attend the hearing on June 29, 9:00 a.m., at the Federal Courthouse in Uniondale, Long Island, on the university's motion to dismiss the case. Call (212) 245-6366 and ask the Dube committee for directions or transportation.

3. Write Gov. Mario Cuomo, Executive Chamber, State Capitol, Albany, N.Y. 12224 and urge him to take the necessary steps to insure that Dube is reinstated.

At a meeting on June 20, members of the committee reported that they had distributed hundreds of leaflets at the June 16 Soweto Day March in New York and at a rally of more than 2,000 protesting an order by Attorney General Edwin Meese to deport Irish republican activist Joe Doherty. Dube was a featured speaker at the rally in defense of Doherty.

Many dailies cover socialist campaign

BY SAM MANUEL

"Class struggles, workers' rights form Socialist candidate's platform," said the May 16 Rochester, Minnesota, *Post-Bulletin*. "Socialist is running on principle," proclaimed the May 3 *Philadelphia Inquirer*. "Socialist candidate says crisis near," added the *Greensboro News & Record*. These headlines are only a sampling of the coverage received by Socialist Workers Party 1988 presidential candidate James Warren and vice-presidential candidate Kathleen Mickells.

Campaign supporters have sent in clippings of news reports on the candidates' activities from 23 cities, 12 states, and Montreal, Quebec. The coverage includes well-known dailies such as the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, and the *New York Times*, as well as campus and Black community papers. More keep coming in.

Such press coverage allows the socialist campaign to reach hundreds of thousands of working people. But behind these successes stand the costs of literature, travel for the candidates, and organizing press conferences. The \$50,000 socialist campaign fund helps to meet many of these costs.

Going into the fifth week of the seven-week campaign fund drive, just under \$12,000 has been sent in. Organizing to collect and send in a substantial portion of funds is now more crucial than ever.

The news reports focus on the central theme of the socialist campaign: the need for working people to prepare to defend themselves against the impact of the coming social crisis announced by the Oct. 19, 1987, stock market crash.

Warren began his national speaking tour in Seattle, Washington. The reports on Warren's stop carried by both papers in that city were typical of the increased seriousness with which the perspective offered by the socialist campaign is taken.

"Warren called for reducing the American workweek from 40 hours to 30 with no cut in pay; advancing affirmative action programs by employers; canceling debts owed by Third World countries to the United States and other wealthy nations; and repealing protectionist laws that hurt the economies of 'oppressed countries,'" reported the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*.

These four themes are stressed in many of the other news reports, often in concise form, taken directly from campaign press releases.

"Our campaign is not just vote-getting machinery," said the *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported Mickells said on her visit to that city. "We are saying to working people in this country, 'Nobody else is going to solve your problems except you, acting in your own interests.'"

In reporting on a talk by Warren before striking paperworkers in Jay, Maine, the *Lewiston Daily Sun* wrote, "Warren's basic theme: workers need to take control of their own destiny by becoming united politically."

Warren and Mickells received substantial coverage in Utah, with reports in the *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, *Salt Lake Tribune*, and *Deseret News*.

The Black community newspapers *Milwaukee Times* and *Milwaukee Community Journal* both ran announcements on Warren's visit to that city and followed up with reports on his campaign appearances.

The *Journal* reported, "Black American social and economic progress will not come as a result of involvement in Democratic or Republican parties, but through grass roots activism, protests, and demonstrations, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president said Monday."

Campaign supporters who haven't yet had the candidates through their cities should take note that many of the reports also included a listing of campaign engagements and the phone number and address of the campaign.

Radio and television coverage of campaign press conferences has also been good. In almost every city where a press conference has been held at least one television station has attended and several radio stations. In addition, the candidates have appeared on many radio talk shows.

SWP begins Alabama petition drive

BY ELLEN BERMAN

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party 1988 campaign kicked off a three-week petition drive June 18 to put the SWP presidential ticket on the ballot in Alabama. James Warren is the party's candidate for U.S. president and Kathleen Mickells for vice-president.

Six hundred signatures had been collected on petitions in the first two days toward the goal of 9,000. The state's minimum requirement is 5,000 signatures. In addition, seven subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* and 46 single copies were sold.

For several of the campaign supporters this was their first time out petitioning for the socialist candidates. They were among the most enthusiastic upon returning to the campaign headquarters after a day in the hot sun discussing politics, collecting signatures, and selling the *Militant*.

That week's issue of the *Militant* carried the "Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis," which is based on a report adopted by the SWP National Com-

mittee following last October's stock market crash. Unemployed workers responded very well to the campaign and to the perspective and proposals presented in the Action Program. Black workers and women workers in particular agreed with the emphasis on the need for all working people to defend affirmative action.

Literature tables set up at shopping centers and in downtown Birmingham sold \$50 worth of books, pamphlets, and T-shirts. Later that night John Hawkins, SWP candidate for the 6th C.D. in Alabama, spoke at a forum on building a union for migrant farm workers. Hawkins, who is also a member of United Mine Workers Local 2368, was joined by three Farm Labor Organizing Committee organizers en route to Ohio from Florida to organize migrant farm workers.

Campaigners also handed out literature and collected signatures as part of a national effort on behalf of Mark Curtis, a Des Moines, Iowa, unionist and socialist political activist framed up by the cops in that city. Several events are scheduled to take place at the campaign headquarters during the drive. On June 25 there will be a forum on the homeless crisis in the United States. Vice-presidential candidate Mickells will be speaking at the headquarters July 2. And on July 9 the petitioning in Alabama will wrap up with a talk by Rena Cacoullos, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

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., 35263, telephone (205) 323-3079.

Warren's talk was well received.

Seattle Post-Intelligencer Thursday, April 14, 1988 A11

Socialist joins race for president with call for 30-hour work week

By Neil Modle
P-I Reporter

The Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, James Warren, made his pitch at Jay, Maine, Tuesday, May 3, 1988.

Socialist candidate makes pitch at Jay

By David Schaefer
Times staff reporter

James Warren makes no pretense, even for the true believers in the Socialist Workers Party, about being elected president in November. He doesn't even campaign in favor of turning the United States into a socialist country. Instead, says Warren, who began his national campaign for the presidency yesterday in Seattle, his goal is "to carry a message" and make "a call to action."

Eventually, says Warren, of Jersey City, N.J., working people will begin fighting for a different type of government — a government of workers and farmers rather than "an institution that...

Socialist is running on principle

By Katherine Seelye
Reporter Staff Writer

The October stock market crash signals an impending social and economic crisis in this country, according to Kathleen Mickells, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice president. "The owners of the banks and...

Socialist candidate says crisis near

By GILLIAN FLOREN
Staff Writer

The party stands no chance of winning the presidential election, Mickells said, but that is not the party's goal. She sees the campaign as a way to appeal to workers to act in their own interests, and to fight for jobs, benefits, homes and...

Socialists trying to get on ballot in November

By Peggy Edwards
Staff Writer

A.T. Massey Coal Co. strike, and has...

Candidate foresees 'social crisis'

Socialist Workers issue call to action

DECISION 1988

White House

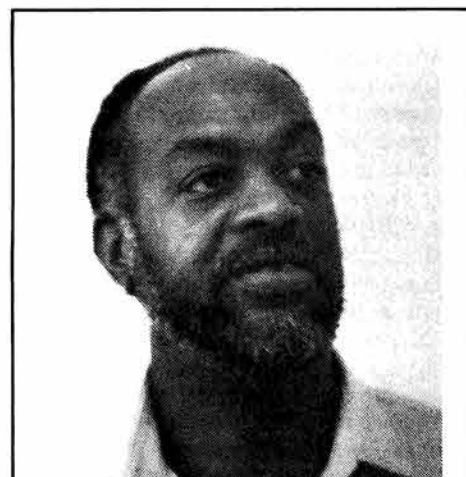
Sample of press coverage Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket has received. Media attention reflects seriousness with which campaign proposals are being taken.

Warren at Utah rally for homeless

BY ANDY COATES

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH — To defend the rights of workers who have no place to live, the Homeless Organization for People Everywhere (HOPE) held a picnic here June 16 for homeless residents of this city.

Utah Gov. Norman Bangerter had agreed



Militant
Omari Musa announced as SWP candidate for Chicago mayor June 4. "Workers in the U.S. are beginning to see working people in other countries as common fighters against the same enemy," Musa said.

to speak at the rally, held in a local park. Instead of speaking, Bangerter made a brief round shaking hands and left. Several people were angry that he hadn't stayed to answer questions.

Nick Geoghan, president of HOPE, introduced the president of a radio station that had cosponsored the rally, who is also running a write-in campaign for governor. The candidate denounced Bangerter for leaving so quickly.

Geoghan later introduced James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, whose name has been certified on the Utah ballot. "Homeless people are working people," Warren said. "You are not different and separate from all the rest of us who work for a living. You are among the workers who have been hit first by the coming depression."

One person called out to Warren, "How are you going to change those that have all the money?"

Warren replied, "You don't change them, you fight them, along the lines of what we're doing today. It's not a defeat that the governor left before he spoke to you. It's a tremendous victory that you forced him to come out here and acknowledge the problems homeless people face."

"You don't need him," Warren continued, "all you need is yourselves. If we fight together, we can solve the problems caused by the system of the rich."

Warren's talk was well received.

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	200
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	165
Cleveland	1,150	250
Des Moines, Iowa	750	0
Detroit	1,350	775
Greensboro, N.C.	800	315
Houston	1,150	0
Kansas City	750	340
Los Angeles	3,250	486
Miami	1,450	0
Milwaukee	950	150
Morgantown, W.V.	1,150	650
New York	7,000	1,542
Newark, N.J.	3,000	1,215
Oakland, Calif.	1,700	254
Omaha, Neb.	1,100	430
Philadelphia	1,650	100
Phoenix	1,150	0
Pittsburgh	1,600	50

	Goal	Collected
Portland, Ore.	900	430
Price, Utah	600	0
Salt Lake City	800	658
San Francisco	2,000	455
Seattle	1,250	575
St. Louis	1,600	800
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,900	1,000
Washington, D.C.	1,750	0
Other	—	950
Total	50,000	11,905

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.

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Nicaragua gov't looks to ease crisis with 'free market'

BY LARRY SEIGLE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Sandinista government has adopted a series of economic measures aimed at letting "free market" forces work to alleviate the country's economic crisis. The objective, said President Daniel Ortega June 14, is to "use certain market mechanisms, without giving up other mechanisms, such as planning." (See excerpts from Ortega's speech on page 9.)

The measures announced include the following:

- Abandoning the government-set wage and productivity scale. Wage rates will now be set at the factory and farm level, in state-owned as well as private businesses, through negotiations between workers and management. The government did decree a 30 percent across-the-board wage increase, far less than the rate of inflation. Prices have climbed 300 percent since the last pay hike, in February.

- Giving up efforts to control prices of many basic commodities. State and private factory and farm management will have more latitude in raising wholesale prices for their products. The government will also drop efforts to control retail prices of many goods and services.

- Retreating from the policy of government subsidies aimed at providing a fixed minimum amount of a few basic foodstuffs to everyone at an affordable price.

- Increasing incentives paid to farmers who produce export crops such as coffee and cotton, which the government purchases and exports under a state monopoly.

- "Indexing" interest rates on bank loans, so that interest rises with the rate of inflation. This means that capitalist farmers, as well as medium-sized and small agricultural producers, will pay significantly more for loans.

