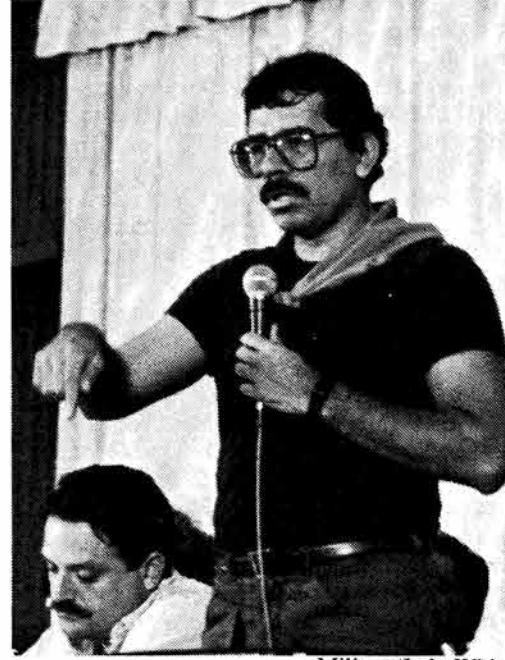


Nicaraguans celebrate 9 years of revolution



Militant/Harvey McArthur



Militant/Judy White

Section of crowd attending Nicaraguan revolution's ninth anniversary rally. President Daniel Ortega, right, said recent economic measures, including nationalization of large sugar mill, were taken to "defend all the producers of the country."

BY JUDY WHITE

JUIGALPA, Nicaragua — Tens of thousands of supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution gathered here July 19 to celebrate the ninth anniversary of the victory of the workers and farmers, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), over the Somoza dictatorship.

Juigalpa is located in the central, cattle-raising region of Nicaragua, which put its stamp on the celebration. The official logo of the anniversary was a bull pawing the ground. Banners in the plaza and along the main road of Juigalpa read: "Rifle, agrarian reform, plow: defense of the revolution"; and "Boaco will move with the strength of a bull." (Boaco is one of the main towns of the region.) At the close of the rally, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega and FSLN leaders Jaime Wheelock and Luis Carrión mounted horses and led participants to the town's bull ring, where a rodeo was held.

Ortega began his speech to the rally on the economic measures the government has taken "to defend us from the aggression, the embargo, the blockade; to defend the producers of Nicaragua — the producers of coffee, cotton, sugarcane, cattle, basic grains [corn, rice, and beans — staples of the Nicaraguan diet]; to defend all the producers of the country."

San Antonio sugar mill

The July 13 nationalization of the San Antonio sugar mill by the FSLN government was such a measure, he said. That enterprise was the largest capitalist company in Nicaragua. It owned tens of thousands of acres of land and employed 5,000 workers at the peak harvest season.

At the time of the takeover, the Sandinista government said it was acting because the owners had allowed the facilities to deteriorate badly. On July 19 Ortega repeated that the move was "a step of an economic character, because if we had had a political interest striking at the owners of the San Antonio mill, we already had an opportunity last year."

At that time, he continued, it was discovered that "through the bank the owners of the San Antonio mill have in the United States, the U.S. government was distributing funds to the contras. That is, the owners of the San Antonio mill had become accomplices to the aggression that cost the lives and economy of our people."

Ortega said the owners of the company had given explanations for this situation

that the government had accepted. "We gave them the chance to continue producing this year," he said, "and the result was disastrous."

The president urged people to go and see for themselves "the state in which we are receiving that mill. If we had not taken this step now, that mill would simply die, would disappear."

Ortega's next point was on "the character of our revolutionary process. A certain expectation has been created for this July 19," he said, "because it has been stated that we Sandinistas are going to declare ourselves socialists. It seems they haven't yet understood that we Sandinistas have been socialists and that socialism has existed in Nicaragua since July 19, 1979."

'Our socialism'

"Our socialism is one that, in the first place," Ortega said, "defends the workers and peasants as fundamental forces of the nation."

"Our socialism also gives the chance to

produce and contribute to the progress of the country to all economic and social sectors that exist in Nicaragua. Our socialism protects the individual producers, with its credit policies for ranchers and by giving land to the peasants.

"Our socialism protects the peasant producers of coffee and the peasant producers of basic grains. It protects the cotton producers, and all Nicaraguan producers who really want to produce, be efficient, and share their wealth with everyone else. That is all we ask and demand."

Ortega continued, "So, our socialism defends the mixed economy. Defends political pluralism, but political pluralism within the institutional, constitutional framework, not so as to ignore the government, to ignore the power of the people, but rather to work with the government, to work with the people's power."

"Our socialism defends an international policy of non-alignment. We have raised and defended the need for the Central

Continued on Page 13

Iran-Iraq war: behind cease-fire talks

BY SAMAD SHARIF

After the government of Iran agreed to a cease-fire July 18, the Iraqi military again used chemical weapons against Iranian civilian and military personnel and advanced 25 miles inside Iranian territory in the south. The Iranian military reported that the invading troops were pushed back. But the Iraqi regime said its soldiers were pulled back voluntarily.

When the United Nations resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war was adopted one year ago, the Iraqi government declared that it would abide by the resolution provided Iran did likewise.

However, immediately after Tehran accepted the UN vote this month, the Iraqi military stepped up its attacks inside Iran, allegedly to press the Iranian government into direct negotiations. This goes beyond the provisions of the UN resolution, which doesn't mandate direct negotiations.

In response to the Iraqi intrusion the Iranian government closed down colleges and universities and called for a mass military mobilization to repel the Iraqi attacks. Meanwhile, a UN delegation traveled to the region to prepare for a cease-fire.

Despite its present offensive military posture, it is doubtful that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein would repeat his catastrophic miscalculation and invade Iran again as he did in September 1980. That adventure backfired.

Overthrow of the shah

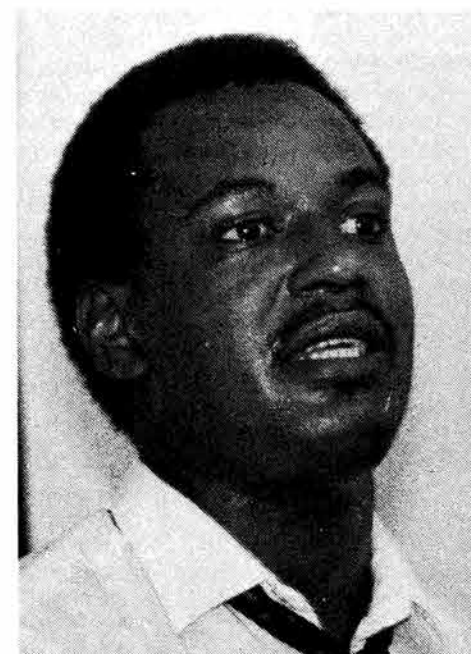
Iraqi forces attacked Iran one and a half years after the February 1979 revolution in Iran.

That revolution, based on the power of some of the biggest political mass mobilizations of this century, overthrew the shah, the strongest and most reliable U.S. ally in the Persian Gulf region. The monarchy had been placed in power in 1953 with the help of a CIA-engineered coup.

As a result of the Iranian revolution, thousands of U.S. military advisers were expelled from the country, their anti-Soviet spy installations closed down, and the

Continued on Page 5

Socialist candidate: gov't must act on drought relief for farmers now



Tony Savino

Socialist Workers Party candidate for president James Warren.

The following statement was issued July 25 by James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States.

The worst drought in 50 years is devastating farmers and farm workers across the Midwest and South. Well over half the grain crop in the northern plains states has been destroyed, and half the corn in Illinois, the number one corn-producing state. Farmers in nearly 2,000 counties in 38 states have been hit.

Breeding cattle, pigs, and other livestock are dying off or being sold because of the drought-induced shortage of feed.

Some farmers in Canada have been hit by the drought as well.

Farmers, who were already in the midst of the worst agricultural crisis since the 1930s, need emergency help — and they need it now. But they are not getting it.

President Reagan toured farm areas in Illinois and Iowa in mid-July, promising action and conceding that this drought may be worse than the one 50 years ago that

turned many farm areas into a dust bowl.

Congresspeople, senators, governors, and other Republican and Democratic politicians have flooded the drought-stricken regions, offering sympathy and promising help. But no decrees mandating aid, which the president and governors are authorized to make, have been issued. No trucks have been mobilized to transport hay and other forage from parts of the country where there is plenty to those that are suffering.

Meanwhile, legislation is slogging its way through Congress, with no chance that it will give any aid to farmers until September, at the earliest.

Some spokespeople for big business are openly cynical about the farmers' plight. "For an election-year Congress to rush through general relief would be perverse," the *New York Times* editors said. "It should be remembered that until this year, the problem has been too much farm production."

Perhaps the *Times* and others who think along the same lines believe that the

Continued on Page 2

The story of Panama's Dignity Battalions

Interview with Revolutionary Democratic Party leader Nils Castro

BY JUDY WHITE

PANAMA CITY, Panama — What is the story of the Dignity Battalions that were formed in Panama in response to Washington's recent troop build-up in the former Canal Zone?

This question formed the basis of an interview conducted here in mid-June with Nils Castro, secretary of international relations for the Revolutionary Democratic Party (PRD) of Panama. The PRD holds the majority of seats in the Panamanian legislature and is an active backer of the government of Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega.

In addition to the 10,000 U.S. troops already stationed on U.S. bases in Panama, 1,300 more arrived here at the end of March. This was at the height of the recent escalation of Washington's attempt to oust the Noriega government. The troop build-up came less than two months after the indictment of Noriega in U.S. courts on drug-trafficking charges. It followed the March 1 imposition of a U.S. economic blockade on this country, which has thrown the economy into a deep recession.

The Reagan administration has been waging a campaign for almost two years now to oust Noriega and housebreak the Panamanian government. Washington seeks to use the country as a military training and staging ground for U.S. intervention in Latin America and so that it can retain control over the Panama Canal. According to treaties signed by then U.S. president James Carter and Panamanian Gen. Omar Torrijos in 1977, both the U.S. military presence and control over the canal are to be totally ended by the year 1999.

Panamanian working people viewed the arrival of the additional U.S. troops as a direct threat to the nation's sovereignty, Castro explained. "We were under the impression that military aggression was going to take place within a matter of hours or days."

There was an immediate response from the mass organizations, Castro said, from neighborhood groups, and from some professional organizations, student associations, and trade unions. "But the initiative came mainly from the neighborhoods, from community organizations where people live. They began to go to the military barracks to demand training and arms."

The PRD leader told us, "As of figures from two or three weeks ago, we currently have 7,000 people in training in battalions. And the plan is to continue training people until we have a civilian component more or less the same size as the military forces — some 14,000 people. In a country of 2 million inhabitants, that is sizable."

A big response has come from poor neighborhoods in the cities. But, Castro said, there has also been a response throughout the country. "It has been most notable in the countryside," he remarked. "That's where there has been the most success in developing the Dignity Battalions. And it is where they have most rapidly reached a high level of military preparedness."

A video of the battalions shows men and women from the ages of 16 to 80 undergoing rigorous military training in a variety of settings. The participants wore civilian clothing and most carried wooden sticks instead of guns except for target practice.

"We have stopped the propaganda urging people to join up for the moment," Castro explained. "We have had to suspend it because we don't have the capacity to train and arm everyone."

The commanders of the battalions "are elected from among the members of the battalions," Castro said. Explaining that the battalions are organized on a geographical basis, he continued, "Once they have finished their basic training, they elect their commanders. Generally, they are the leaders from the community where the battalion members live."