Reversal of policy

In many key respects the new policy direction is a reversal of the course announced in February. At that time, the government decreed a set of measures that included a vow to enforce controls on basic food prices, and a promise to improve supplies of goods available at low prices through neighborhood food outlets.

The February measures, government leaders promised, would slow or halt inflation, reducing the need for future wage increases. But inflation has not slowed, nor can it be significantly reduced so long as the huge government budget deficit continues. Well over half the government's entire budget goes to military spending, a cost imposed by the U.S.-backed contra war.

In addition to sharply rising prices, there has been a continued decline in the quantity of goods available at subsidized prices through neighborhood stores known as *expedios*. A monthly allotment of rice, cooking oil, soap, sugar, and salt is supposed to be distributed to every inhabitant.

A second "secure channel" of food distribution, as it is called here, has been provided by company-financed commissaries in some factories and farms. But the quantity of goods in most of the commissaries has also been declining.

"It is not possible in the current economic circumstances to guarantee a fixed quota" of basic goods through the *expedios*, Luis Carrión, minister of industry and commerce, told Sandinista union and government leaders June 14.

"You know perfectly well that we haven't been able to fulfill these quotas." From now on, Carrión said, there will be no promised fixed amount of goods available through the *expedios*.

Discussion and debate

The government announcements have been met with an avalanche of discussion and debate, and a significant amount of opposition from some working people. Many workers had been pressing for a wage increase significantly larger than the 30 percent announced. Now, a wide range of sug-

gestions and proposals are being put forward by union members on how the working class can organize to defend even a minimum standard of living.

On June 18 President Ortega met with 1,000 representatives of the teachers' and health workers' unions in a stormy "Face the People" session. Some speakers urged that plots of land be made available to workers in health centers, and to teachers and students, so that they could plant corn or beans for their own consumption. Others demanded government measures to assure that at least some basic foodstuffs will be available through the "secure channels."

"We understand all the difficulties facing the country," Melba Marina Gómez, a teacher from northern Nicaragua, told Ortega. "We are full of patriotic consciousness, of revolutionary consciousness. But the reality is that things are so tough that, well, sometimes we feel a little like we can't cope."

She assured Ortega that schoolteachers "are going to keep on fighting" to defend the revolution. But, she insisted, a way has to be found to make more basic goods available to working people.

At the end of the meeting, Ortega announced increases in seniority pay, travel pay, and other benefits for health workers and teachers.

Meeting with textile workers

Two days earlier, President Ortega had conducted a Face the People meeting with workers at the PROSAN textile mill, a

How crisis hits Managua garment plant

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "We have to tell the workers in detail what we're going to do. Everyone is hysterical now. They're not earning anything, and prices are shooting up again."

This was Max Kreimann, director of the state-owned ENAVES garment factory outside Managua. He was meeting with leaders of the union local June 17 to discuss the impact on ENAVES and its 770 employees of the economic policies announced by the government a few days earlier. ENAVES is the largest garment factory in the country, and has recently been cited as an example of efficiency and productivity.

"We still don't know what our costs will be," Kreimann said. The state-owned FANATEX textile plant, from which ENAVES gets its cloth, has raised its price from 32.50 to 300 córdobas a yard. "But a lot of other prices haven't been set yet," Kreimann explained. "We can't begin to set prices for our products or come up with a new wage scale."

To help ENAVES workers get through the next two weeks, the factory commissary will distribute some free food supplies, Kreimann said. The first week, each worker will receive 5 pounds of sugar, 5 pounds of beans, and one or two chickens. The following week, they will get an allotment of bread, milk, eggs, and cheese.

Unsold clothing

Kreimann then outlined the financial problems the state-owned business faces. ENAVES has three months production of unsold clothing piled up in a warehouse, and has sent sales representatives throughout the country urgently trying to find buyers.

Under earlier policies, the government bought all of ENAVES' production. Some went to the army, and the rest was sold to workers and peasants through government-supplied stores. For the past five months, however, the government has not bought any civilian clothing from ENAVES.

With the latest increases in prices for raw materials and other costs, the situation is worse, Kreimann said. "Now it may cost us 1,000 córdobas to produce a pair of



Militant/Roberto Kopeck

Markets like this one in Managua have had government-regulated prices. Continued inflation and decline in production led Nicaragua government to end price controls, subsidies for many products. Leaders hope capitalist market forces will slow inflation, spur production.

state-owned enterprise. Most of the people who took the floor at that meeting argued that either wages had to be raised, or more goods had to be made available through the subsidized outlets.

Guillermo Delgado, a mechanic who is a leader of the "innovators" who keep the plant's machines running despite shortages of spare parts, told Ortega: "The major preoccupation, the question all the people have, is why there are no products in the secure channels, while in the Eastern Market there is an abundance of products?"

The big farmers, Delgado said, are diverting most of their production to the market, rather than selling it to the state purchasing agency. Nonetheless, he said,

"they are getting juicy subsidies. Every time we're going to deepen our revolution, the subsidies get bigger, and their behavior gets worse. When are we going to put an end to this generosity, subsidizing our enemy?"

Capitalist reaction

Nicaraguan capitalists have attacked the government wage and price measures as "too little, too late." They have also harshly criticized the decision to raise interest rates to keep pace with inflation.

Some capitalist farmers are refusing to invest their capital in maintaining or expanding production. Instead, they take

Continued on Page 13

pants, but we're already having problems selling them at 117 córdobas. And even with the latest wage increase, many workers will be making only 1,500 córdobas a month. How can they afford to buy pants for 1,000 a pair?"

ENAVES workers are putting in long hours and their productivity has increased, Kreimann reported. However, government officials had told him that ENAVES might be closed down if it can't make a profit.

"That's what would happen in a capitalist society," Kreimann told the union representatives. "We'd close the factory for six months, and see what happens to the market. But we told the government that we don't want to shut down and send the workers home. We have to find some other solution."

What solution, however, wasn't clear. No one at the meeting raised any immediate ideas. Union and management will meet again soon to discuss proposals for meeting the crisis.

Response of workers

After the meeting with Kreimann, Dagoberto Mejía, head of the Sandinista National Liberation Front unit at ENAVES, went through the factory, telling workers about the two-week food distribution program.

In talking to each group of workers, Mejía began by explaining that the free food "won't solve our problems, but it will alleviate the situation a little bit. In the next two weeks, the union and the administration will try to figure out the real situation we face, and come up with a new wage and incentive program."

Most workers listened carefully to the announcement, many nodding agreement when Mejía said the food would be distributed free.

Some stopped work, however, and raised questions.

"What about our salaries?" one sewing-line helper asked. "I only make 223 córdobas a week, and the way prices are going up, that won't even buy a soda."

"My production quota is too high," an operator complained. "I can't make any incentive pay this way."

"What about rice? Why don't you include some rice in next week's distribu-

tion?" a third proposed.

"Get on the ball! Do something about these salaries!" a fourth urged Mejía.

Some workers said guaranteeing a supply of food through the factory commissary was more important than simply raising wages.

"If I can get rice and other grains at a price I can afford, that's what counts," said Socorro López Obando, a sewing-machine operator with five years at ENAVES. She works a lot of overtime and regularly produces more than the production norm. With her basic salary plus incentive pay, she makes about 350 córdobas a week.

"But I can buy 10 pounds of rice, 10 of sugar, and 10 of beans each month in the commissary. And there is some dried soup, coffee, soap, toothpaste, and toilet paper. The monthly commissary allotment costs about 400 córdobas, more than a week's pay, but it's a lot cheaper than in the market," she said.

In addition, López added, workers who exceed the production quota regularly are given the commissary allotment free or at a reduced price. "That's why people stay on the job, to get the basic food quota."

Quotas up, purchasing power down

After making the rounds of the plant, Mejía summed up the mood. "The workers are upset. Their production quotas have just gone up, but their salaries don't buy anything at today's prices. The 30 percent wage increase [decreed by the government] was really very low."

Mejía commented on the fact that Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega has begun a round of Face the People assemblies with different groups of workers. "This is very good. The leadership should have more contact with the workers."

And what would happen to the textile plants if ENAVES has to close?

"Well, that's the problem," Mejía replied. "We can't just worry about the profitability of one plant. FANATEX can't set a high price for its cloth without taking into account the impact on ENAVES."

"We have to look at the industry as a whole, and work out a solution for everyone. These are questions that we'll be raising in meetings with the government and the other factories in the next weeks."

Ortega discusses new economic measures

Nicaraguan president describes impact of war and world capitalist market

On June 14 Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega addressed a national assembly of union and government leaders to discuss new economic measures. Parts of Ortega's speech were broadcast on radio and television that evening. Following are excerpts from the speech as broadcast. The translation is by the Militant.

There are two enormous factors that weigh on our economy: the war and the unjust international economic order. These are two external factors that we cannot change at will.

The United States imposes the war and the economic embargo on us. The unjust international economic order is imposed by the capitalist market, the rich, industrialized countries with market economies: the United States, the advanced European capitalist countries, and Japan, the owners of the most advanced technologies in the world.

Our economy is affected by the costs of maintaining our army and Ministry of the Interior, and also by the direct damage caused by the Yankee aggression. Our economy has been deeply, seriously affected.

In capitalist countries facing these economic problems, with or without a war, governments take measures somewhat similar to those we have taken here. However, they do not worry about finding a job for workers who are laid off. There are no alternatives for the unemployed in those countries.

'We cannot abolish private property'

In Nicaragua, we made a revolution and we are not defending a capitalist schema. However, neither have we managed to establish a socialist state where private property has become state property. Some people say that we have not made this kind of socialism for geopolitical reasons, because the United States won't permit it, because they would invade us, and isolate us from Latin America and the world.

But it is not for geopolitical reasons that we have not taken measures as profound as those taken by Cuba, for example. There, private property was totally abolished. Without private property, it would be difficult to have manifestations of political pluralism, in the sense of allowing forces opposed to the revolution to express themselves.

At different times, we here have discussed whether or not it would be correct to propose a line of action that would lead to the abolition of private property in this country. But what we have here is a society made up of peasants, small, middle, and big peasants. Just imagine the impact it would have if we had a policy of expropriating the land of the small, middle, and

large peasants, and converting the land into large state farms with irrigation and advanced technology.

This would increase and multiply the production of corn and beans, since peasant production is very backward and poor. Then, we wouldn't have to take liberal economic measures such as leaving the sale of basic grains to the free market. Thus, from the technical-economic point of view, it would be a very wise measure.

But it would be a stupid move from the political point of view. Because we can't lose our perspective when facing all these problems, when we have to defend the revolutionary power.

Socialist orientation

Our revolution has a socialist orientation. That's definite. But we are not in a stage where the application of some socialist measures would contribute to the principal objective, which is defending the revolutionary power. We cannot think of measures that would lead to the abolition of private property in this country. We must think of measures that allow us to control and influence the economic crisis so that the inflation we are suffering will not be so bad.

We're not a capitalist regime. We are a revolution with a socialist orientation. For the reasons already explained, we cannot nationalize the economy here. We are obligated, however, to control, and we can hit some people who are not producing sufficiently. But this is not part of a policy aimed at ending private property. It is simply aimed at improving productivity. Someone who was not producing efficiently had that called to his attention. And if he didn't respond, we took over the property.

We do affect the economy through taxes on the profits of the small, middle, and large producers. We obtain part of their profits. Nicaragua today has the highest rate of taxation in Latin America, and we cannot raise it any higher.

Fragile material base of economy

The base of our economy is 205,000 workers in material production: in agriculture, in industry, construction, and banking. This is a fragile base that supports 80,000 health, education, social service, and other government workers, as well as the 130,000 permanent members of the army and the Ministry of the Interior.

We have a serious situation, caused by the fiscal deficit. And we cannot reduce this deficit any more than it has already been reduced. Yet, in the difficult conditions that face our country, the workers are pressuring for higher wages and for more supplies.

If we had a high level of political and ideological development in all of society,



Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega

we would have an army and Ministry of the Interior that would work for food, without pay. But the reality is that we have to offer some salary to those workers who mobilize in the defense. We have to combine the political and ideological factors with economic factors, since we don't have such a high level of conscience that men would respond to political, ideological, and moral factors, subordinating economic factors. And the same happens with health and education workers.

The measures we took in February tended in fact to make the economy more flexible and liberalized. This may appear to be in contradiction with the class interests defended by the revolution. However, this must be understood as a necessary step to prevent the economy from collapsing, and to create the conditions so it will recover and become stronger.

'We must curb inflation'

What happens if we put more money into circulation? It immediately generates more inflation, confusion, and frustration among the population, who might have hopes that their situation would improve when wages go up. Therefore, since 1985 we have been waging a battle against a policy of wage increases. The Sandinista Workers Federation and the Association of Rural Workers have been outstanding in this fight. We must acknowledge that their leaders and local cadre have known how to implement and defend this political line of the revolution. However, there are sectors where we are weak, and they keep raising economic demands that threaten the very class interests that we are defending. We must take steps to curb inflation. To do this, we must hold back wages.

And we must restrict credit given to the producers. It is important that the *campesinos* of UNAG [National Union of Farmers and Ranchers], the artisans, and the cooperatives understand this. It is not right to make demands on the wage workers and not on the producers.

How are we going to restrict credit? We will apply an interest rate that will increase with inflation. Because one assumes that if a producer is a good producer, he must make some profits, and he should use part of those profits to reinvest in production, and not just use all the bank's money.

Subsidy for transportation

In some cases, we are going to protect prices, in other cases the products will sell freely. We will have an influence on the prices of goods that have a big impact on the country. Thus, we don't have a typical capitalist economy, but rather a free market in a revolutionary state that has a clear socialist orientation.

Since transportation, for example, is a critical service, and since we are holding back workers' wages, we are going to continue subsidizing transportation.

So, we're not trying to convert our economy into a typical capitalist economy, but rather to use certain market mechanisms without giving up other mechanisms, such

as planning. We're not giving up our ability to influence production, to orient it through planning, and to influence prices and the distribution of products.

Thus, these are not International Monetary Fund measures, and do not mean we are entering into a different framework. Rather, it is a question of readjusting the measures we decided upon in February, which correspond to the framework of a mixed economy. We have to keep this framework for the reasons explained earlier, and because no other model is possible. The material conditions don't exist, neither objective nor subjective, for applying another type of model in this country.

Incentives for exporters

We have also considered giving an incentive to export producers if they raise their deliveries to the state marketing companies, such as ENCAFE [Nicaraguan Coffee Co.] or ENAL [Nicaraguan Cotton Co.].

The workers should be very clear about this policy, because all revolutionary processes have contradictory factors. A wage worker would be justified in resenting the policy of giving incentives to the exporters, the producers. The worker would ask, how is it that the producer gets incentives and the worker gets nothing? Why are the workers just told to have consciousness and ideology, but no wage increase? Well, they must see that this is a reality. We don't have any other way to motivate the producer, because he is motivated by economic incentives. The only other way would be to take away his property.

So, there is a higher interest, which is to defend this revolutionary power that is the class power of the workers. It is the class power of the proletariat, based on revolutionary principles, on Sandinismo, which is undeniably rooted in Marxism, the ideology of the proletariat.

Returning to the question of wages, while it is true that the wage increase will be minimal, this will have a negative effect primarily in the social sector, among teachers, and health workers. They will be the most restricted. On the other hand, the productive worker has wage incentives for production as an instrument with which to raise real wages.

We must try to direct unemployed workers so that they will move to the countryside. If we can fill all the jobs there are in the countryside, this will be reflected in more coffee production and hence more resources for the country.

Maintain defense preparations

We have to make serious efforts to raise our consciousness and the consciousness of the population about the war we are living through and about the aggression. We don't see any perspectives for a negotiated solution in the short or medium term, at least not with the current U.S. administration. We must be ready to wage new battles that will lead us to greater and extraordinary mobilizations of our fighting forces against the contras or the Yankee administration.



Shoe factory worker in Managua. Since 1985, Ortega said, the Sandinista Workers Federation has been outstanding in "waging a battle against a policy of wage increases."

Protests by Indians in Canada counter attacks on rights

BY PAUL KOURI
AND JOHN STEELE

MONTREAL — "As long as we are not being jerked around and are treated as human beings, the barricades will stay down." This is what Mohawk Warrior Society spokesperson Earl Karoniakta told reporters gathered on Highway 132 at the Kahnawake Indian reserve border on June 2. "What we proved is that nobody can come into our territory with a gun and a uniform."

Karoniakta was referring to the June 1, 10:00 a.m. invasion of the 14,000-acre reserve by 200 machine gun-toting cops from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). Their pretext was stopping the allegedly illegal sale of cigarettes by members of the Kahnawake reserve.

The cops arrived in buses wearing bullet-proof vests and accompanied by five ambulances. They forced several Mohawk women to lie on the ground at gunpoint while they confiscated \$450,000 worth of cigarettes stocked in the cigarette stores strung along Highway 132. The cops arrested 17 Mohawks, charging 16 with smuggling under the Canada Customs Act.

The reserve, situated across the St. Lawrence River from Montreal, is home to 5,500 members of the Mohawk Nation. Highway 132 cuts through the reserve to the Mercier Bridge, one of the main traffic arteries into downtown Montreal from the suburbs.

In response to the cop invasion of their territory, hundreds of Mohawks barricaded the Mercier Bridge and all roads leading into the reserve for 30 hours. The barricades were patrolled by armed Mohawk sentries. A red Mohawk flag fluttered from the bridge.

The protest created massive traffic jams in and around Montreal. It was ended just before rush hour on June 2 after Kahnawake Grand Chief Joseph Norton began talks with federal government officials in Ottawa, the Canadian capital. The Mohawks lifted the barricades on the condition that talks take place. They began after the Mohawks were guaranteed by the Quebec minister of Indian affairs that the provincial police would not carry out

further raids during the talks or charge those responsible for putting up the barricades.

Chief Norton later reported that nothing was achieved at the Ottawa meeting since no one with authority from the government was assigned to the talks.

'Illegal' cigarette sales

The next day RCMP Superintendent Pierre Schryer, who ordered the invasion, warned if the "illegal" cigarette sales continued further raids would be conducted.

"Our job is to apply the law," he threatened. "Federal law applies across Canada without any exceptions."

The Kahnawake Mohawks reject this. Under the 1794 Jay Treaty between Britain and the United States, the Six Nations Confederacy — which includes the Mohawks on both sides of the border — is exempted from paying customs duties.

Under this treaty, the cigarettes are shipped duty-free from Mohawk communities across the Canada-U.S. border and sold tax-free by the Kahnawake cigarette dealers to both reserve and non-reserve customers. The Canadian government refuses to recognize the treaty and calls this smuggling. The RCMP invasion took place even though negotiations have been going on between Kahnawake Band Council leaders and Ottawa over the cigarette trade.

"The real issue is not cigarettes or taxes but total jurisdiction of Mohawk territory," band council member Paul Deer explained to reporters in front of the barricades. "We are a nation. We want this recognized and respected."

Canada's capitalist rulers reacted with outrage to the mobilization of the Kahnawake Mohawks to defend their reserve.

An editorial in the June 3 *Toronto Globe and Mail* condemned "the use of firearms by natives to shut down public highways."

"The law is the same for everyone," said Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa. "If charges have to be laid, then they will be laid."

The Quebec cops and the media are now campaigning to paint the Kahnawake reserve as an armed terrorist camp. On June



Kahnawake Mohawks blocked roads and Mercier Bridge leading to and from Montreal, causing massive traffic jams. Action protested invasion of Kahnawake reserve by hundreds of Canadian cops and arrest of 17 Indians on charges of smuggling.

4 the cops arrested five Iroquois from New York State, claiming they were transporting machine guns and other arms to the reserve.

Democratic right to self-government

The timing of the RCMP invasion was no accident. The raid took place toward the end of the annual meeting of the Assembly of First Nations in Edmonton. The AFN is the largest of Canada's four Native organizations, representing 374,000 status, or reserve, Indians in 570 bands.

At the meeting, AFN National Chief George Erasmus warned the federal government, "If you do not deal with this generation of leaders... then we cannot promise that you are going to like the kind of violent political action that we just about guarantee the next generation is going to bring you."

The RCMP raid was the federal government's response to Erasmus.

The Kahnawake reserve was targeted because it is in the vanguard of the fight of Canada's 1,100,000 Indians, Métis, and Inuit for their right to self-government. The Métis are of mixed Indian, French, and English descent; the Inuits are the indigenous people of the far north.

The Kahnawake Mohawks have a history of militant struggle. The reserve's relatively large population, its proximity to Montreal, and the fact that many Mohawks are linked to the organized labor movement as members of the ironworkers' union, give it added weight. T-shirts that read "Mohawk International Ironworkers" can be seen on the reserve.

Over the past several years, the Kahnawake Mohawks have started to implement their right to self-government.

In 1979, 27-year-old Mohawk David Cross was shot and killed by a Quebec provincial cop who was later acquitted of manslaughter. In response, the Mohawks forced the removal of the provincial police from the reserve. Non-Native police can only enter the reserve with the permission of the Mohawk Peacekeepers, an armed force under the control of the band council.

The reserve has built and runs its own hospital. Mohawk language, culture, and history are more and more taught in the schools.

Under massive pressure from Native people, "recognition of existing aboriginal and treaty rights" was written into Section 35 of the 1982 constitution. However, these rights were not defined.

Since 1983 four constitutional conferences on Native rights have rejected the demand of Canada's four major Native organizations to amend the constitution to include Native self-government as an "inherent right" unchangeable by future constitutional talks. The terms of the latest constitutional accord also ignore this demand. In addition, the accord makes it virtually impossible for the Yukon and the Northwest territories — where Native people make up the majority of the population — to become provinces.

The massive RCMP raid on the Kahnawake reserve was to serve as a warning — not only to Native people, but to the working class as a whole — that if you stand up for your rights you will be beaten down by the forces of "law and order."

However, the RCMP invasion of Kahnawake backfired. The Kahnawake Mohawks have shown all working people that it is possible to stand up, fight back, and win.

In solidarity with this struggle, the delegates at the June 4-5 Quebec New Democratic Party National Council meeting in Victoriaville adopted a resolution condemning the RCMP invasion of the Kahnawake reserve. It called for dropping the charges against the Mohawks arrested and expressed support for the right of Native people to self-determination and self-government.

On June 11 in Montreal 75 people marched in a demonstration organized by the Coalition Against Systematic Oppression. This protest was called in memory of Black teenager Anthony Griffin, killed by a Montreal cop last November, and to protest the RCMP attack on the Kahnawake reserve.