The Dignity Battalions continue to be on alert even after their training, Castro explained. Once it became clear that Washington was not going to invade immediately, "We found ourselves in the situation in which [U.S. Secretary of State George] Shultz insists that the military option has not been rejected, but there hasn't been any military intervention."

"So, we are using the battalions for other work now — fixing up houses, street cleaning, improvements in the community. In the Chorrillo area, a poor neighborhood in the center of Panama City, the Dignity Battalion for that neighborhood has been doing a lot of housing repairs recently."

Both Castro and other leaders of the



Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega

Militant/Judy White

PRD agree that Washington's moves have led to a reawakening of anti-imperialist sentiment.

Referring to the entire campaign of destabilization Washington has waged against the Panamanian government, Castro said, "What at first was viewed as an offense, now has become something to be proud of. I would say that the majority of people today feel a sense of satisfaction at having resisted. Not simply a feeling of indignation and offense because of the aggression."

"Now people also recognize their capacity to resist and recognize that their power was greater than we had thought. Every time someone overcomes a problem of scarcity, he feels that he has defeated the White House."

The mayor of San Miguelito, a working-class area of Panama City, raised another side to this. "It's lucky for us that Washington did this now, before 1999," she said, "because up until now, a lot of people thought the Yankees should stay in Panama."

Warren demands aid for farmers

Continued from front page

drought may be as good a way as any to solve the "problem" of too many farmers and too much food production.

But that hasn't been the problem for the hungry millions in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and elsewhere. That hasn't been the problem for the growing number of desperately poor working people in this country.

Working people all over the world have a vital stake in making it possible for U.S. farmers to keep producing to the maximum. The government should guarantee that not a single farmer is forced off the land as a result of the drought, and that not a single farm worker suffers privation during the crisis.

The government should guarantee working farmers access to water resources that are now hogged by wealthy farmers and landowners. Grain in government storage should be provided for feed, and restrictions on the use, for forage and grazing, of government land or land set aside from production should be waived.

There must be an immediate halt to all foreclosures and a moratorium on debt and interest payments and on rent. The government should provide working farmers with long-term, low-interest loans to tide them over this crisis.

Wherever needed, farm families should

be guaranteed food, medical care, and other necessities of life for the duration of the emergency.

Farm workers and other workers laid off as a result of the drought should receive unemployment compensation at union scale until they find other work. They should be guaranteed food, medical care, decent housing, and travel expenses.

The sale of farm commodities now in government storage is enriching speculators and should be halted. Decreased supplies is leading price-gouging merchants to jack up prices in the supermarket while the supply of food and fiber available to meet shortages in this country and around the world is squandered.

Measures should be taken immediately to begin to restoring, wherever possible, the fertility of land rendered arid by the drought. Working farmers whose land proves unsalvageable and who wish to continue farming, should get whatever federal help they need to obtain sufficient land to resume farming elsewhere.

The Socialist Workers Party calls on unionists and all other working people to join farmers in demanding that the government act now to prevent the drought — a natural disaster — from becoming a *social disaster* that could devastate the lives of working people not only in farm areas in the United States, but around the world.

Coming in our next issue ...

'Nicaragua's Autonomy Law Is Our Gift to Indigenous Peoples of the World'

A speech by Tomás Borge, Nicaragua's minister of the interior and a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

Delivered in Managua, Nicaragua, to a meeting of indigenous peoples from around the world, Borge describes how international capitalist expansion devastated Indian populations, the link between the struggle for national liberation and rights for indigenous peoples, and the importance of Nicaragua's autonomy process for native peoples everywhere.

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—Terry Pugh

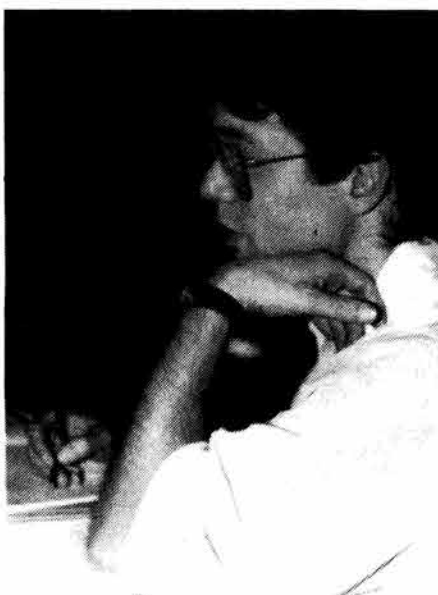
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The campaign against Mark Curtis in Des Moines, Iowa

BY NORTON SANDLER

DES MOINES, Iowa — Mark Curtis' supporters began to organize a defense effort for the framed-up political activist within days of his being arrested and beaten by the Des Moines police.

Since the beginning, the defense effort has been bucking up against a campaign by the cops and prosecutors to undercut support for Curtis.

Curtis was arrested March 4. The cops claimed they interrupted him attempting to rape a 15-year-old Black woman after being tipped off by her 11-year-old brother.

Curtis, 29, is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and has been active in politics for more than a decade. Because of his leadership role in the Birmingham, Alabama, Central America solidarity committee, his name has shown up on FBI spy files released earlier this year on CISPES, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. Those files have made the rounds of police computers across the country.

Curtis has explained since the beginning of this case that he did not attempt to rape anyone and that he is a victim of a political frame-up.

Curtis' trial on second-degree burglary and third-degree rape charges is scheduled to begin on September 7. If convicted on those counts, Curtis faces a mandatory 25-year jail sentence.

He faces a second trial on charges of assaulting the police officers who beat him. That trial is scheduled to begin the first week of October.

Over the past four and half months, the Mark Curtis Defense Committee has distributed, in this country and internationally, more than 100,000 pieces of literature about the case. Protest messages demanding that the charges against Curtis be dropped and that the cops who beat him be prosecuted have poured into Des Moines from across the United States and from the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Iceland, Britain, and Puerto Rico.

Cops tactics

People identifying themselves as representatives of the Des Moines cops and Polk County sheriff's office have contacted some who sent messages.

Howard Mayhew, a longtime political and trade unionist activist now retired in Whiting, New Jersey, says, "A man who said he was a sheriff called and asked me if I had sent a telegram to Des Moines. He said he wanted to make sure it had really been sent by me. I assured him it had, and he hung up," Mayhew said.

Bronson Rozier, in Louisville, Kentucky, also got a call. The person on the other end asked Rozier if he'd sent a message to Des Moines and if he was a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

The cops and prosecutor have tried to directly intervene in defense committee functions. A May 4 *Des Moines Register* article described the support Curtis was winning

and explained that the defense committee would be holding a 7:00 meeting.

Three plain-clothes cops showed up that night at the Pathfinder bookstore where the defense committee office is located. A cop told defense committee member Stu Singer they had been sent to the meeting by the prosecutor.

Singer told the cops they weren't welcome. "We did not want them present because their presence is intimidating. And that's why the county prosecutor sent them here," Singer said.

The press was alerted that cops were trying to attend the meeting.

Police Capt. Kayne Robinson came to the bookstore and huddled with the plain clothes cops. The four eventually departed.

Polk County prosecutor James Smith told the paper, "We obviously would be curious on what goes on in this meeting, especially any comments Curtis might make about the incident at the girl's house. But I wouldn't want anyone from my office or from the police department interfering with their meeting."

Eight days later, the Des Moines city attorney intervened in a Human Rights Commission hearing attended by Curtis and his supporters.

"How can we have a human rights commission if it doesn't look into the police," Curtis told the hearing, "they are the biggest human rights violators in the city."

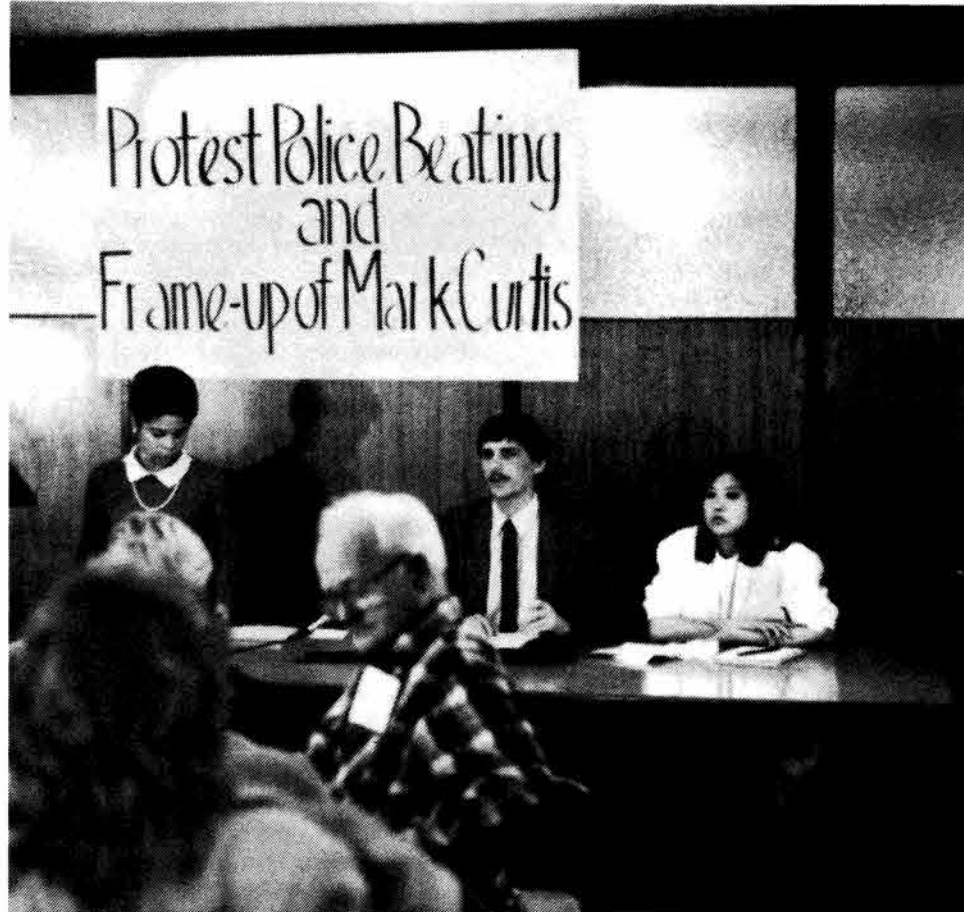
The city attorney told commission members they are prohibited by law from investigating the cops. One city agency cannot investigate another, she claimed.

The day after a July 3 defense committee rally the *Register* carried an article quoting Keith Morris, the father of Demetria Morris, the girl Curtis is accused of trying to rape.

"We came forward because we want people to be rational and stop following him like blind, lost sheep," Morris said. "I'm not going to sit still and let these people make an international attack on my children and family. . . . We're going to fight this state, national, and international organization," he added.

"He [Curtis] literally got caught with his pants down and now he's trying to get out of it," Morris asserted.

Morris' charges dovetail with the cops' and prosecutors' attempt to portray the case



Militant/Stu Singer

Curtis speaking at press conference in March. Countercampaign by prosecutor and cops is designed to undercut support for the framed-up political activist.

as a struggle between an alleged rape victim and an "attacker."

Victims Services

Six women and a man hostile to Curtis' defense showed up at the July 3 rally. Five of the women wore "take back the night" T-shirts. This slogan has been raised by a variety of antirape activists to heighten public consciousness of the degree to which fear of violence affects women's lives. It often gets linked, however, with reactionary efforts to demand more cops and prisons, especially for Black and Latino communities.

Marty Anderson, director of Victims Services, a county agency that provides counseling to "crime victims," including rape victims, was part of the hostile group.

Several of Curtis' supporters began engaging the six women in discussions. The group departed when Curtis was introduced and received a standing ovation.

On July 12 Assistant Polk County Attorney Catherine Thune demanded during a court hearing that Curtis' trial date be "accelerated" from September 7 to August. Marty Anderson was the first witness Thune called. She testified that the rally crowd cheered when the postponement of the trial was announced.

The judge denied the motion to speed up the trial.

This episode brought into the open an

important aspect of the countercampaign. For months many active in Central America solidarity, antinuclear, and Latino and Black rights, and farm organizations have been getting phone calls or visits about the Curtis case.

The calls were increased in the days before the July 3 rally as opponents of Curtis tried to discourage Des Moines-area participation in the event.

During the calls Anderson and others associated with Victims Services are often referred to as sources with firsthand knowledge that this "is a good rape case" and that "Curtis is guilty."

Some individuals around Victims Services go so far as to say most rapists get acquitted in court. Therefore, it's important to get convictions even if the man who gets jailed didn't commit the rape.

Leaflet on Drake campus

Recently Curtis' supporters posted up leaflets for a defense committee meeting on the Drake University campus in Des Moines. The next day an anonymous leaflet was also posted at Drake. "One fact the [Curtis defense committee] poster fails to mention is that he is accused of sexually molesting a 14-year-old girl," it stated.

"Like Mark Curtis," it continued, "the police are entitled to the benefit of the doubt. . . . Although Mark Curtis will have

Continued on Page 13

'Cops dressed up in Klansmen robes'

DES MOINES, Iowa — Dressing up as Klansmen in white robes, sexually harassing female cops, and making racial slurs to police trainees. These are among the charges that have been leveled against cops here in recent days.

Much of this has come out as the result of a lawsuit against three cops and the city by Deborah Lynch, herself a police officer until recently.

The July 15 *Des Moines Register* reported, "Two Des Moines police officers have admitted they routinely harassed a female colleague with sexual comments, requests to perform sex acts and by posting pornographic photos and suggestive cartoons at police headquarters."

In depositions before the trial, police officers Timothy Lynch (who is not related to Deborah Lynch) and Merlin Nielson said they only jokingly asked Lynch to have sex with them.

Deborah Lynch has charged that Nielson unzipped his pants in public and asked her to perform a sex act. Nielson said he would only touch his zipper when he made sexual remarks.

Lynch said her commanding officer, Dale Anderson, asked her on several occasions to "turn around so he could watch me walking."

After she filed a complaint against the treatment she was receiving, Lynch said other cops retaliated by delaying their re-

sponse to her radio calls for assistance.

Des Moines Police Chief William Moulder claims this is an isolated incident. "It's not a common phenomenon in the department," he said.

Sgt. Dale Anderson's statements in this case also reveal that in 1984 two white cops dressed up in white Ku Klux Klan robes to scare Walt Bevel, a Black cop, while he was on duty in Hawthorne Park. A police dispatcher, it seems, was also involved in the episode.

Another cop, Richard Schuett, said, "It was some sergeant that meddled into it that caused the big stink about it. It was initiation into the squad to welcome [Bevel] aboard. There was another officer that asked why he didn't get it done to him, another Black officer. He felt left out," Schuett said.

The July 20 *Register* reported that the police are preparing to fire a Black woman cadet for "falsely accusing" Lt. William Mullins of using a derogatory term to describe a Black "suspect."

The woman, Charlie Smith, filed a complaint with the police internal affairs office. Another Black cadet says he also heard the racist remark.

But chief Moulder says the 23 white cops in the room "didn't hear" the derogatory term. According to Moulder, "All but two in the room said that word definitely was not used." Filing a "false report,"

Moulder said, is a violation of police regulations and is grounds for being fired.

Other charges have been leveled against Des Moines cops and other Polk County officials this year.

In April Cynthia Richards, a student at Grand View College, was arrested and charged with drunken driving and going through a red light. She was taken to Polk County Jail. A female officer took her to a jail cell and ordered her to undress.

"I ended up stark naked except for a 5-foot strip of paper, the kind they use to cover hospital examining tables," Richards said. "I looked around. There was no cot, no chair, no toilet — just a drain in the floor. There were no bars and just one steel door with a window you couldn't see out of."

"Then, she said, 'I saw the television camera in one corner near the ceiling. I was horrified and realized how naked I was. I wrapped the paper around the middle of my body and curled up like a ball while sitting on the floor. I had my knees pulled up to my chest. I spent the night like that. I didn't sleep at all,'" Richards said.

A jail official said prisoners are kept naked if jail employees believe they might be considering "suicide."

At 8:30 the next morning Richards was given jail coveralls and plastic shoes and was taken before a judge. She was released several hours later.

How you can help defend Mark Curtis

- Send messages to the Polk County prosecutor James Smith demanding the charges against Curtis be dropped and that the cops who beat him be prosecuted. Write: James Smith, Polk County Attorney, 408 Polk County Courthouse, 5th and Mulberry, Des Moines, Iowa 50309.
- Funds are urgently needed. Though the Mark Curtis Defense Committee has gone over the \$45,000 fundraising goal set earlier, funds are needed to cover ongoing expenses.
- Copies of the messages and contributions should be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.

Texas immigrant workers lead fight for union

BY STEVE MARSHALL

TYLER, Texas — Building a union today is no easy matter in right-to-work Texas or anywhere else. So the victorious organizing drive last fall by meatpackers at the Loggins Meat Co. here merits attention.

This drive has an added significance for the labor movement in the United States, because most of the 140 Loggins packers are Mexican immigrants. On December 18, when they voted to bring Local 540 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) into the plant, they were what the bosses call "illegal aliens."

On a recent afternoon in Tyler, union leader Joe Mendez and several other workers described the situation.

Most Loggins workers make \$3.50 an hour; a dozen boners make the maximum, \$6.40. Overtime is paid only after 40 hours have been worked in a week, not after eight in a day.

The company adjusts wages to reward its favorites or punish those it regards as troublemakers. One worker named Tony, after 11 years of driving a lift, makes \$4.65.

They have no retirement benefits, no sick leave, and the minimum medical coverage required by Texas law. They face constant speedup and the resulting injuries — mangled hands and stab wounds — that are widespread in the meat-packing industry.

English-speaking workers — anglo and Black — generally receive better treatment than the Spanish-speaking, immigrant majority.

Mexican women bear the greatest burden at Loggins. They draw the worst jobs,

the lowest pay, and the fewest hours of overtime. Supervisors assault them with abuse, from obscene overtures and physical contact to outright demands for sex.

Walk out

These conditions led to a rebellion last fall.

In late September, after Robert Mendez was denied a raise, he and other workers on the boning table walked off the job. The next morning 80 percent of the workers stayed out. They picketed the plant demanding dignity, human rights, and decent wages.

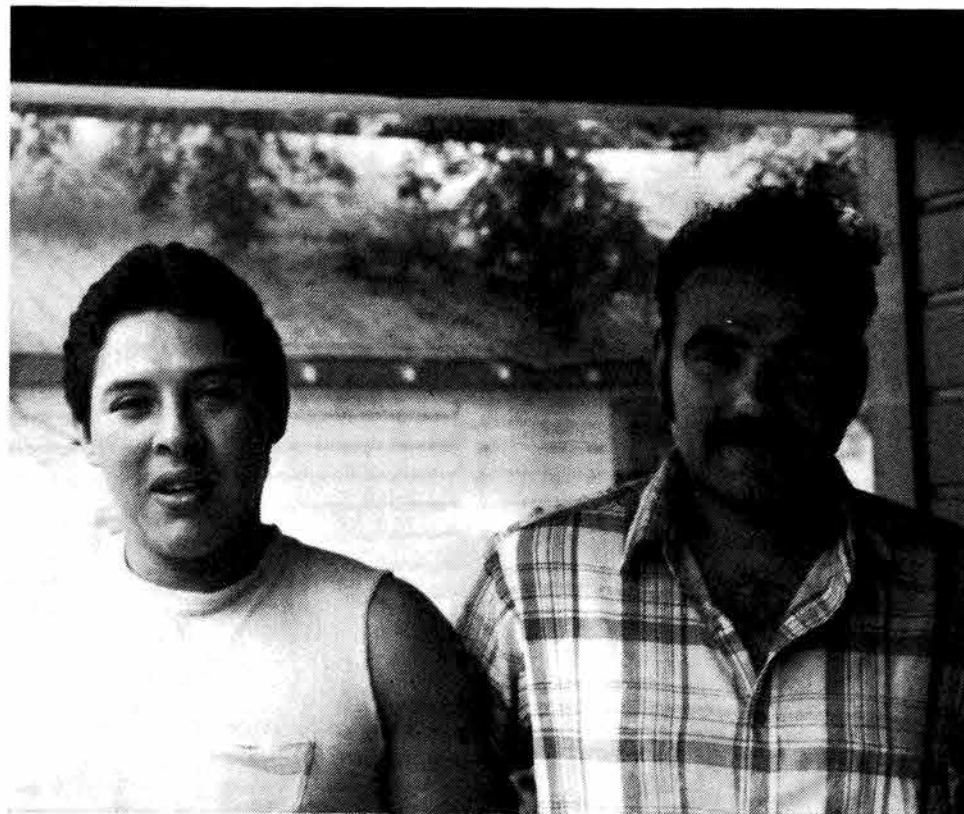
Over the next two days the company began hiring scabs. A few strikers returned to work, but most stayed out. At the suggestion of local unionists they contacted the UFCW; then they decided to return to work and organize the union.

The women workers, said Mendez, were the backbone of the strike.

Following the walkout, most Loggins workers signed cards calling for an election to bring in the union. The company hired a union-busting law firm and applied more pressure.

Workers who had acted as leaders were put on night shift to isolate them from the larger day shift. Their hours were reduced — in some cases to 18 hours a week — and their days off were changed to prevent them from attending union meetings.

The company passed out photographs of a table with a big stack of groceries at one end, along with a sign claiming that one year's union dues would pay for them. The



Joe Mendez, left, and Leo Leya have been active in fight to build union at packing-house in Tyler, Texas.

other end of the table was bare; a sign said that's what the union's promises would buy.

The company's threats to move the plant weren't too credible, said Mendez — everyone knew Loggins couldn't find another town where they could get away with paying lower wages.

Threats

Finally, the company's natural weapon against immigrant workers was the threat of deportation.

At Loggins this threat proved a failure. Most workers expected to obtain permanent residency under the new amnesty law; even those who didn't decided to fight anyway.

When the company did raise the threat, said Mendez, "We had to straighten them out. We reminded them it's illegal to influence a union election by pressure on undocumented workers."

Regular meetings at the local AFL-CIO immigration offices strengthened the packinghouse workers' resolve to resist these threats.

On December 18 Loggins workers voted 98 to 34 in favor of UFCW representation. Some Blacks and most anglo workers, including the better-paid truck drivers and maintenance mechanics, voted with the company.

Since December a committee of four has been negotiating toward a union contract. Agreement has been reached on improved vacation and some benefits, but the company is dragging the talks out.

The union has forced Loggins to reinstate with back pay three fired strikers, and to reimburse workers who had been forced to pay for required safety equipment.

On the other hand, some workers who participated in the walkout have been fired, including some who didn't obtain amnesty. The company continues to reduce hours and change schedules; recently it began punitive three-day layoffs against workers who are absent either Friday or Monday.

Sexual harassment has been pushed back but still continues.