Free Irish activist, marchers demand

BY MARC LICHTMAN

NEW YORK — On June 18, some 2,000 demonstrators demanded the release of Joseph Doherty, an Irish republican who has been imprisoned here for the past five years.

Just a few days before, Attorney General Edwin Meese ordered Doherty deported to British-occupied Northern Ireland. U.S. Courts have ruled that Doherty cannot be extradited to Northern Ireland. Meese is attempting to overrule the court system by deporting him. Doherty's attorneys are appealing the decision, and trying to get him released on bail.

Marchers assembled at Battery Park. Chanting "Let Joe go," they marched up Broadway to Thomas Paine Park, where a rally was held.

Speakers included former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark, Congressman Thomas Manton, and New York City

Councilman Wendell Foster. Leaders of many Irish-American organizations spoke, including Nick Murphy, national chairman of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and Peter King, who is Nassau County comptroller and a leader of the Committee for Legal Justice in Northern Ireland.

Solidarity greetings were also given by Rafael Anglada López, attorney for the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15 defendants, and Fred Dube, a member of the African National Congress of South Africa who is fighting to regain his teaching position at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. Speakers from outside the Irish movement were greeted enthusiastically.

After the rally, demonstrators marched to the Metropolitan Correctional Center, where Doherty is being held. The demonstration received coverage on CBS and local TV stations.

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Miami tour wins aid for Haitian unionists

BY FREDERICK LEROUGE

MIAMI — Gabriel Miracle, organizational secretary of CATH (Autonomous Confederation of Haitian Workers), spent nearly six weeks during April and May meeting with union members and political activists in the Miami area. The aim of his visit was to educate U.S. unionists about the situation facing Haiti's working people and fledgling union movement, and to build solidarity with CATH.

"The attacks on the democratic rights of workers in Haiti," Miracle explained when he spoke, "is an attack on all trade union members, and that is why CATH is asking workers in the United States to give their moral and financial support."

In June of last year, CATH helped organize a general strike against the military-dominated government then in power in Haiti. The government responded by banning CATH, closing its headquarters in Port-au-Prince, destroying its equipment, and stealing its records. A number of CATH's leaders were arrested and tortured. Mass protests forced the government to back down, release the CATH leaders, and lift the ban. The main union organization in Haiti, CATH is continuing to organize, but faces financial difficulty in rebuilding its headquarters.

Veye-Yo ("Watch Them"), the broadest solidarity organization in Miami's large Haitian community, organized a three-day fundraiser for CATH at the start of Miracle's tour. "Supporting CATH financially is one part of the responsibility of Haitian workers in Miami," Miracle said to a Veye-Yo meeting of 150. "The struggle for the democratic rights of workers in Haiti is also a battle here in the United States, and everybody should join or build unions here. This is the real way you will strengthen CATH's struggle." More than \$850 was raised and a copying machine donated through Veye-Yo's efforts.

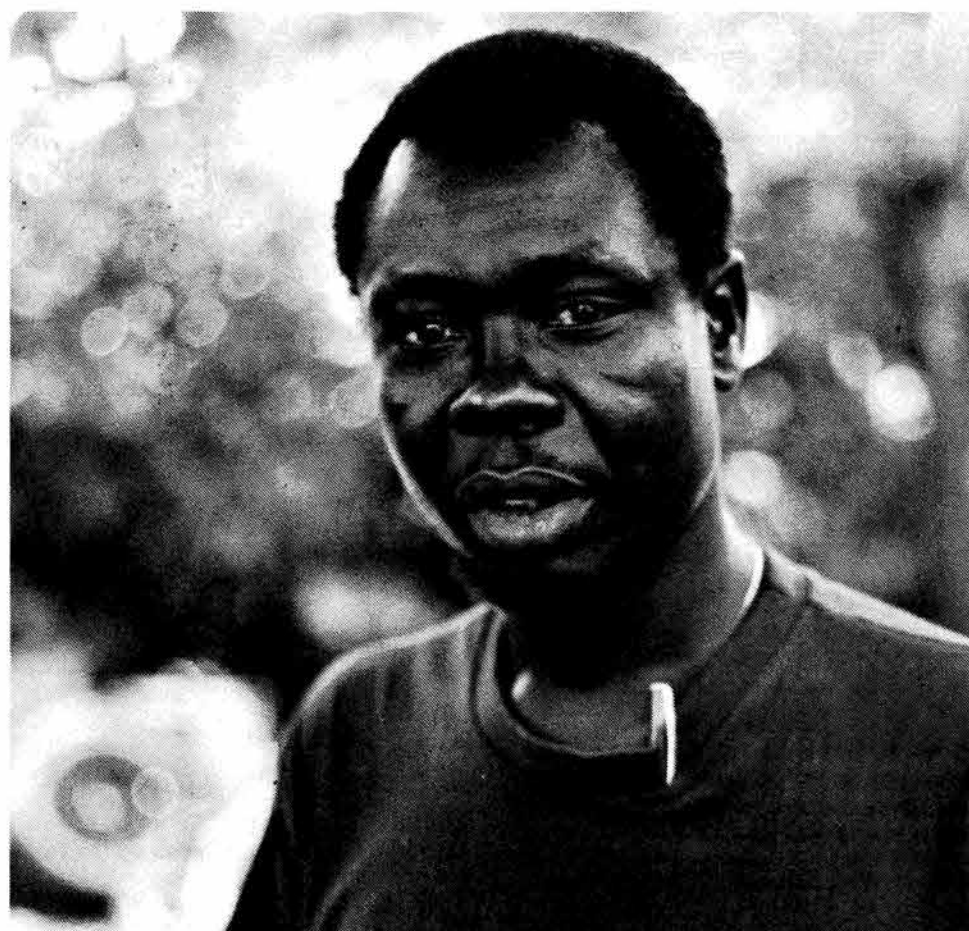
At a meeting for Miracle attended by 100 members of the American Postal Workers Union, one worker told him that when the next Haitian general strike comes, "our local should charter a flight to Haiti. Having U.S. unionists there would give a strong message to our government!" The postal union donated \$200, along with office machines.

International Association of Machinists Local Lodge 702, which organizes workers at Eastern Airlines, donated \$250 to CATH after hearing the Haitian unionist. He also spoke to, and received donations from, sanitation workers', carpenters', and communications workers' unions.

CATH received other support from the executive board of the South Florida AFL-CIO, and unions representing garment workers, teamsters, bus drivers, government employees, and hotel and restaurant workers. The Coalition for Free South Africa, Alliance of Cuban Workers in the Community, and A. Philip Randolph Institute also gave support.

During the last week of his stay, Miracle met with farm workers in the southern Florida town of Homestead. He explained to them that the main demand among Haiti's toilers is for an agrarian reform that would give land to the peasants. Working people in the United States, he said, also need agrarian reform.

The day before Miracle's return to Haiti, he was informed by CATH that they had received a death threat on his life. In response, an overnight campaign was launched in Miami to send telegrams to the Haitian government, demanding measures be taken to guarantee Miracle's safety upon his return. Many of the unions and organizations he had spoken to on his tour responded in a matter of hours. A few days later, news of Miracle's safe arrival in Port-au-Prince was received in Miami.



Militant
Gabriel Miracle, leader of the Autonomous Confederation of Haitian Workers, toured Miami area.

British textile workers seek more pay, less hours

BY CLIFF WILLIAMS

MANCHESTER, England — Employers were taken by surprise as a wave of textile strikes swept Lancashire. About 12,000 workers in some 120 spinning and weaving mills throughout Britain's northwest began a series of one-day strikes on May 10.

The textile workers are fighting for an 11 percent pay raise, a shorter workweek, and increased holiday benefits. The British Textile Employers' Association (BTEA) has offered only a 5.5 percent raise.

In a separate dispute around similar demands, workers at Courtaulds' 21 mills in this area went out on indefinite strike on May 31. Courtaulds accounts for almost 50 percent of the spinning capacity in Britain. The company pulled out of the BTEA in 1980, but it imposes pay scales and working conditions that are similar to the other spinning employers. The workers are demanding a 38-hour week instead of 39.

This is the largest industrial action in the textile industry since 1932. The companies were taken off guard by the show of strength from the workers.

Over the last four decades the textile industry in this country has shrunk. There were nearly half a million workers in the industry in 1932, and some 285,000 in 1951. By 1985 the work force had been reduced to 21,520.

As one picket explained it, "Courtaulds promises us every year that when times get better, they'll give us more money. But they never do. They've been conning us for 200 years."

Workers at Courtaulds can be paid as little as £78 (US\$150) a week. The European Common Market sets the official poverty rate at £132 a week. Recent cutbacks in social security benefits and overtime fueled the workers' desire to press for the pay increase.

Until recently, most of the textile workers were organized into the Amalgamated Textile Workers' Union — a federation of local, town-based textile unions. A year and a half ago, these unions merged with

another union to form the General, Municipal, Boilermakers and Allied Trades Union. As part of the merger, union structures were reorganized, allowing more rank-and-file involvement in the union and greater accountability of the officials.

"More democracy in the union seems to have led to the dispute," complained Bill Iveson, Courtaulds' personnel director.

Outside that company's Maple No. 2 mill, pickets constructed a couple of huts from scrap wood, a tarpaulin, and plastic sheeting. A fire warmed a kettle, and visitors were welcomed with cups of tea. A sack of potatoes lay in one of the huts for anyone who wanted a baked potato.

Union members John Cumpsty and Harry O'Neil summed up the company's offer as "an insult to our intelligence." They explained that two women pickets had been injured when a truck drove through their picket line. A third woman was still suffering shock from the attack four days later.

The strikers pointed out that the company made £220 million last year, with £66 coming from the textile division.

Courtaulds employs a large number of workers who are Black. One striker at the company's Fox mill explained how the "strike has done wonders for race relations. We're all out on the picket lines, Black and white together."

The same story was heard at Bentfield, one of the first sites to be struck. Pickets there explained that their manager had been telephoning employees in their homes, telling workers of Asian descent that workers who are white had returned to their jobs and vice versa. "We soon saw through this trick," the union members said, "and we're standing here on this side of the picket line together."

The stand by the Courtaulds workers has had an impact on the Lancashire workers' conflict with the BTEA. One firm, Smith & Nephew, has already conceded a higher wage raise, which was accepted by the work force.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Philippines Senate votes antinuclear bill

The Philippines Senate approved a bill on June 6 that would ban nuclear weapons and restrict nuclear-powered ships from that country. The bill was opposed by only three members of the 23-member body. The bill will be sent to the House of Representatives where it is expected to meet stiff opposition.

The measure would establish prison terms of up to 30 years for bringing atomic weapons into the country and up to 12 years for importing nuclear components. The bill would also prohibit the storage or transport of all nuclear weapons as well as nuclear-equipped ships and aircraft. It would, however, allow port calls by nuclear-powered ships.

Passage of the bill would have a direct effect on the U.S. military, which maintains substantial naval and air bases in the Philippines. The U.S. government has a strict policy of refusing to confirm or deny the presence of nuclear weapons on its ships, aircraft, or bases.

Opposition among the Filipino people to the presence of the U.S. bases has grown since the U.S.-backed dictator Ferdinand Marcos was driven from power by a massive uprising in 1986.