Joe Mendez and other Loggins workers say they think the first contract may advance conditions in the plant only modestly. With the solidarity achieved so far, they say, it will be a base from which to launch the next stage of the struggle.

'Thriffs' lose billions; 500 face collapse

BY FRED FELDMAN

The 3,100 savings and loan associations in the United States lost a total of \$3.8 billion in the first quarter of 1988, making it virtually certain that this year's losses will surpass last year's record of \$7.6 billion.

Some 500 of the S&Ls — one-sixth of the total — are threatened with collapse. Only two-thirds of all S&Ls are currently reporting a profit.

On July 7, M. Danny Wall, chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, admitted he could not rule out asking the U.S. Treasury for help in bailing out the savings and loan system. The bank board regulates the S&Ls, also known as "thriffs."

Wall said the FHLBB will have to raise \$12 billion more in the next 10 years than had been originally planned.

He said he had underestimated the cost of merging or liquidating the 500 worst-off firms. The cost, he estimates, is \$30.9 billion, considerably more than the \$22.7 billion figure he had given Congress a few days earlier. The change stemmed, he said, from having to double the estimated cost of

bailing out 117 sinking S&Ls in Texas, to \$15.2 billion.

Congressional and private studies have estimated the total price tag at \$50 to \$60 billion.

"Taxpayers are going to have to bail out the thrift system one way or another, and we ought to do it sooner rather than later," stated Brooklyn, New York, Democratic Congressman Charles Schumer.

Wall is also chairman of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corp., which insures deposits of up to \$100,000 in thrifts. The crisis of the S&Ls drove the FSLIC \$13.7 billion into the red in 1987. Last year Congress and the White House enacted a federal loan guarantee allowing the marketing of \$10.8 billion in federally guaranteed bonds to finance the agency.

The center of the crisis is in Texas, where plummeting oil prices in recent years have spurred a sharp economic downturn and a collapse of real estate values. The savings and loans were first chartered in 1932 to use depositors' funds to make long-term mortgage loans.

But savings and loan banks outside the

oil-producing region have also taken blows. On July 8 officials of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board seized control of the McLean Savings & Loan, which operated in northern Virginia and Washington, D.C. The FHLBB set up a new management team to run the association, while seeking a buyer or candidate for merger.

Once one of the fastest-growing thrifts in the country, McLean's profits jumped 1,000 percent between 1982 and 1985 — the bottom has now fallen out. The thrift lost \$30 million in the last three years, two thirds during the 1988 fiscal year alone.

In a move to drum up more capital to prop up the S&Ls, Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R-N.Y.) and others put pressure on the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp. to permit the public sale of 15 million shares of its preferred stock. On July 13, the corporation's board, of which Wall is also chairman, voted to do so. The maximum number of shares that any individual, bank, or corporation can hold was also raised to 600,000 from 150,000.

The Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp. was set up in 1970. It essentially buys mortgages from savings and loans, and sells interest-bearing securities based on them to investors. This enables the S&Ls to unload loans that are going bad onto the federal body.

Last year "Freddie Mac," as the corporation is often called, made a profit of \$301 million and paid dividends totaling \$18.12 per share to holders of preferred stock.

When the preferred stock was first issued in 1984, only savings and loan associations were permitted to own shares.

Making shares available to the public — that is, to investment bankers, commercial banks, stock speculators, corporations, and other big investors — is expected to push share prices as high as \$150 a share. The shares were trading at \$50 in January, before the prospect of a policy change sent the price up.

The common stock of the corporation is held by the Federal Home Loan Banks, which are formally owned by the thrifts themselves. But holders of the preferred stock are entitled to receive the first \$10 million in dividends declared by the corporation and 90 percent of any additional dividends.

The increased value of the shares is expected to increase the net worth of the savings and loan industry by up to \$1.5 billion.

Shipyard workers fight lump-sum pay

BY KIP HEDGES
AND MAGGIE PUCCI

GROTON, Conn. — For the past month 10,000 union workers at General Dynamic's Electric Boat shipyard here have been on strike. Trident and Los Angeles class nuclear submarines are built at the yard.

According to Joe Messier, president of the Metal Trades Council that unites the yard's 10 unions — boilermakers, machinists, and others — the company's insistence on lump-sum payments was the number one issue. Management counterposed this to an increase in the base pay rate. Electric Boat's proposal will leave wages at the end of four years still at an average of \$12.02 per hour.

The company also demanded substantial increases in the deductible portion of workers' medical insurance. Pensioners were to get no increase and part-time work was to be introduced into the yard.

Messier explained, "This offer was so bad it left us nowhere to go except on strike. We had a record turnout for the vote. Over 8,000 voted and almost 5,000 voted to strike."

Strikers said support for the strike, which began July 1, is strong, even among many who had voted to accept the contract. "We all have to pull together now," said one boilermaker.

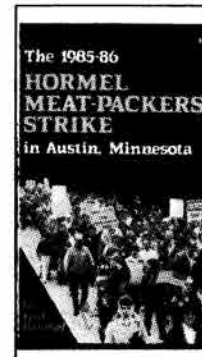
Electric Boat is moving struck work to nonunion yards and subcontractors in an effort to keep production going. They have moved 3,000 salaried personnel into the yard and placed help-wanted ads in local newspapers.

The company claims that 200 workers have crossed picket lines. Workers interviewed here said that fewer than 100 had done so.

"EB has never claimed it wasn't profitable. It has never said it couldn't afford the contract we were asking for," Messier said. Electric Boat contributed more than \$100 million in earnings to General Dynamics' coffers last year.

Electric Boat points to workers at the Newport News Shipyard in Virginia, who make an average of \$1.24 less per hour in wages and benefits, as an example for its workers.

A pamphlet on meat-packers' struggle



The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers' Strike in Austin, Minnesota presents the facts about the Geo. A. Hormel & Co.'s union-busting attack on the workers at its Austin plant, and about how the Hormel workers fought back and won support from

unionists and farmers across the country.

Every unionist facing takeback demands and other attacks will want to read this story. 44 pp. \$1.00

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12, or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please add \$.75 handling.

Iraq's war against Iranian revolution

Continued from front page

shah's notorious secret police, Savak, smashed. Thousands of political prisoners were freed.

Many large landowners and capitalists fled the country. The hold of the big landlords on the countryside was broken. Under the initiative of the peasants, the beginning stages of a long overdue revolutionary land reform began. Workers councils called *shoras* sprang up in factories and, to one degree or another, were establishing greater authority in many plants. They were later destroyed as the new regime consolidated capitalist rule in the country. The national cultures of the oppressed nationalities blossomed and their national aspirations came into head-on conflict with the newly established regime in Tehran.

The revolution had engulfed the shah's army. It was only a decree of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini that allowed it to escape dissolution. Wary of the U.S.-trained army inherited from the shah, the Islamic Republic created Sepahe Pasdaran, the Revolutionary Guards. This was a militia force whose members were Islamic militants initially drawn from the Committees of Revolution. These committees sprang up in city neighborhoods during the months of the general strike that preceded the triumph of the revolution.

Iraqi invasion

With the shah's army in disarray and the U.S. military advisers gone, the Iraqi regime was in a superior position militarily. The Iraqi government tried to capitalize on what seemed to be chaos in Iran.

Under the guise of territorial claims, Iraqi forces invaded Iran on Sept. 22, 1980. The Iranian army was unprepared for the surprise attack — possibly by design of its high-level commanders who opposed the revolution — and it retreated. Iraqi forces captured Khorramshahr, destroyed what had once been the world's largest oil

refinery in Abadan, and laid siege to the city. Tens of thousands became refugees — uprooted and homeless.

President Hussein had hoped for a quick victory that would lead to the overthrow of the Khomeini regime and roll back the revolution. This did not materialize. There was, rather, spontaneous popular resistance to the invasion. The oppressed Arab population of Khuzistan did not rise up to welcome the Iraqi invaders, as Baghdad had hoped.

The war eventually came to a stalemate. Neither side made any headway for almost a year and a half. In the interim, a new fighting force grew in Iran alongside the old army. Its leading core was composed of Revolutionary Guards. They were supported by a constant flow of volunteer Baseeji (Mobilizer) youth. Workers were present in these mobilizations, but the recruits came predominantly from the peasantry.

Iranian counteroffensive

Revolutionary Guards gradually came to play a dominant role in the conduct of the war. In the spring of 1982 they led the liberation of Khorramshahr and forced the Iraqi army to retreat for the most part to inside its territory.

Hoping to get the support of the Shiite and Kurdish population of Iraq, a decision was made in Tehran to pursue the war into Iraqi territory. (The Iraqi rulers are predominantly Sunni Muslims, the Iranian rulers are Shiites.)

High morale, and the sheer numbers of people committed to the new regime in Iran, overcame the Iraqi army's superiority of arms and pushed them into the defensive.

The Iranian counteroffensive against Iraq threatened to overthrow Hussein's regime. Washington feared this prospect as did the Arab regimes allied with Iraq's Hussein. The U.S. government recognized that the overthrow of the Iraqi regime would change the balance of forces in the



Kurdish civilians killed in Iraqi cyanide gas attack last March

region in favor of the Islamic Republic and would lead to more anti-imperialist revolts, especially in the countries with predominantly Islamic populations.

Formally neutral, but actually on the side of the Iraqi regime, Washington and its allies increasingly mounted pressure against Iran and tried to isolate it and force it to the negotiating table before the Iraqi regime was overturned. These efforts began to bear fruit last year.

Last summer, 400 Iranian pilgrims who were taking part in a massive political demonstration in Mecca were killed by the Saudi Arabian police. No outcry of protest against this massacre was heard in the Middle East or anywhere else in the world. This year the Saudi government took the unprecedented step of banning Iranians from the annual pilgrimage to Mecca.

Iraqi poison gas attacks

During the past year the Pentagon has built up its armada in the Persian Gulf while the Iraqi regime stepped up its missile attacks against Iranian cities. Hussein's forces unleashed poison gas attacks on the battle fronts and against Kurdish civilians inside Iraq who supported Iranian forces. Iraq took over territory that Iran had conquered earlier in the war.

Moreover, the U.S. Navy in the gulf dealt considerable damage to Iranian ships and oil platforms.

U.S. officer calls downing of Iran airliner an 'unacceptable atrocity'

"The shooting down of Iran Air Flight 655 with 290 passengers aboard was an unacceptable atrocity." That was the conclusion of Col. L. Fletcher Prouty, former chief of special operations in the office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, in the letter published in the July 22 *New York Times*.

Flight 655 was shot down over the Persian Gulf by a U.S. warship on July 3. Evidence has since revealed — contrary to initial Pentagon claims — that the flight was a regularly scheduled hop to Dubai listed in airline guides, was well within its assigned air corridor, and was sending out a radar signal commonly used by civilian flights. Furthermore, it was flying on a level or rising path rather than descending in a threatening manner toward the warship.

The warship commander reportedly warned the Iranian plane, but used channels that civilian pilots on short routes such as that of Flight 655 are not required to use. There was no attempt to contact the airline over the air control channel. It is not known whether the warship monitored the communications between Flight 655 and its air controller on that channel.

Despite the mounting evidence, the White House and the Pentagon have held to their stand that shooting down the civilian aircraft was a "justifiable action."

The degree to which the Islamic Republic was increasingly internationally isolated was brought home with the downing of the Iranian civilian Airbus on July 3 by the U.S.S. *Vincennes*. The Iranian government was unable to find any member of the UN Security Council who was willing to sponsor a motion to condemn Washington. Tehran became convinced that in the context of its political isolation and the continued devastating and demoralizing military attacks, especially against civilians, it had to sue for peace.

Iran accepted the UN cease-fire resolution in order to halt the possibly crushing consequences of the intensified drive against it. The U.S. imperialists succeeded in forcing the Iranian government to the negotiating table on their own terms.

On July 18, Iranian President Ali Khamenei, in his letter to Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar informing him of Iran's acceptance of UN Security Council Resolution 598, stated:

"As you are well aware, the fire of the war . . . has now gained unprecedented dimension, bringing other countries into the war and even engulfing innocent civilians."

In a statement issued by Ayatollah Khomeini in Tehran on July 18 declaring his acceptance of the UN resolution, he stated that "the acceptance of this issue is more lethal for me than poison."

Kanak leader pays tribute to Fred Halstead

The following is a tribute from Susanna Ounei-Small sent to the *Militant* when she learned of the death of Fred Halstead. Halstead, a longtime central leader of the Socialist Workers Party, died June 2.

Ounei-Small is a representative of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) in New Zealand. The FLNKS is leading the struggle for independence of New Caledonia, a French colony in the South Pacific. The Kanaks are the indigenous people of the country. Ounei-Small is the author of the pamphlet *For Kanak Independence: The Fight Against French Rule in*

New Caledonia. She toured the United States in 1985, speaking on the behalf of the FLNKS about the struggle in New Caledonia.

I am deeply saddened by the loss of this wonderful friend and comrade. I have very fond memories of Fred and the time we spent together during my four-month speaking tour of the United States in 1985. I really appreciated his kindness and everything he did for me, especially when I was exhausted after a heavy schedule of meetings. Fred was a strong activist, but he also knew how to relax and have a good time — something which is important for all of us.

Very few people have a political past as rich as Fred's. He committed his life to the struggles of people throughout the world for justice and dignity, and is an example we can all learn from. Having only spoken English for a year before visiting the United States, I also appreciated Fred as an expert in the vital task of communicating progressive political concepts to others.

When I returned to Kanaky, I often spoke to the young Kanaks in our ghetto area of the actions that people overseas organize in solidarity with liberation struggles. I told them all about Fred, who, for me, will always be a symbol of international solidarity.

I will always treasure the copy of Fred's book that he gave me. I also have memories of him that will give me strength in the long, hard struggle ahead.



Susanna Ounei-Small with Fred Halstead at his Los Angeles home, 1985.

Pathfinder mural spotlights press operators

BY FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK — The most prominent feature of the mural being painted on the south wall of the six-story Pathfinder Building here is its centerpiece.

This is the image of a printing press, running across the length of the wall. Two press operators, a woman facing the viewer and a man seen from behind, are seen working on opposite sides of the machine.

The workers are taking hold of one of the sheets of paper that roll off the press. These sheets are to frame the portraits of working-class leaders — ranging from Karl Marx to V.I. Lenin and other leaders of the Communist International to Malcolm X to Fidel Castro — whose writings are published by Pathfinder, the publishing house with offices in the building.

Some of the portraits have been completed or are in progress, while many more remain to be done.

According to Mike Alewitz, who designed the mural and directs its production, the image of the operators running the press is at the heart of the concept of the work. The theme is the role of Pathfinder in making available and distributing worldwide the ideas and experiences of working-class fighters, past and present.

The two press operators are the most prominent in the mural so far. This came about partly for technical reasons, Alewitz says. "The printing press is huge, so it is desirable to make the operators of proportional size," he explained. "And in a mural that is visible from well over a mile away, it is important to have a strong point of focus, a strong center."

But there were broader reasons for the prominence given the operators. "Without workers, a printing press doesn't produce anything," Alewitz said. "Workers produce Pathfinder books. Workers build these machines, set them in motion, and guide their operations."

Photographs of Bill Kalman and Rita Lee, press operators at Photo Comp Press, provided models for the painting. Photo Comp, which has its offices and plant in the Pathfinder Building, is a commercial shop that prints Pathfinder's books.

Both Lee and Kalman are supporters of the mural project and volunteered for this role as a way of contributing to it.

"I'm a shy person, so it has been difficult to get used to seeing this large portrait of myself every day when I come to work," said Lee. "But of course, the painting is not about me as an individual, but about what all of us here do."

"Basically, it's about labor power," Kalman said. "That's what takes the ideas of the revolutionary leaders pictured in the mural and prepares them for publication, prints them, and gets them out around the world."

Kalman and Lee are longtime unionists and political activists, frequent readers of the literature that they help Pathfinder publish. Kalman worked in the mining, machinery, steel, and garment industries before coming to work at Photo Comp last year. Lee, who has been a press operator at Photo Comp for more than a year and a half, was previously an aerospace worker at the Boeing plant in Seattle.

"Basically," Lee said, "my political activity started around the time of the military coup in Chile in 1973. I became involved in efforts to win the release of political prisoners in Latin America. Then for a time I became a part of the minority women's committee of the National Organization for Women. In the course of these experiences, I became a committed, active socialist, and that's what I am today."

As the mural takes shape, the images of the press operators impress viewers with their realistic detail and power overall as well as their centrality and size.

Jenny Kahn, an artist from New Orleans, painted the image of the press operators while working for two weeks as a volunteer on the mural.

Raised funds

"The project excited me as soon as I read about it in the *Militant*," Kahn said of the mural. "And I've loved it." She raised \$500 among friends and coworkers to make the trip, and got a leave of absence from her job as a stripper in a printshop.

Kahn, who is in her 30s, said that she has been painting since she was 10 years old. "Before, the only real chance I got to do this on a completely full-time basis was

when I attended an art academy in Holland," she said.

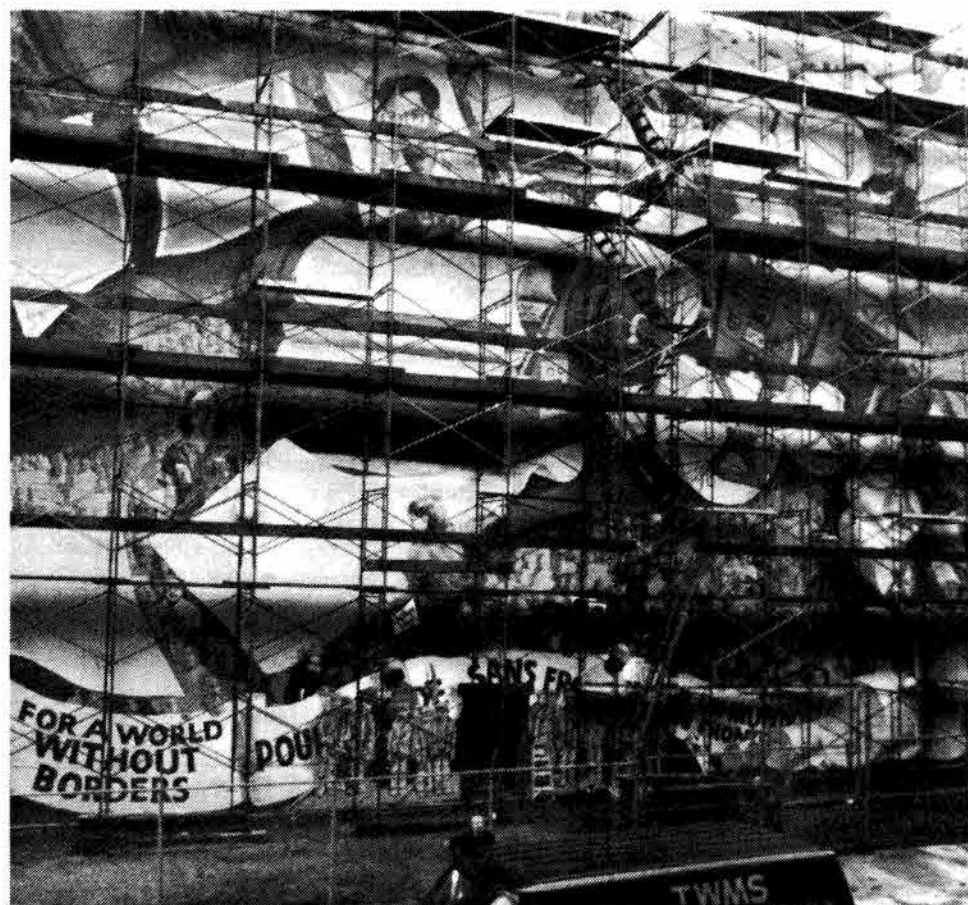
Returning to the United States, she found it hard to make a living as an artist. "I didn't want to do commercial art, but that's what I had to do. I wanted to make art that was more than just what the market wanted it to be."

For some years, Kahn says, "I lost my art. I couldn't paint anymore." During this period, she became a socialist and got involved in political activities that ranged from supporting her union to opposition to the wars in Central America. "Working-class politics helped make sense of some of the difficulties I was having," she said.

'Not just color and fury'

Eventually, Kahn began painting again. She found work in the printing industry, which enabled her to get out from under the pressure to do commercial art. Her experiences in printing made her contribution to the mural particularly important to her. "Being able to paint a woman press operator made me feel proud, because I know how hard it is for women to get into that job in most shops," she stated.

Contributing to the mural, Kahn said, has strengthened her desire to "do more to incorporate what is happening in society into my art, to create art that is connected with the rest of the world, not just color and fury."



Militant/Alicia Merel

Scaffolding covers wall of Pathfinder Building in Manhattan where mural is in progress

Book on FBI's Cointelpro back in print

Reprinted below is the preface to the Pathfinder book, *COINTELPRO: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*, by Nelson Blackstock, with an introduction by Noam Chomsky. The book was originally published in 1975. Blackstock's preface explains why a new edition of *COINTELPRO* is being issued today. The book includes reproductions of more than 100 of the documents from the FBI's Cointelpro disruption program.

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Much of what is publicly known today about the FBI's Cointelpro (counterintelligence program) operations is the result of evidence forced to light through a lawsuit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against FBI spying, harassment, and disruption. The suit was filed in 1973.

Most of the FBI documents reproduced in this book were obtained in 1974 and 1975 through the SWP lawsuit. These papers on the Cointelpro operations provided not only an unprecedented look at some of the surreptitious methods used by the secret police. They also offered — despite their authors' original intentions — pieces of the history of the efforts to build the communist movement in the United States.

From pages of FBI files that were never intended for public viewing came information about the participation of the SWP and YSA in the struggle for Black rights and fights against police frame-ups of working-class leaders; details about the contributions of SWP leaders such as Fred Halstead in labor struggles and the movement against the Vietnam War; and facts about the collaboration of communist leaders such as Clifton DeBerry with Malcolm X and his followers in the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

I was a staff writer for the *Militant*, a socialist newsweekly published in New York, when these files came to light. I was given the assignment of preparing a series of articles that would utilize the Cointelpro papers to tell some of the history of the SWP and the individuals who were victimized by the government because of their contribution to the leadership of working-class battles. The articles originally appeared in the *Militant* in 1975. Later that year they were published, together with an introduction by Noam Chomsky, by Pathfinder. In 1976 Vintage Books brought out another edition.

The occasion for reissuing this volume now, which is a reprint of the 1975 Pathfinder edition, is the final and successful completion of the SWP and YSA lawsuit. U.S. District Judge Thomas Griesa ultimately ruled against the FBI. The judge concluded that the FBI's actions, including Cointelpro, constituted "violations of the constitutional rights of the SWP and lacked legislative or regulatory authority...."