The government of President Corazon Aquino has begun talks aimed at renegotiating the terms under which the U.S. military uses Subic Bay Naval Station and Clark Air Base.

Aquino warned the Senate that passage of the antinuclear measure would conflict with her policy of keeping options open until the current bases agreement with Washington expires in 1991.

Cubans building Angolan air base

Cuban military engineers are nearing completion of an air base in southern Angola, equipped with modern anti-aircraft weapons, reported the June 7 *London Guardian*. The air base being built at Xangongo in the province of Cunene just 40 miles north of the Namibian border is symbolic of the significant change in the balance of forces in southern Angola over the last few months.

In March of this year South African troops, along with their Angolan collaborators in the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, suffered a crushing defeat in the battle for the

strategically important town of Cuito Cuanavale.

The new base will significantly strengthen Angola's defenses against air strikes from the three main South African bases in Namibia just south of the Angolan border.

South African military chief Gen. Jannie Geldenhuys announced on June 8 that the armed forces had begun a limited mobilization of citizen reserves in response to the situation in Angola.

But the *Guardian* reported that the South Africans have already started to move some of their planes and logistical installations from the Namibia-Angola border bases of Oshakati, Ondangwa, and Runda, to their main air base 120 miles south at Grootfontein.

Thatcher gov't loses fight over spy book

The government of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has lost another round in its effort to suppress the publication of *Spycatcher*. The book contains the memoirs of former British intelligence officer Peter Wright. Publication of the book has been banned in Britain.

The government's two-and-a-half-year effort to halt publication and distribution of the book in Australia came to an end on June 2 when the federal High Court in Canberra, Australia, unanimously dismissed the case. The court ruled that while it did not challenge the British government's claim that Wright, as a former secret agent, owed a lifelong duty of confidentiality, the Australian court could not enforce the interests of a foreign government.

The judges noted further that the material in Wright's memoirs — including charges of unlawful activities by British intelligence officers — "might well sustain a finding that publication is in the Australian public interest."

This month the Thatcher government is expected to challenge rulings by the British Court of Appeal and the Australian High Court that the *Guardian*, the *Observer*, and the *Sunday Times* should be free to report the book's allegations.

The issue goes before the House of Lords. The government has spent an estimated £2 million (US\$3.5 million) in court cases against the book. Nearly 1.5 million copies of the hardback edition of *Spycatcher* have been sold, mainly in the United States and Australia.

"Please hand cancel" — Lots of people may take a dim view of the Postal Service, but not the U.S. Army. It ships by mail such deadly biological warfare sub-



Harry Ring

stances as anthrax bacterium and dengue fever virus. An official assured that leaks are rare.

Capitalism's finest — The former president and vice-president of Beech-Nut drew a year and

a day for peddling a concoction of water, sugar, and chemicals as "100 percent" apple juice for babies. They'll be eligible for parole in four months. Observed the prosecutor, "We're not talking here about the Mafia or a bunch of bank robbers."

Where your tax \$\$\$ go — The Justice Department advises that it costs an average of \$118,000 a year to protect a federal witness, and that state and federal wiretaps cost \$35,000 apiece.

Open to some — At The Country Club, outside Boston, membership is reserved for well-heeled white males. Wives are "associate members." (If divorced or widowed they must reapply.) Blacks are excluded and Jews have token rep-

resentation. The Country Club is hosting the US Open, the top pro golf tournament. A US Open rep says the club's membership is a "nonissue."

Profit addiction not cancerous — Despite a seven-year drop in cigarette consumption, industry profits are higher than ever. How? Over a decade, the price per pack has more than doubled. Assures financial analyst John Maxwell, "The industry is very healthy."

Go out in style — If we hadn't kicked the habit, we'd check out Dunhill's, New York's plush nicotine headshop. For instance, a cashmere smoking jacket, \$995.

Yuppie! — The Blaster, "a subtle way to eliminate life's little an-

noyances. Just hit laser beam, machine gun, or nuclear bomb button. . . . You'll hear a sound like the real thing and they'll never know what hit them!" \$20.

Disloyal element — When E.F. Hutton, the brokers, were convicted of massive check-kiting fraud, they hired former attorney general Griffin Bell to do a facelift on their image. For a \$2.5 million fee, Bell's firm did a study pinning the illegal operation on company small fry. But now one of those tagged to take the rap is suing Bell for libel.

What's in a name? — What do Darrell Outlaw, Thomas Lawless, and Lawrence Feloney have in common? They're all Massachu-

setts judges.

Land of opportunity — Where else can you run up a \$93 million debt, go bankrupt, and settle for a dime on the dollar? No sweat if you happen to be John Connally, former gov of Texas. "He's out. He's been discharged from his debt. He's free to go about his business," Connally's lawyer enthused.

Seared by Sears — New York's consumer agency is suing Sears for deceptive advertising and failure to make timely deliveries and repairs. One major customer beef is that Sears sub-contracts home improvement work and, when people complain about results, shunts them off to the sub-contractor.

—CALENDAR—

ALABAMA

Birmingham

The Homeless Crisis in the United States: the Right to a Roof Over Our Heads. Speakers: Leigh Burke, Alabama Coalition Against Hunger; Betty Blacknall, director Interfaith Hospitality House for Families; David Alvarez, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., June 25, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

An Action Program to Fight for the Rights of Workers and Farmers. Speaker: Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president. Sat., July 2, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign. For more in-

formation call (205) 323-3079.

FLORIDA

Miami

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

Why Working People Should Support the 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 Benms, 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.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

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 Labor 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

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

Brooklyn

Socialist Workers Party Campaign Picnic. Meet James Harris, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sun., July 3, 1 p.m. Prospect Park. Take F Train to Fort Hamilton Parkway station. Sponsor: Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign. For more information call (212) 219-3679.

Manhattan

The Crisis Facing Working People: a Program to Fight Back. Speakers: Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president; James Harris, SWP candidate for Senate. Sat., July 16. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: New York Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 219-3679.

TEXAS

Houston

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.

UTAH

Price

The Coming Economic Crisis: How Will It Affect Workers and Farmers. Speaker: James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president. Wed., June 29, 7 p.m. 255 E Main, No. 1. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: 1988 Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Rally in Defense of Mark Curtis. Speakers: Nat Ford, president Metal Trades Council; representative Committee in Defense of Immigrant Rights; Roger Yockey, labor journalist; 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.

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Tributes to Halstead

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tour, Halstead saw firsthand what nuclear weapons could do, and his identification with the victims of that horror never left him. Later, after studying the question, he was persuaded by the facts of what he learned about radiation that nuclear power in any form was in fact a deadly threat to humanity. And Halstead was convinced that when working people around the world became armed with the facts about radiation, their understanding would become a material force in stopping nuclear weapons and power.

A message from the Fourth International also pointed to Halstead's role in educating on this question.

Barnes described how Halstead changed and developed as a leader of the party from the time he moved to New York in the mid-1950s.

"Fred was a magnificent activist; he was a worker-militant to the marrow of his bones," Barnes said. "And he was an educated Marxist, who took ideas seriously. He was a serious student."

"But it's an error to call Fred a worker-intellectual. An intellectual is somebody separated out. To call someone an intellectual is to call them a limiting thing, even if you mean it as a compliment."

"Fred was a worker-Bolshevik," said Barnes. "And like the other great leaders in our movement, that's the way he approached every other comrade, as worker-Bolsheviks. His relationship to every comrade was the same. And for him, every kind of work was the same practical, communist work."

Barnes described his first meeting with

Halstead in the early 1960s. Barnes had sought him out at a socialist conference to discuss the Cuban revolution. He found Halstead in the kitchen, busily preparing a meal for the conference participants, wearing a big apron and chef's hat. "He wiped the perspiration off," Barnes recalled. "Then, keeping an eye on things, Fred started talking to me seriously about Cuba. That taught me a lot about thinking and doing, acting and learning among comrades."

As a leader of the party and long-time member of the national committee, Barnes said, Halstead always functioned objectively. "At every level of responsibility, on every level of leadership, under the most difficult conditions, Fred was ego-less."

"Fred used to say that he hated the term 'silent generation' to describe people his age," said Barnes. "'After all,' he would say, 'Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, and Malcolm X were part of my generation.'"

Revolutionaries in other countries also learned from Halstead — some who met him on one of his trips abroad or when they visited this country, and others through reading his books, pamphlets, and articles for the *Militant*.

Among those who sent greetings to the meetings were groups and individuals who Halstead and the SWP have worked with and who promote *Out Now* and other Pathfinder books in Iceland, Sweden, Britain, New Zealand, France, Canada, and Australia.

Nelson Blackstock and Betsey Stone from Los Angeles contributed to this article.



Militant/Steve Marshall

Selling revolutionary press to those rallying for Veterans Peace Convoy, Nuevo Laredo, Mexico.

Nearing the sales goal

Continued from Page 6

team also sold at a supermarket, door to door, and at the University of Puerto Rico.

"Most of the 11 subscriptions were sold during long discussions with activists who live in the Ciudad Universitaria housing cooperative. Previous teams had sold in the complex, and many residents were familiar with *PM*, so several of the subscriptions were actually renewals."

"Our discussions were on a variety of topics. One woman wanted to discuss what stance revolutionaries should take to the Noriega government in Panama."

"The international outlook of the paper appealed to many. At one apartment we were told, 'None of us are Puerto Rican.' The three adults in the house were immigrants from Spain, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic."

"A photographer showed us his pictures of massacres the army in Haiti had carried out. He also wanted to talk about the convoy of veterans carrying supplies to Nicaragua."

"We collected 11 signatures on petitions demanding that the Des Moines, Iowa, cops drop their frame-up of political activist Mark Curtis," Richards emphasized.

Distributors Craig Honts and Leah Finger from Austin, Minnesota, explained that 22 of the subscriptions they sold during the drive were to striking workers at the Feather-Lite trailer plant in Cresco, Iowa.

"The work force is overwhelming in their twenties," said Honts and Finger, "most from rural backgrounds. They were filled with confidence that they could take a stand against the inhuman treatment they

suffer and win some gains.

"After striking for two weeks, they won a contract that contained important advances. But after signing the agreement, the company immediately tore it up, hiring 75 new workers to replace the union members who had been on strike."

"The strikers bought the subscriptions because it had coverage of what workers and farmers are doing around the world to advance their positions. We will be returning regularly to Cresco to talk to the workers and to follow up on this important fight," Honts and Finger concluded.

Dave Johnson from Kansas City was part of a three-person team that recently spent three days in Wichita, Kansas, campaigning for the SWP presidential ticket.

"The first stop" Johnson said, "was Boeing Military Aircraft, the largest employer in the area. We sold four copies of the *Militant* at the plant gate. Then we set up a literature table at Wichita State University that drew a lot of interest — about \$100 worth of books and pamphlets by Malcolm X, South African revolutionary leader Nelson Mandela, and Fidel Castro were sold."

Johnson said the team also went to the Excel beef-packing plant. The company had just announced a layoff of 400 for the next day, "so the atmosphere was a little grim." Workers explained that they had agreed to a pay cut but the company laid them off anyway.

"That night," said Johnson, "we held a Young Socialist Alliance forum and discussed the struggle workers and farmers are facing worldwide. One army veteran decided to join the YSA."

Welfare vote targets women

Continued from back page

tions, and other low-paying jobs," Udesky wrote.

"We need to get the kind of jobs men get," Carevich told Udesky, "and get paid what they get paid."