With specific reference to Cointelpro operations detailed in the present volume, Griesa found: "There can be no doubt that these disruptive operations were patently unconstitutional and violated the SWP's First Amendment rights of free speech and assembly. Moreover, there was no statutory or regulatory authority to disrupt the SWP's legal activities."

Griesa also ruled that the very presence of undercover FBI informers masquerading as members was in violation of the constitutional right to privacy of the SWP and YSA and of their individual members and supporters.

The judge issued a permanent injunction against any use of information obtained by the FBI in violation of the rights of the SWP and YSA. And he ordered the government to pay \$264,000 in damages to the two organizations.

In March 1988, the Justice Department withdrew its appeal of Griesa's ruling, making the decision final.

The story of the victory in the case is told in a companion volume, *FBI on Trial*, edited by Margaret Jayko. It includes the complete text of Judge Griesa's decision together with other material on the case.

A further contribution to understanding the historic achievement represented by the SWP and YSA case is "Washington's 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation," by Larry Seigle. Seigle's essay explains why the SWP and YSA were able to take the initiative in the fight against FBI disruption and spying, and why they were able to follow the fight through to its successful conclusion. It is available in the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*, issue number six, and in the Spanish-language pamphlet *50 años de guerra encubierta: El FBI contra los derechos democráticos*.

A measure of the changes in political consciousness in the years since Cointelpro was exposed was the public outrage that greeted the recent release of FBI documents detailing the agency's undercover spy operation against the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

The sharp reaction to this spy campaign was a product of the change in awareness brought about by the SWP suit and other initiatives against the FBI, including the Cointelpro revelations. The notion that people have the right to freedom of speech and association, without their privacy being violated by snoops and finks, is one that is more dearly held by far broader layers of the population than ever before.

July 1988



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SWP wraps up drives for ballot spots in four states, D.C.

BY SAM MANUEL

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party 1988 campaign are completing petitioning efforts in four states and Washington, D.C., at the end of July and beginning of August to place the SWP presidential ticket on the November ballot. James Warren is the socialist candidate for U.S. president and Kathleen Mickells for vice-president.

After a slow start, campaign supporters in New York have sharply picked up the pace. They kicked off the final week of the three-week effort on Saturday, July 23, by collecting 6,200 signatures bringing the total collected to 18,600. The state requires a minimum of 20,000 signatures to place Warren, Mickells, and socialist candidate for senator James Harris on the ballot. Campaign supporters are shooting to collect 35,000 signatures.

In addition to collecting signatures, petitioners are having discussions with those they meet on the implications for working people of the Oct. 19, 1987 stock market crash. Petitioners are raising the ideas in the "Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis" proposed by the SWP national committee. As of Saturday 1,150 copies of the Action Program pamphlet had been sold, along with 155 subscriptions to the *Militant*, Spanish-language magazine *Perspectiva Mundial* and single copies of the Marxist journal *New Internationalist* combined.

That evening 125 people attended a talk

by Warren who was ending a spring-summer tour that covered more than 15 U.S. cities, Canada, Grenada, and Panama. A substantial portion of those at the meeting were young people, either members of or newly acquainted with the Young Socialist Alliance. YSA members on break from school or in between jobs make up most of the members of a full-time team of 15 petitioners.

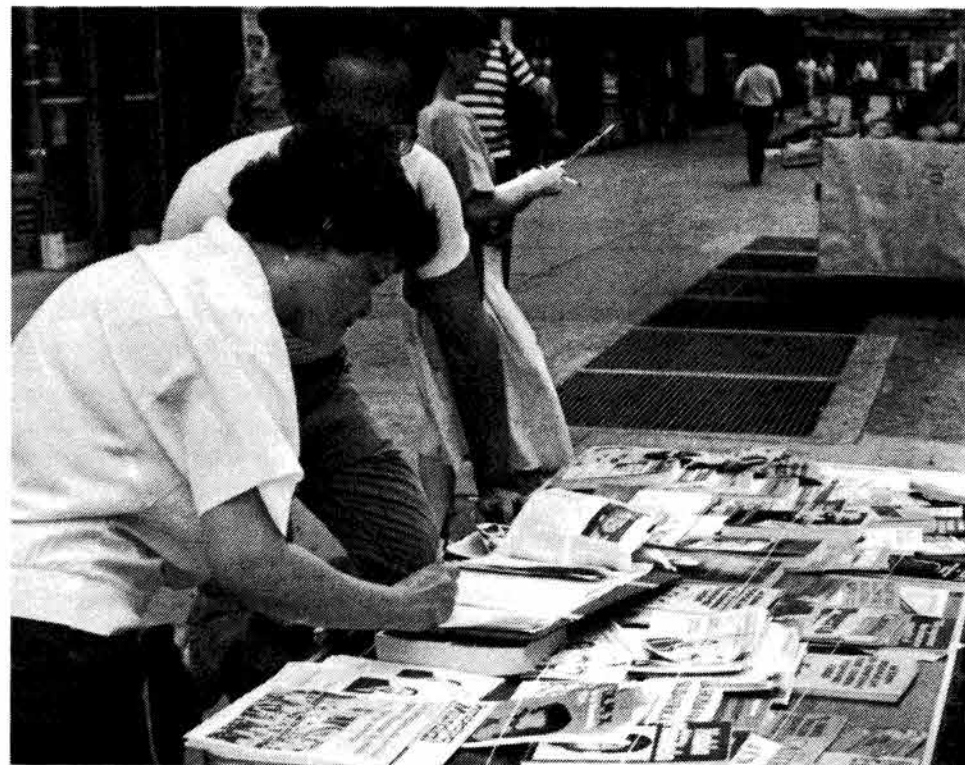
In seven days 4,103 people in South Dakota signed petitions to put the socialist presidential ticket on the ballot — substantially more than the 2,945 signatures required by the state. Campaign supporters are aiming for 5,000 signatures.

Another 195 copies of the Action Program have been sold there.

South Dakota's main industry is agriculture, and working farmers have been hard hit by the drought. Campaigners reported that many working people, while uncertain about the socialist proposal for canceling the Third World debt, supported the demand for a moratorium on farm foreclosures and debt repayment for working farmers.

At the John Morrell packinghouse plant gates, 147 workers signed the petitions. United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) union Local 304A, which represents workers at John Morrell, recently ended a strike, but not all of the workers have been called back to work.

Another 123 workers signed the petitions at the local's union hall while picking



Tony Savino

Woman in New York signs petition to place Socialist Workers candidates on the November 8 ballot.

up their weekly benefit check and waiting to be recalled. Meat-packers bought a total of 19 Action Program pamphlets; 42 *Militants*, including three subscriptions; and four copies of *PM*. An additional 74 workers at the Litton microwave plant organized by the United Electrical Workers signed for the socialist candidates.

Just over 500 signatures were collected in the first day of petitioning in Rhode Island. The effort was delayed for a week when election officials refused to make petitions available to SWP campaign supporters. They had claimed that the SWP's elector for Warren and Mickells had not been registered 30 days before his name

was submitted and was therefore disqualified.

Russell Davis, director of the party's New England campaign, explained that materials prepared by the Secretary of State's office did not mention the requirement nor did anyone in that office ever inform the SWP about the requirement.

Election officials made the petitions available after protests and a threat by the American Civil Liberties Union to take the SWP's case to court.

On July 18 SWP campaign supporters in Minnesota handed in more than double the 2,000 signatures to place Warren, Mickells, and senatorial candidate Wendy Lyons on the ballot in that state. The socialists also substantially surpassed the requirements needed to place congressional candidates Craig Honts, in Austin, and Natasha Terlexis, in Minneapolis-St. Paul, on the ballot.

By July 23 campaign supporters in Washington, D.C., had collected 4,800 signatures toward their goal of 5,000. A minimum of 2,700 signatures are needed to place Warren and Mickells on the ballot.

This story is based on reports from Greg McCartan in New York; Chris Hoepfner in Sioux Falls, South Dakota; Jon Hillson in Boston; Dean Peoples in Minneapolis-St. Paul; and Andrew Walden in Washington, D.C.

200 at Miami Haitian meeting hear Mickells

BY SUSAN LaMONT

NEW YORK — "One city I visited recently — Miami — is a good example of the response our campaign has received around the country this spring and summer," said Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. "Some people might think that a communist candidate for vice-president would get a chilly reception in Miami, because there are so many anti-Castro Cubans living there. I and the socialist campaigners who live in Miami have found just the opposite to be true, including among a layer of Cuban immigrants."

Mickells and SWP presidential candidate James Warren recently returned to New York after completing four months on the road, during which they criss-crossed the country and took several international trips as well.

A high point of Mickells' Miami stay took place the evening of July 8, when she addressed Veye Yo ("Watch Them"), a Haitian community organization whose regular meeting that week drew 200 people.

"The Socialist Workers Party campaign is different than other election campaigns," Mickells explained to the crowd. "Our message is that the most important thing for working people to do today is to begin to act in our own class interests. As workers, you have a role to play not only in the Haitian community or among immigrant workers in general, but in helping unify and lead the whole U.S. working class." Her greetings, translated into Creole, were warmly received.

Support to Haitian farm workers

One of the first things Mickells did in Miami was participate in an early morning demonstration of hundreds of Haitians who had gathered to show support for Haitian farm workers. The farm workers have filed a lawsuit against the Immigration and Naturalization Service, charging the INS with discrimination for rejecting a disproportionate number of their applications for U.S. residency.

She went on to campaign at Miami Dade Community College. At one point, more than 20 visiting high school students — many of whose parents had come from Cuba — crowded around the campaign table to hear one student debate Mickells

on the merits of the capitalist system.

Two Haitian students who spoke with Mickells at Miami Dade came to hear her at a citywide campaign meeting a few days later.

Mickells also held discussions with other Haitian activists and workers, including Jean-August Mesyeux, national secretary of the Autonomous Confederation of Haitian Workers, who was in Miami at the same time. Another young Haitian Mickells talked with had taken part in forming youth committees in Haiti to monitor the Tontons Macoutes after the overthrow of Jean-Claude Duvalier. He was forced to flee Haiti, and was imprisoned for a time in the United States.

Mickells also campaigned among union members at Eastern Airlines, along with several campaign supporters who work there.

A delegation from the Alliance of Workers from the Community, a Cuban organization that supports normalization of relations with Cuba, attended a public citywide meeting for the campaign.

Action Program

In every city Warren and Mickells visited, they presented the ideas in the "Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis," which has been published as a pamphlet by Pathfinder.

This program presents a series of measures around which the working class can fight to unify itself internationally in the face of the coming worldwide economic and social catastrophe signaled by the 1987 stock market crash.

"When talking with workers who agree with and like the Action Program," said Warren, "one question I often get is 'Yes, you're right, these are the things we should support and be fighting for. But it isn't happening right now, so what can I do today to be effective?'"

"This is an important question," Warren continued. "What I explain is that workers who want to help lead, help prepare for the big class battles that are coming, should do what I'm doing, what other supporters of the socialist campaign are doing, that is, take the ideas in the Action Program to as many other workers as possible, talk, discuss, get involved in that way."

Pathfinder's initial run of the Action

Program was 15,000. In less than three weeks, orders for nearly 10,000 have been filled. Campaign supporters around the country report that sales are brisk, especially to working people. In less than two weeks, from July 12 to July 24, supporters of the socialist campaign in New York have sold 1,200 as part of the petitioning effort to get the SWP ticket on the ballot.

Jeff Miller from Miami contributed to this article.

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Cleveland	1,150	1,150
Des Moines, Iowa	750	750
Detroit	1,350	1,390
Greensboro, N.C.	800	770
Houston	1,150	1,150
Kansas City	750	810
Los Angeles	3,250	3,433
Miami	1,450	1,450
Milwaukee	950	950
Morgantown, W.V.	1,150	1,160
New York	7,000	7,000
Newark, N.J.	3,000	3,160
Oakland, Calif.	1,700	1,999
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Philadelphia	1,650	1,684
Phoenix	1,150	1,150
Pittsburgh	1,600	860
Portland, Ore.	900	910
Price, Utah	600	600
Salt Lake City	800	1,373
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Seattle	1,250	1,250
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Southern Africa today: growing crisis for apartheid regime

The author, a rail worker in London and a member of the National Union of Railwaymen, is active in Rail Against Apartheid. She visited South Africa last year during the three-month rail workers' strike in that country as part of a delegation from her union. She also participated in an international conference against apartheid, sponsored by the African National Congress of South Africa, in Arusha, Tanzania, last December.

BY DOREEN WEPPLER

"As of now, the history of Africa will have to be written before and after Cuito Cuanavale," Cuban President Fidel Castro told a ministerial meeting of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries held in Havana at the end of May.

The defeat by Angolan and Cuban soldiers of a massive South African offensive in that strategic town on March 23, after six months of fighting, heralded a new military situation in southern Africa. The rapid construction, with the aid of Cuban engineers, of a new air base in Xangongo about 40 miles north of the Angolan-Namibian border is symbolic of the changed balance of forces in the region during the past few months.

On March 11, Angolan, Cuban, and South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) troops launched an offensive against South African forces in the southwestern Angolan provinces of Namibe and Cunene. They drove to within six miles of the Angolan-Namibian border.

An increasing number of clashes between Cuban, Angolan, and SWAPO troops against South African forces have taken place near the border. A major confrontation with the apartheid forces occurred seven and a half miles from the border near the Caleue Dam on June 26 and 27. The dam supplies water to areas of South African-occupied Namibia. An estimated 26 South African soldiers were killed when Angolan and Cuban aircraft halted a South African assault on Angolan and Cuban ground forces.

The direct and increasing engagements with the South African forces highlight the subordinate role played by the South African-backed Angolan counterrevolutionary band, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

The military advances in Angola required a considerable reinforcement of Angolan and Cuban troops. In response to the Angolan government's request, the Cuban armed forces began a mobilization to strengthen its troops there last December. Castro has compared it to the situation that existed when Cuban troops first came to

the aid of the Angolan people to help repel the South African invasion of the country in 1975.

The best Cuban MiG-23 pilots and hundreds of advisers and fighters were airlifted into the battle zone. "We have air and anti-aircraft superiority now. The best Cuban anti-aircraft weaponry is in southern Angola, and we have the means to cope with any South African adventure. The balance of forces has shifted completely," Castro explained.

The retreats forced upon South Africa have weakened its position in the region. This is what lies behind its presence at the continuing rounds of talks on the future of the region. At the heart of these talks is the sovereignty of occupied Namibia.

Massive protests in Namibia

But it also helps explain the unprecedented wave of militancy that culminated in a historic 48-hour stayaway in Namibia beginning on June 20.

The action was called by the 60,000-strong National Union of Namibian Workers, with members in the mine, metal, food, and fishing industries, as well as among public service workers. The work stoppage action was in support of 50,000 students, who have been on strike throughout the country since March.

The students were protesting the presence of South African military bases near schools and the deployment of the elite Koevoet (Crowbar) counterinsurgency units in the townships. They also demanded the release of detainees.

The protest is unprecedented in 70 years of South African rule over Namibia. Estimates of support for the stayaway varied from the regime's figure of 30 percent to an estimate by Namibian union officers of 85 percent support in key centers.

The upsurge in Namibia coincided with the largest stayaway ever in South Africa itself. A three-day work stoppage June 6-8 was called by the 1-million-strong Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and supported by the 400,000-member National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU).

In an interview with the British newspaper *The Guardian*, Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa said the 3-million-strong action "was the longest in duration, the biggest in mass involvement organized during a state of emergency and during the bannings of the very organizations that would normally organize such an event."

The action protested Pretoria's draft labor laws, which severely restrict trade union organization and action. It was followed on June 16 by a protest similar in

scale to commemorate the Soweto uprising in 1976. 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.

One especially noteworthy feature of the three-day work stoppage was that it involved an unprecedented decision to carry out a united action between NACTU and COSATU, the major anti-apartheid union federations in South Africa.

NACTU, South Africa's second-largest Black-led union federation, opposes the orientation of the Freedom Charter, which seeks to unite all those in South Africa who oppose apartheid, including whites, in the fight for a nonracial and democratic South



Africa. The Freedom Charter is the guiding document of the democratic movement in South Africa. It was initiated by the ANC and adopted by some 3,000 delegates at the Congress of the People, held in Kliptown on June 25-26, 1955. COSATU adopted the Freedom Charter at its second congress in July 1987.

The joint action of the union federations took place shortly after NACTU's first-ever meeting with the ANC, held in Harare, Zimbabwe, in May. A joint communiqué issued following the meeting between NACTU and the ANC explained that there were more points of agreement between the parties than those dividing them. Both "recognized that unity in action is a prerequisite for the quick defeat of apartheid." Differences on the Freedom Charter, while important, should not be a "stumbling block" to united action, the communiqué stated.

United action with broader forces was also a point of lengthy discussion at a May 14-15 COSATU special congress. The gathering was called to consider a response to the government's banning of 17 democratic organizations and imposition of political restrictions on the union federation in February. The meeting was attended by 1,400 delegates.

In the opening speech to the congress, COSATU President Elijah Barayi said, "The tasks lying ahead will depend on our ability to map out a programme that will enable us to regroup our forces and harness various other sections of the population that are gravitating toward a tendency to act in unity against a common enemy."

According to the *South African Weekly Mail*, Barayi "made it clear that COSATU's drive to build a broad anti-apartheid united front should be based on the principles of the Freedom Charter, adopted as a policy by the federation last year."

The final resolution of the congress called for the stayaway to be followed by a major anti-apartheid conference, currently under preparation. The scope of the conference demonstrates how the trade unions are taking the lead in the broader struggle to overthrow apartheid rule in South Africa. It will be called by COSATU, but in the words of the resolution, it will involve "a broad range of anti-apartheid organizations to focus on opposing apartheid repression."

The central debate at the congress revolved around who should be involved in

the conference and who should call it. One delegate, the *South African Weekly Mail* reported, said the resolution adopted allowed "for COSATU together with its allies to draw up the programme of action that will be consistent with its support for the Freedom Charter while at the same time giving the Central Executive Committee a mandate to invite groups such as NACTU or the Five Freedoms Forum." The latter is a new organization of white opponents of the apartheid regime.

Post-apartheid constitution

Today such fundamental issues of strategy are being widely debated. The ANC has itself been involved during the last two years in drafting a document for post-apartheid South Africa. The document aims to deepen and expand on the ideals of the Freedom Charter in light of today's situation. Zola Skweyiya, from the ANC legal affairs department, explains that "the way power is transferred will obviously play a major part in defining the terms."

This draft constitution was considered by ANC members from missions around the world at a seminar in March. The next stage is to involve the mass democratic movement in South Africa. The high point of this process of consultation will probably "peak toward the end of the year — coinciding with the nationwide October 26 local authority elections" according to *Southscan*, a South African publication.

On June 12 *The Guardian* reported Tambo's comments that "the new guidelines were strictly based on the Freedom Charter. But additional issues had been addressed, including workers' strike rights, women's rights, and the correction of the imbalance in land holdings by different groups of South Africans."

These additional issues have come to the fore in the struggle itself. One important advance registered by the democratic movement was the decision by COSATU to hold its first women's conference at the end of April. It was attended by 250 delegates from its 13 affiliate organizations, as well as from the Unemployed Workers' Coordinating Committee, the National Union of Namibian Workers, and community organizations. Jay Naidoo, secretary of COSATU, noted the gap between tens of thousands of women members in COSATU and their active role on the job on one hand and the vacuum of women's leadership at all levels of COSATU on the other.

Chris Seopensewe, COSATU's national education chairperson, told the conference, "The women's issue is not an easy issue to take up in the federation. It invites criticizing ourselves and the social attitudes and prejudices of our members as much as it involves building the liberation of women into our struggle to fundamentally transform this apartheid society." With large numbers of women in commerce and industry, building up the women's constituency is of the greatest importance to the federation, explained Seopensewe.

The *South African City Press* reported on the wide range of issues considered by the various conference workshops. This included issues such as opposition to the way apartheid divides families and how safe transport for women is especially crucial when they are forced to travel long distances from the Black townships into white cities where they work. The call for "right of women to 'safe, free, and legal abortions'" came from the commission on women at work.

According to the *City Press*, "A fairly contentious resolution recommended that 'COSATU should strongly condemn the practice of men beating women, establish women's neighborhood defense committees, and look into the provision of defense training for women.'"