Despite California state officials' push to get welfare recipients into jobs paying a sub-living wage, they have been able to find employment for only 3,788 of the 27,800 participants in the "workfare" program.

The drive to push welfare recipients who are mothers of small children into the job market is part of a broader social trend.

According to *Washington Post* correspondent Spencer Rich, "Moynihan said

that when the 1935 Social Security Act created the AFDC program, most women did not work, nobody expected them to..."

Between 1975 and 1987, the number of women in the labor force with children under six years of age rose from 36.6 percent to 56.8 percent. The number of women in the work force with children less than one year old rose from 31 percent in 1976 to 50.8 percent in 1987.

Rising costs and declining real wages (workers' average earnings in constant dollars have dropped 15 percent since 1973) have pushed more and more women into the work force in order to obtain the income required to support a family.

work, the ATC, as a working-class union organization, will put the land to work. We are preparing for this now," Méndez told the *Militant*, "because we cannot allow land to remain abandoned."

Méndez believes that the new government measures are positive because they will pose the question sharply in the countryside. The new policy marks a "turning point" for those capitalist farmers who have been reducing production, he said.

"The revolution has opened a space to them. All the cards are on the table. Now everyone is going to have to demonstrate their capacity, their interest in making the land produce."

"If they don't produce, they are going to asphyxiate themselves."

Nicaragua gov't tries 'free market'

Continued from Page 8

their profits out of the country, and rely exclusively on bank loans to finance the next crop.

In fact, one of the major reasons for a decline in some branches of agriculture has been the decisions by capitalist farmers to cut back production, either by reducing the amount of land sown, or allowing the farms to deteriorate for lack of upkeep. According to Santos Méndez of the Association of Rural Workers (ATC), some capitalist farmers have a stance of "boycotting" the revolution by not growing crops. The position of the ATC is that the government should not allow capitalist farmers to take land out of production.

"If they don't want to put the land to

all of Latin America. In each conflict lies the fate of the other peoples."

In addition to the election of a new leadership, the agenda of the three-day meeting includes reports by representatives of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador, the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua, the PRD of Panama, and the Communist Party of Cuba.

There will also be reports on a proposed political unification of the eastern Caribbean and another on European colonialism in the region.

General Noriega is scheduled to address the closing session.

Anti-imperialist group meets in Panama

Continued from front page

ican, one would have to be very perverse to put up with this reality without complaining, and much more perverse to resign oneself to this fate."

Foreign Minister Ritter reviewed the history of the Panamanian people's struggle to gain control of the canal and to end the U.S. military presence on its soil.

Commenting on Washington's demand for the ouster of Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega, who heads the Panama Defense Forces, Ritter said:

"We have an example of what happens to a small country that does not want to give in to the dictates of the United States. The struggle in Panama is the struggle of

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25¢
June 30, 1978

LOS ANGELES — Proposition 13, the great California tax swindle, has brought New York City-style cutbacks and layoffs to the land of palm trees and smog. The ax is falling with particular vengeance on Blacks, Chicanos, and other minorities, as well as the poor and the disabled.

Nearly a quarter million public employees wait with baited breath for some miracle to save their jobs before the July 1 deadline when Proposition 13 goes into effect. Cutbacks in social services have already begun.

Programs from beach lifeguards to dial-a-ride services for the elderly and disabled have been slashed. The Santa Barbara County Hospital is being closed for all but outpatients.

The huge Los Angeles school district has canceled summer school for both regular and adult members. So have Los Angeles community colleges and many other school districts in the state. This particular cutback falls most heavily on poor and minority students who need summer make-up courses for graduation to enter college or obtain occupational licenses.

Gov. Jerry Brown announced a wage freeze for all state employees. He had already imposed a hiring freeze designed to

eliminate about 10,000 jobs by the end of the fiscal year.

The wage freeze blocks cost-of-living increases already in union contracts.

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interests of the Working People
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DETROIT — June 23 was a beautiful day — the third day of summer and the first day of a new era in the struggle for Negro equality here.

It was "March to Freedom Day," and the Negro community of Detroit wrote history. It was the biggest civil rights demonstration ever held in the United States. It dwarfed the biggest labor demonstrations ever held here.

By the thousands, Negroes literally flooded downtown Detroit. The *Detroit News* described it "As if a huge dam had burst, thousands of Negroes swept down Woodward Avenue in waves yesterday in their 'walk to freedom.'"

There were at least 200,000, and maybe a quarter million, who turned out to show their solidarity with Southern Negroes and to voice their demand for "Freedom now!" in the North too.

Let the convoy through!

The federal government's move to prevent the Veterans Peace Convoy from bringing truckloads of food, medicine, and other humanitarian aid to Nicaragua has sparked protests throughout the United States. These deserve broad support and should be extended.

The government's move is an attempt to further expand the U.S. economic embargo by asserting the government's right to halt private shipments of aid to the Nicaraguan people.

Volunteer aid efforts by the people of the United States and other countries have ranged from harvest brigades, to the shipment of tools, to providing doctors and other skilled workers.

These efforts have provided vitally needed assistance to the Nicaraguan people in their struggle to survive and advance. At the same time, participants in these projects have helped get out the truth about Nicaragua and have broadened support around the world for helping Nicaragua.

Halting the veterans' convoy showed the U.S. government's determination to escalate its economic war against Nicaragua, in the wake of the defeat of the bloody contra war that it organized and bankrolled.

Washington is attempting to use economic disruption and the threat of growing want to demoralize and de-

mobilize Nicaraguan workers and farmers, and to force the Nicaraguan government to bow to the State Department's demands.

When it attempts to prevent food and other necessities from reaching the workers, farmers, and children of Nicaragua, Washington flouts the sentiments of millions in the United States.

Most working people in the United States think the U.S. government should be helping the Nicaraguan people, not trying to economically strangle them. The popularity of private efforts to aid Nicaragua is an indication of this sentiment.

Washington should drop its border blockade against the Veterans Peace Convoy, and let the aid through.

Still more, it should provide Nicaragua with hundreds of millions of dollars in emergency shipments of food, medicine, fertilizer, tools, and machinery now. The scope of the aid that is necessary can only come from the resources of the U.S. and other governments.

This aid is needed not only to help Nicaragua repair the damage of the U.S.-run war, but to help begin the process of overcoming the devastation caused by the decades of U.S. domination that preceded the 1979 revolution.

Let the convoy through! U.S. aid to Nicaragua now!

Prosecute Brawley's attackers!

Prospects for winning justice for Tawana Brawley, a Black teenager from upstate New York who has said she was abducted and raped by six white men, are getting slimmer.

Gov. Mario Cuomo, Attorney General Robert Abrams, U.S. Attorney Rudolph Giuliani, and the big-business media have joined in a chorus demanding that Brawley's advisers be prosecuted for fraud, thus lending credence to the charge that there's nothing to Brawley's accusations.

Cuomo has called for C. Vernon Mason, Alton Maddox, and Al Sharpton to be "vigorously prosecuted." Giuliani has charged they could be liable for "making and perpetuating false allegations" and "conspiracy." Abrams who was assigned as special prosecutor in the Brawley case is now busy investigating Sharpton's National Youth Movement.

Recently, Perry McKinnon, a former hospital security head, former cop, and associate of Sharpton, asserted that statements made by Brawley's attorneys were a "pack of lies." Samuel McCleave, who is described as a "surveillance expert", has claimed that Sharpton hired him to bug the home and offices of Mason.

The episode with McKinnon and McCleave illustrates the danger to the case posed by the involvement of Sharpton, who earlier this year publicly confessed to being a police informer. Sharpton has admitted to taking listening devices into meetings and allowing cops to tap his telephone. He claimed he did so only to assist the police in arresting drug dealers. For Brawley's lawyers, Mason and Maddox, the result of such associations are being brought home.

McKinnon was subpoenaed to appear before the state grand jury, which is hearing testimony in the Brawley case. McCleave was called to appear before a federal grand jury. While McKinnon and McCleave claimed to have plenty to say about Mason, Maddox, and Sharpton's role in the case, and their personal lives, there is no evidence that either of them can tell the juries anything about what happened to Brawley.

All these allegations and gossip serve to obscure the facts: Brawley was found last November, partly naked and wrapped inside a garbage bag, in the upstate New York town of Wappingers Falls. She had been physically abused and the word "nigger" had been written on her stomach and the letters "KKK" across her chest.

From the start state officials have refused to energetically investigate and prosecute the Brawley case. At every opportunity they have attempted to avoid moving on this case, and instead turned their efforts to harassing and investigating Brawley's legal advisers, family, and friends. On the advice of their attorneys, the Brawleys have refused to cooperate with the state's investigation. But Mason and Maddox's reliance solely on such legal maneuvers plays into Abrams and Cuomo's hands. It is a barrier to mobilizing massive public protest to win justice for Brawley.

Only such protests prevented the case from being swept under the rug and pressured state officials to appoint a special prosecutor and convene a grand jury to begin with. They are even more decisive in the fight to force the government to bring Brawley's attackers to justice.

Behind the 'workfare' swindle

The revision of the welfare system adopted nearly unanimously by the U.S. Senate is an attack on the rights and living standards of working people who depend on welfare to survive — and particularly thousands of women with children.

The Senate vote was the latest stage in a prolonged campaign by Republican and Democratic politicians and the major media. By vilifying welfare recipients, the campaign has sought to persuade working people that the government has no responsibility to provide for the unemployed, children, or others.

Those receiving welfare benefits have been painted as part of a more- or-less criminal "underclass" suffering from a "ghetto pathology" that can only be countered by punitive measures.

In fact welfare recipients, including women with children, are working people. Most are among the growing number of workers and farmers who are being pauperized as the U.S. capitalist economy gets into graver difficulties. The Senate bill will worsen the already desperate situation of mothers on welfare.

The measure allows their already meager benefits to continue to deteriorate under the impact of inflation. The bill is aimed at tracking more welfare recipients into low-paying jobs, while requiring them to finance ever-increasing expenses out of their paychecks, ranging from taxes to child care to transportation to medical care. Workfare means more wretched poverty, not less, for these women and their children.

"Workfare" has nothing to do with increasing the well-being and independence of women, and everything to do with forcing more people into the employers' reserve army of cheap labor. It will also allow the employers to pocket more of the money that the government is now ob-

liged to spend to meet some minimal human needs.

Working people have a stake in fighting "workfare" and all other gimmicks aimed at slashing existing social services.

The union movement, and all workers and farmers, need to unite and fight to counter the conditions that are forcing a growing layer of us into ever-deeper misery.

That includes waging a struggle for immediate relief through unemployment compensation — at the average union wage in manufacturing industries — for all unemployed working people, including farmers forced off the land, and youth and women just entering the job market.

The government's answer to providing jobs is to force some of those now on welfare to work at below subsistence wages.

The workweek should be reduced to 30 hours with no reduction in pay to make more jobs available.

To unify working people and protect women, Blacks, and others from systematic discrimination, struggles must be waged to defend and extend affirmative action programs in jobs and education.

The "workfare" program will require mothers on welfare to engage in a desperate hunt for affordable child-care facilities, and to settle for whatever they can get — regardless of its quality — on pain of being left with no means of supporting their families. After a few months of government financial aid, they must pay the cost themselves.

Working people have an interest in demanding that safe, quality child care — available seven days a week during all work shifts — be provided free of charge to working mothers and those looking for work.

The fight for a shorter workweek in today's world

BY DOUG JENNESS

"History repeats itself." That's virtually a household maxim. But like so many expressions of this sort, it's not true. Human society can't turn the clock back any more than individuals can.

Does that mean history has no lessons for today? No. But it does mean that experiences from the past can't be copied to resolve today's problems or those that are coming.

For example, studying the labor upsurge of the 1930s

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

in the United States, which led to the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), can't give us the answers to how to lead strikes or rejuvenate the labor movement today. No account of the CIO has been written that can serve as a "how-to-do-it" book nor can one be written.

But what is useful about seriously studying past experiences of working people is that they can give us an understanding of how opportunities and obstacles were met, what the conquests are that we stand on, and what limits we still face.

Last week I explained that we can learn a lot from the struggles of earlier generations of workers who fought to shorten the workday to 10 hours and then to eight hours.

Above all we can see that the employers were unable to keep lengthening the working day and imposing other dehumanizing conditions without resistance from workers.

But the 10-hour and eight-hour day movements can't be repeated. Many things were different in the 1820s through the 1850s, for example, when the fight for the 10-hour day was strongest.

The struggle for the 10-hour day went hand in hand with the first steps by workers to organize themselves. Factory workers were still a relatively small portion of the population, and the fledgling labor organizations were based mainly among workers in the skilled trades.

The movement was also connected with the workers' fight to knock down property qualifications and restrictions based on religion for voting and holding public office. Moreover, there were still vast unsettled lands, and a major demand of working people was for the government to grant land to those willing to farm it.

The 10-hour day movement also coincided with the struggle to abolish slavery and indentured servitude.

The world context was also different than today. The 10-hour day movement in the United States was part of a struggle in Britain and a few other countries, but it was far from being worldwide. Most of the world had not yet been penetrated by capitalist economic relations. The opportunities for the capitalist exploiters to escape crises by expanding their operations into new parts of the world is in sharp contrast with their situation today.

The eight-hour day movement, which emerged after the U.S. Civil War and continued into this century, was connected to the fight of industrial workers to organize unions. It also coincided with the rise of the modern imperialist system and the continued opportunities by the capitalist rulers for expansion.

It became far more of an international movement than the earlier struggle for a shorter workweek, but for the most part the struggles of colonial peoples and of workers in the imperialist countries remained separated.

The rise of a new struggle for a shorter workweek will emerge under very different conditions. It's going to be part of working peoples' fight throughout the world to defend ourselves from the disastrous consequences of the coming depression.

As tens of millions are thrown out of work the necessity of uniting in a fight to protect ourselves will pose the need for reducing the workweek and spreading the available work to more workers.

The fight for shortening the workweek will be intertwined with the struggle to prevent our incomes from being drastically slashed as a result of inflation.

It will also be inseparable from the fight of Third World peoples against the worsening conditions resulting from the debt squeeze by the big bankers in New York, London, Paris, and other financial centers.

The capitalist world today is far more interdependent and interconnected than ever before; this was shown by the speed with which the Wall Street crash last October spread to stock markets around the world. This has created the basis and the necessity for greater unity by working people in both the imperialist countries and the semicolonial world.

The capitalist rulers have no foreseeable road out of the coming crisis — neither colonization of new continents, opening of new lands, creation of massive new markets, nor even armed conflicts to redivide the world.

This means that in defending ourselves against the ravages of the coming economic disaster, the stakes will be high. And this defensive struggle will inevitably pass over to a battle by working people to overturn capitalist political rule and establish our own power.

Auto bosses drive to 'condense' labor worldwide

BY JANET POST

While workers fight to shorten their hours of work and improve conditions on the job, the bosses are constantly trying to introduce machinery and work methods to increase the productivity of labor.

Karl Marx described this process more than 100 years ago as the "condensation" of labor. In *Capital* (Vintage Books, New York, Vol. 1, p. 536), Marx wrote, "The shortening of the working day creates, to begin with, the

UNION TALK

subjective condition for the condensation of labour, i.e. it makes it possible for the workers to set more labour-power in motion within a given time. As soon as that shortening becomes compulsory, machinery becomes in the hands of capital the objective means, systematically employed, for squeezing out more labour in a given time.

"This occurs in two ways: the speed of the machines is increased, and the same worker receives a greater quantity of machines to supervise or operate."

Earlier this spring I attended an international conference near Stuttgart, Germany, sponsored by the Transnational Information Exchange. The topic was the bosses' current "condensation" schemes. Workers and union officials in the auto industry from 12 countries participated. We found that workers from Volkswagen, General Motors, Ford, Fiat, Volvo, Renault, and Mercedes-Benz throughout the world face common methods of labor intensification — all aimed at dividing our class and weakening our unions internationally, as well as increasing productivity.

The bosses' catchword for these techniques is "flexibilization." Their aim is to increase management's

control of production by weakening or getting rid of defined jobs and hours in the factory, in the name of "flexibility." The ultimate goal is for plants to be run on a 24-hour-a-day schedule, seven days a week, at top speed, nonstop. To do this, companies try to lengthen shifts, shorten breaks, increase weekend work, and have workers at home standing by their phones, ready to come in on a standby basis.

The bosses also push to junk job classifications and seniority; increase work loads; and introduce speedup, draconian absentee programs, and "MTM" — methods time management. The idea of MTM is to literally control every motion of the worker's hands and feet to make sure the job is done in the most efficient way, with a given number of seconds allotted per motion.

It was noted that working hours are the longest in the semicolonial countries. In Saltillo, Mexico, for example, workers at the GM plant have a six-day week, with some of the work force on 12-hour shifts. Auto workers in Brazil have a 10-hour day, and a six-day week.

In the imperialist countries the bosses are also trying to stretch the workday. At two Mercedes-Benz plants in Spain, workers have only one 20-minute break in eight hours. Now the bosses want to eliminate that and just have the workers eat on the job. In Japan, the standard workweek is 48 hours.

Workers in the semicolonial countries also face the lowest wages and most hazardous working conditions. Some Mexican auto workers earn less in one day than a U.S. auto worker earns in an hour. Workers in these countries are also often the guinea pigs for testing out new technology and productivity schemes.

"Team-concept" methods of work — already used in 20 GM and six Chrysler plants in the United States — are being pushed by many corporations around the world. Instead of clear job classifications where a worker performs

basically one job, workers are required to know and be able to perform all the jobs — including maintenance — in a given work area. One aim of the "team" is to develop peer pressure, so that "everyone pulls their weight." Since relief workers are eliminated, there's pressure not to leave the work area or stop the line for any reason. Workers also have to fill in for absent team members. Over time, more and more duties are added on to the team's jobs, without the size of the team being increased.

Another goal of team-concept is to monitor relations between coworkers. Team members are told to limit their conversations to production issues. In some plants, team coordinators organize social events outside the plant and force team members to eat their meals together at work.

A delegate from the General Oil Workers Union in Japan explained, "The goal of teamwork is to replace the union's existence on the shop floor, which they can do if the unions are not successful in organizing the workers politically."

Companies using these productivity methods are getting many union leaderships to go along with them in order to "save jobs." A GM worker from Belgium said workers in his plant were threatened with a wage freeze unless they accepted the team-concept idea.

In other cases, workers have tried strikes, pickets, and educational campaigns to block these schemes. One of the examples discussed was the demand by International Paper Co. in the United States that workers accept a plan called "Project Productivity."

Delegates also discussed the need for international solidarity actions to support the call for canceling the debt of the semicolonial countries, and to oppose protectionist measures.

Janet Post is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1005 in Portland, Oregon.

LETTERS

Nicaragua peace tour

The Nicaraguan people have defeated the U.S.-backed contra forces, earning a hard-won and costly victory. They continue to defend their revolution, their country, and their lives. In an effort to demonstrate our solidarity with these courageous people, we have joined together to form the Alabama-Nicaragua Peace Tour, the first such delegation from Alabama.

We are a group that includes farmers, coal miners, an attorney, steelworkers, an ophthalmologist, a cabinetmaker, scientists, artists, and students. While in Nicaragua we will meet with members of labor unions, cooperative farmers, teachers and students, women's groups, and opposition political parties and newspapers.

We hope to get a truer sense of the political, social, and economic conditions of the country while we are there. And more importantly we feel it is our duty to bring back what we've witnessed firsthand and share it with our fellow Alabamians.

Drew Lichtenstein
Birmingham, Alabama

Garment workers

I work in a garment shop in San Francisco and am a member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 213. It was interesting to see the article on conditions in the unorganized sweatshops of New York, "Inside a New York garment sweatshop," by Marea Himelgrin, in the June 17 *Militant*.

I think it is useful for *Militant* readers to know something about the conditions that hundreds of thousands of garment workers face in this country today. I recognized many of the things Himelgrin described — the filth, the bosses humiliating the workers, being virtually locked in a fire-trap building.

But I think that the article overlooked some important points. I wanted to add a couple of things that I think are important to an understanding of the garment industry as a whole.

First, these conditions are what bosses are trying to force onto workers everywhere. They're trying to send us back to the old days, before the working class organized

to win improvements in these same conditions.

The garment industry always has been part of big labor battles. After the notorious Triangle Shirtwaist factory fire in New York in 1911, garment workers fought for union shops with safer working conditions.

This industry has historically been made up mostly of immigrants and women — the most oppressed workers and those considered the most difficult to organize.

A key question is figuring out how to organize the unorganized. (This is a big discussion where I work.) Another big question for our industry is how the government has been recently trying to lift the legal ban on homework (industrial work done on piece rate in the home.)

Homework means no union, no assurance of safe working conditions, and since it is women with children who are usually forced to do this kind of work, child labor is a common problem. Homework exists in other industries too, such as the electronics industry. There are many problems garment workers share with other industries: piece rate, speedup, layoffs, immigration raids, unsafe working conditions, to name a few.

I think it's important to realize that in spite of all these attacks, my coworkers maintain their dignity and humanity.

Where I work my fellow workers come from Nicaragua, El Salvador, Colombia, Korea, the Philippines, many from China, and other countries.

The one thing we have that clearly binds us together is that we all work for the same company, at the same jobs. We have to work together to make the garments. In the next few months we have to find a way to work together to fight for a decent contract.

The bosses do what they can to keep us divided and dehumanized. (It is common for people with names that are considered hard to pronounce to be given "easier" English names.) Racism on the job hasn't been defeated, but it certainly gets challenged daily. I have learned more about the rich variety of humanity and the potential of unity through struggle working in a garment shop than in any other

experience I've had.

Diana Cantú
San Francisco, California

Background

As a *Militant* reader, I especially like the articles that give the historical background to the present situation.

L.F.
Potlatch, Idaho

Halstead

I was surprised and disappointed to learn, from a curt *Washington Post* obituary, of Fred Halstead's death at 61.

I had occasion to meet Halstead several times in the late 1970s and early '80s when he was still very visible as a socialist activist. In those times he still appeared as a pillar of strength, both physically and morally.

While I no longer share the convictions about Leninism's relevance to the United States that Fred Halstead doubtless carried to the end, to evaluate his contributions requires rising above such political differences.

His activities in the antiwar movement and the unique record he made of them in the book *Out Now!* were recognized by bitter opponents of the Socialist Workers Party. During the Vietnam period he filled a vanguard role.

Mark Chalkley
Hyattsville, Maryland

Soviet beauty contests

A "Miss Soviet Union"? Recently the newspaper here printed an article about the first beauty contest ever held in Moscow. It seems that this past year "beauty queens" have been crowned in Riga, Odessa, Vilnius, and Leningrad, with promises of a Miss USSR gala in the future.

These contests, patterned after the Miss America Pageant, are presented as a big step forward for women in the Soviet Union. Pageant director Mikhail Zlotnikov was quoted saying they "are an idea whose time has come. We are having a reawakening in our culture, and this is part of it. This is *glasnost*, this is *perestroika*."

According to the article, however, the women entering seemed mostly uncomfortable. "I felt like I was lined up for inspection," said one student, appropriately enough.



But the representative of Komsomol, the Young Communist League, one of the pageant sponsors, praised the contest. "It shows we have many beautiful women," he said. Added another, "We should have more of these so we don't fall behind the West. Beauty pageants mean progress."

I had a different reaction. Just a few weeks earlier I'd been drinking coffee with several coworkers at a Holiday Inn in Raleigh. The inn was the site of the Miss Teenage North Carolina contest and dozens of young women were nervously walking through the lobby. "I hate these contests," I muttered, and my coworkers — all male — asked why. "Because," I said, "they teach young women that what's important is how they look, not who they are, what they

do, what they think."

I could have added that "how they look" is defined quite narrowly. The capitalist image of female beauty means you'd better be young, slim, and white — but the conversation was trailing off.

I didn't think of this discussion again till I saw the article on the beauty contests in the Soviet Union.

Jane Roland
Greensboro, North Carolina

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.

Senate vote targets women on welfare

BY FRED FELDMAN

By a vote of 93 to 3, the U.S. Senate voted June 16 to adopt a measure aimed at requiring that many mothers who receive welfare benefits get jobs. The measure sets the goal of having 22 percent enrolled in the mandatory work program by 1994. A minimum of 10 percent must be participating when the program is instituted in 1989.

The drive for Senate passage of the bill was led by New York's Democratic Sen. Daniel Moynihan. For Moynihan, this is part of a 20-year effort to revamp the welfare system that he began as an aide to President Richard Nixon in 1969.

The Aid to Families with Dependent Children program (AFDC) — the heart of the federal welfare setup — was established in 1935 as part of the Social Security Act.

The Senate bill was hailed by a June 20 *Washington Post* editorial as a break with the existing welfare system, although the editors stressed that the break at present is "more in emphasis than in fact." The *Post* editors praised the measure as advancing toward a "proper mix of sternness and support" toward women who need welfare benefits.

The House of Representatives adopted a welfare revision measure in December. The Senate version eliminated the benefit

by the government for the first nine months off the welfare rolls. For the first year, families would still be covered by Medicaid. After this, the former welfare recipients would be expected to meet these expenses out of their paychecks.

The latest move against the welfare system comes in the context of a steady erosion of welfare benefits. In 1970 the average monthly benefit per person under the AFDC program was \$140 per month in constant dollars. It had dropped to \$122 by 1986. About 3.3 million mothers, 400,000 fathers, and 7.3 million children currently receive AFDC assistance.

How 'workfare' really works

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, a Texas Democrat who joined Moynihan in spearheading the measure, claimed it would "get parents into jobs where they can become productive,

independent wage earners and help build a better future for their children."

A recent federal report on similar mandatory work or "workfare" programs in 38 states found that participants were forced to take jobs with a median hourly wage of only \$4.14.

In California a program aimed at compelling welfare recipients who are mothers of small children to take jobs was instituted in 1985. The median hourly pay is \$5. "It's a real problem," John Ritter, who manages the program in California's Solano County, was quoted as saying in a recent article on workfare by Laurie Udesky in the December 1987 *Progressive* magazine. "A single parent with two kids needs at least \$8 or \$10 an hour just to survive."

Parents forced into these low-paying jobs and off the welfare rolls must pay for housing, food, child care, transportation,

and medical care — many of which were often subsidized under the welfare program. In addition, social security and other federal and local taxes are deducted from their paychecks.

Many women in the California workfare program want jobs, but find that the system tracks them into low-wage employment, and obstructs efforts to get education needed to qualify for higher-paying jobs. "Welfare officials don't respect you for pursuing a college education; they seem to resent it," one woman told Udesky.

Another welfare recipient, Linda Carevich, told Udesky she wanted to work as a laborer or in some other job that would pay enough to support her family. "She was told to apply for entry level clerical jobs, bank teller and child-care aid posi-

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Killing by New Jersey cop sparks protest

BY JIM MOSKE
AND CHRIS RAYSON

PERTH AMBOY, N.J. — On June 6 Carmen Coria, a 25-year-old Mexican worker, was shot in the face and killed by an off-duty cop outside of a bar here. Coria's brother Matteo was critically wounded in the attack. The shooting, which is the most recent in a series of incidents of police brutality against Latinos and Blacks here, sparked angry protests.

Narcotics detective Allen Fuller, who has been accused of assault during arrests five times in his 14 years on the police force, shot Coria once, killing him instantly. He then pumped four bullets into Coria's 27-year-old brother, who remains in critical condition.

Fuller, who was drinking at the Colonial Inn at 1:30 a.m. June 6, claims he was trying to break up a fight outside the bar when Carmen Coria threatened him with a beer bottle.

The day after the killing, Perth Amboy officials defended Fuller. Police chief Edward Mullen stated that Fuller was justified in carrying his gun while off-duty, and suspended him at full pay pending an internal police investigation. Mayor George Otowski praised Fuller, saying he "had made more narcotics arrests than any cop in the history of the city."

The city officials' stance provoked an immediate response in this city of 45,000, which is predominantly Hispanic and Black. On the evening of June 8, some 2,000 protesters marched to city hall, where a city council meeting was in session. Chanting "We want justice, we want Fuller!" the crowd demanded to meet with the council. Ten representatives were allowed in, and were promised further action on the case.

The march was joined by many Hispanics who work in nearby factories, light industries, and service businesses.

The community kept the pressure on the city government for three days, culminating in the June 9 funeral service, which was followed by a march on police headquarters. The crowd squeezed into the church, filling it to capacity, while hundreds more filled the street outside, discussing the murder and carrying protest signs.

Louie Ocasio, an organizer of the protests, pointed out that cop attacks on the Hispanic community are nothing new. Many in the crowd had stories to tell of cop brutalizations of themselves, friends, or family members. One youth had been beaten by Fuller recently and was wearing a brace for his fractured jaw.

"But this time," Ocasio stated, "we're saying enough is enough. We want justice before this happens again."

"There are Mexicans, Dominicans, Salvadorans, Puerto Ricans, and Paraguayans in this community," Ocasio added. "And we are all letting the police know we won't put up with this anymore."

After the funeral services, 600 to 800 protesters attempted to march to police headquarters. They were met by a police attack. Several demonstrators were beaten and 19 arrested. The next day police reinforcements were called in from neighboring cities and a massive police presence was deployed in downtown.

The protests have forced the police to concede to a grand jury investigation of the killing under the direction of county prosecutor Alan Rockoff. The prosecutor also promised that his office would set up an anti-bias unit.

In return Hispanic politicians and businessmen promised there would be no further demonstrations during the inquiry.

Pennsylvania paperworkers mark one year on strike with rally

BY HOLLY HARKNESS

LOCK HAVEN, Pa. — On June 18 some 700 striking paperworkers, family members, and supporters participated in a day of festivities here to mark the one-year anniversary of their strike against International Paper Co. They were joined by 30 striking paperworkers from Jay, Maine, who rented a bus to attend the events.

The day began with a spirited march through the center of town. Afterwards, a barbecue with entertainment, speakers, and games was held at a nearby picnic grounds.

"If someone had said a year ago that this many people would still be out today, I wouldn't have believed them," Robert McKivison, president of United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) Local 1787, told the crowd. "I'm dang proud of you. We've suffered a lot, but we stuck together."

Local 1787, along with paperworker locals in Jay, Maine; De Pere, Wisconsin; and Mobile, Alabama, are joined in a struggle against International Paper's (IP) demands for big concessions in wages, work rules, benefits, and holidays. The company also maintains that the scabs they've hired in all four mills are "permanent replacements" for the union workers.

Only a small percentage of Local 1787 members have crossed the picket line since the strike began. More than 650 paperworkers stand with the union. Today more than 400 scabs are working in the mill. They have been protected and escorted into the plant by uniformed Pennsylvania State Police. Court injunctions have limited the number of pickets at each gate.

Many participants in the march and rally were veterans of caravans that have spread word about the strike to workers throughout the region.

One team that had recently returned

Some 5,000 leaflets describing the agreement were handed out in Perth Amboy on June 11.

The accord does not address the main demand of the community in the wake of the killing. At the funeral and other protest actions a petition was circulated demanding that Fuller be dismissed from the police force without pay "immediately and permanently" and that an independent prosecutor be assigned to investigate the killing.

A statement issued by Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, Tom Fiske, and congressional candidates Mindy Brudno (10th C.D.) and Joan Paltrineri (6th C.D.) urged support "for a complete investigation and full prosecution of Fuller."

from Detroit presented McKivison with a check for \$5,000 raised at a labor rally there. Union activist Charlie Wilt, who chaired the rally, announced that the caravan to Ohio won support in Cleveland, Columbus, and Cincinnati. "More than \$10,000 was raised on that trip alone," he said.

Rick Sutley, vice-president of UPIU Local 620, which organizes the IP Hammermill plant in Erie, Pennsylvania, brought greetings to the rally and a check for \$1,300 raised through plant-gate collections there.

Ray Rogers of Corporate Campaign, Inc. reported that out of 17,300 UPIU members employed by International Paper, more than 8,000 of them are either on strike, locked out, or working without a contract because they have refused to accept the company's demands for concessions. The Corporate Campaign was hired by the paperworkers union to help organize the fight against IP.

Discussions with strikers at the rally revealed a variety of opinions on where the struggle should go from here. Some were confident that the Corporate Campaign would bring the necessary economic pressure to bear upon the company. Others thought IP would simply give up because the scabs couldn't turn out a quality product. Many participants expressed a need for pro-labor candidates to get elected and pro-labor legislation to be enacted.

All agreed the fight they'd been part of had changed their thinking about their union, themselves, their town, and their relationship with other unions facing similar problems.

At the end of the rally unionists from many different locals were invited up to express their support and turn in contributions to the strikers.



New York Sen. Daniel Moynihan. Senate vote on bill he backed voiced bipartisan support for stepped-up pressure on welfare recipients.

increases allowed for in the House version, and added the mandatory work provisions.

President Ronald Reagan has criticized both the House and Senate measures for not going far enough in dismantling the welfare system.

The Senate and House versions will now be sent to a joint conference committee to iron out differences between the two measures. The Senate vote signaled the near-unanimity among politicians of both parties in favor of stepping up pressure on welfare recipients.

Senate bill

The Senate bill requires the government to set up programs for seeking jobs and remedial education for able-bodied welfare recipients whose children are at least three years old. States could extend the requirement to recipients whose children were at least one year old.

The Senate bill requires all states to provide benefits for a period of time to two-parent families where both parents are unemployed. Most states currently do so. The Senate, however, also demands that fathers eventually be required to perform 16 hours of assigned "community service" each week in order to get the check.

The costs of child care for participants in the mandatory work program may be paid