Organizing in the bantustans

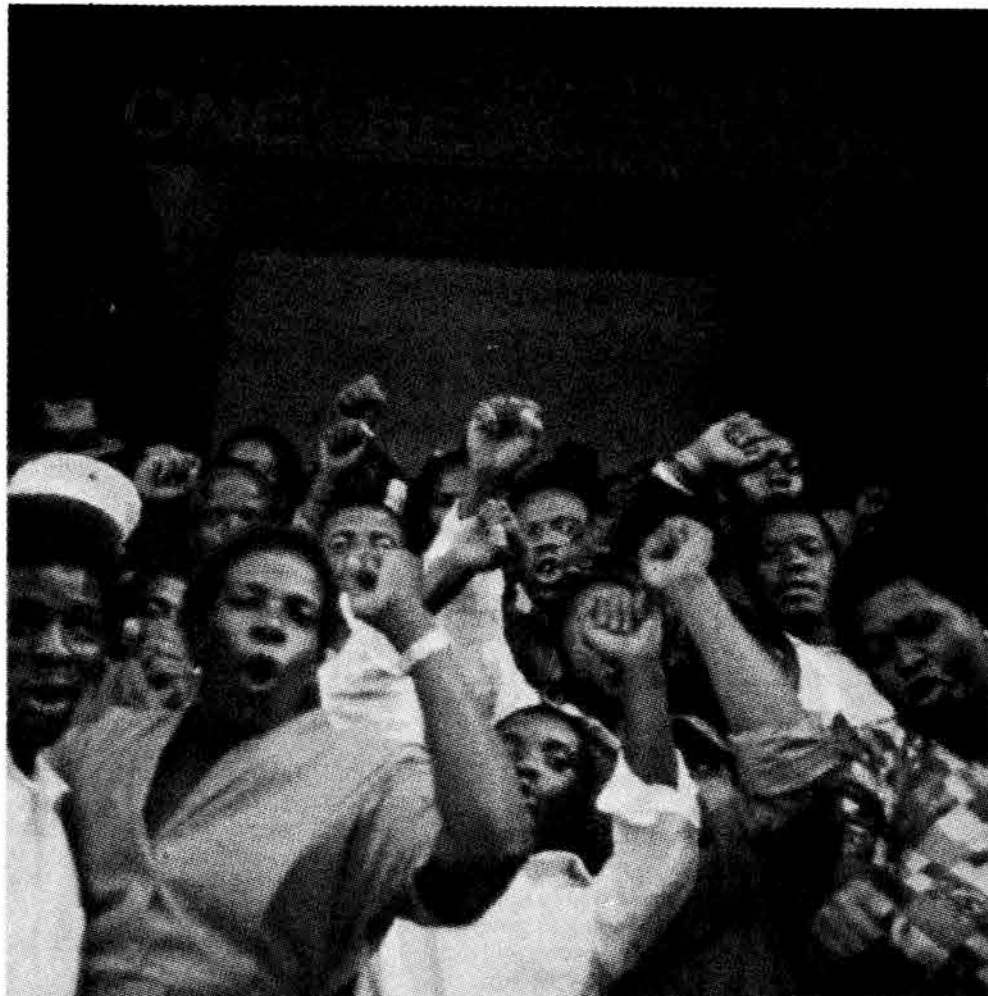
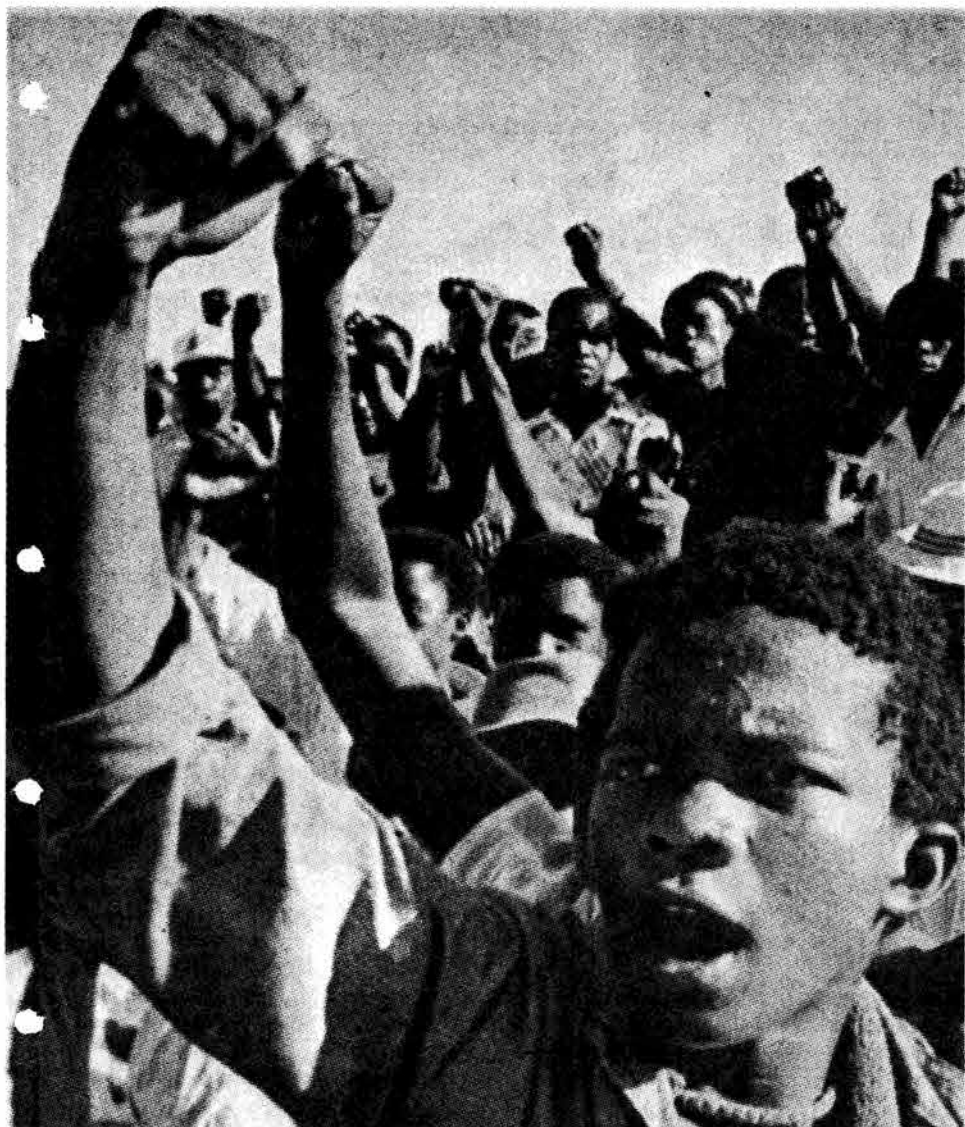
Recent months have also seen the deepening of organization in other areas pinpointed in the January 8 statement issued by the ANC's National Executive

Invaluable for anti-apartheid activists! New International

The dynamics of revolution in South Africa is featured in the fall 1985 issue of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory. Fighters against apartheid, in the United States, Britain, and other countries, will find valuable material here in equipping themselves politically to carry on the struggle. Articles and speeches by: Jack Barnes, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party; Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress of South Africa; and Cuba's President Fidel Castro. Reprints South Africa's "Freedom Charter."



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Historic work stoppage by Namibian workers June 20-21 backed students, left, who have been on strike since March protesting presence of South African military. Right, workers outside office of Congress of South African Trade Unions in Johannesburg. COSATU held first women's conference in April.

Committee to mark the 76th anniversary of the ANC. In addition to highlighting the work to be done in organizing the unemployed, women, youth, and the religious community, the statement outlined how "the masses of our people within the bantustans must be activated to transform these into strong and reliable mass bases of the revolution. New possibilities exist for the people to act decisively to turn these enemy-created institutions against their creator, the Pretoria regime."

Since this phase of the struggle opened in 1984, the masses have moved into political action in several of the homelands. The most sustained rural action was a popular uprising in KwaNdebele that lasted for 18 months, until June of last year. KwaNdebele people were resisting plans for their homeland to become "independent" — a meaningless status widely used by the apartheid regime to restrict the Black majority population even further.

The fraudulent character of homeland independence was further underscored when South Africa troops intervened in the formally "independent" homeland of F'phuthatswana in February to reinstall its president, Lucas Mangope, who had been overthrown by the homeland defense forces.

According to the Transvaal Rural Action Committee, the apartheid regime was forced to shelve its plans for independence in KwaNdebele when a popular alliance was forged between "the homeland civil service, the local comrades, a royal family, and local white farmers."

In the confrontation that developed, running battles left 100 dead, a government-backed vigilante force decimated, and 300 people in detention. The entire civil service was brought to a standstill, including the

judiciary, schools, and bantustan administration. Most of the shops in the area were burned down.

To this day the regime is trying to push ahead with "independence." But resistance continues in KwaNdebele. A report in the South African *New Nation* in February explained how 15 village chiefs had been forced to flee after warnings that they would be removed from their positions if they continued to oppose independence.

"To date, four chiefs and scores of sub-chiefs and other opponents of 'independence' have been detained," the report stated. It further explained that "the chiefs are all members of the recently formed Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa ... which recently called on all chiefs, headmen, and sub-chiefs to reject and isolate the bantustans."

KaNgwane homeland

A noteworthy recent example of the potential to turn the bantustans against "their creator in Pretoria," as Tambo put it, is in KaNgwane, the eastern Transvaal homeland. The chief minister of KaNgwane, Enos Mabuza, was one of the first of South Africa's traditional leaders who visited Lusaka for talks with the ANC in 1986. Since then he has been under intense pressure from Pretoria.

In October last year Mabuza participated with leaders of the recently banned United Democratic Front (UDF), in a commemoration service for the late Mozambican president Samora Machel. Machel was killed when his plane mysteriously crashed in Mbusini, a remote KaNgwane village near the Mozambique-South African border. Circumstances point to the strong possibility of South African government involvement in the crash.

An insight into the level of organization in KaNgwane can be gleaned from a report in the June 9 issue of the *Weekly Mail* that explained, "More recently [Mabuza] has declared that his stand on disinvestment will be guided by the policies adopted by COSATU and NACTU. He also called for the South African Defense Force (SADF) to be withdrawn from his homeland, and his new police force has recently intervened to curb maltreatment of refugees by the SADF units operating in the Nkomazi that borders Mozambique."

According to the *Weekly Mail*, Mabuza's policies have made him a prime target for assassination squads. This is what has led to "informal meetings between him and the Lowveld Youth Congress, an affiliate of the now-restricted UDF. Although these talks have not been extensive or smooth enough for the organization to confer the status of 'comrade' on Mabuza, they are unprecedented in a coun-

try where military youth have been unbending in applying a blanket opposition to homeland structures."

It is this deepening organization of South Africa's majority — the workers and landless farmers — despite unprecedented levels of state repression, that led the ANC's national executive committee earlier this year to assess that "there has been a continuing shift in the balance of forces in our favor."

The massive offensive launched by the regime — from its destabilization operations against neighboring independent African countries, known as the Frontline States, to its campaign of assassination of ANC leaders and its imprisonment of thousands, including children — is not the hallmark of a strong and confident regime. In the words of Tambo, the regime is undergoing a "tremendous weakening" as apartheid rule is plunged deeper into crisis.

Sri Lanka activist fights deportation from Britain

BY CHRIS MORRIS

MANCHESTER, England — Viraj Mendis learned last month that the Appeal Court had turned down his appeal against deportation from Britain. He is now taking his case to the House of Lords, the highest court of appeal.

The political activist, born in Sri Lanka, is living in sanctuary in the Church of Ascension in the Moss Side area here, where many Black people live.

"I've lived here for 15 years," said Mendis. "I've got a right to live here, and I won't leave this country voluntarily."

Mendis fears for his life if he were deported to Sri Lanka. He is a supporter of the struggle of the Tamil people for national rights, which has faced severe repression by the Sri Lankan government.

"There are various ideas about deals and manipulations," Mendis said. "My fight is tied to the antiracist struggle in this country and any such deal would undermine that struggle."

Police and Home Office representatives have made contradictory statements about Mendis. Officials recently stated that he would not be arrested until the legal process was over. They have also said they reserve the right to enter the church and arrest him but that he would not be deported until the House of Lords rules on his case.

Mendis described the statements as part of a "war of nerves." When the 1988 Immigration Act goes into effect, it will bar appeals until after deportation has been carried out.

The only way then to buy time to block future deportations, he said, will be to go into sanctuary. "If they take me out before the new act, then they will be able to say that sanctuary doesn't work," Mendis says. "If I am still here, then people will see that sanctuary can be effective."

The Sri Lankan High Commission has asserted, in the face of the campaign to support Mendis, that he is not "wanted for any offense ... criminal or otherwise" and is "free to return at any time." The government's Home Office cited this as "evidence" that Mendis' safety in Sri Lanka is assured.

Mendis told about the deportation case against six Tamil refugees. "One of them had only half a leg. His leg was blown off in Sri Lanka. Another had been present when his brother was executed." They won in the Appeal Court, but the House of Lords recently overruled the decision.

The Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign is calling for messages demanding that Mendis' sanctuary be respected to be sent to the Home Secretary, 50 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1.

Messages of support to the church's offer of sanctuary should be sent to the Right Reverend Stanley Booth-Clibbom, bishop of Manchester, Bishopscourt, Bury New Road, Manchester 7. Copies should be sent to the Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign, % North Hulme Centre, Jackson Crescent, Hulme, Manchester M15 5AL.

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World economic crisis means more aggression

Washington's bellicosity toward revolutionary Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba throughout the 1980s must be viewed not merely as an attempt to restore hegemony in its "backyard." It must be placed also in the context of a general desperation and irrationality within the U.S. ruling class emanating from the advanced stage of the crisis of capital accumulation and the precipitous decline of the empire.

In fact, the crisis has become so serious today that representatives of the ruling class are sounding the alarm bells. In November last year at Columbia University in

alone in this judgement is evidenced by the October 19 stock market crash, the ensuing turmoil in the world's financial markets, and the broad urging of world leaders that the U.S. put its house in order."

The crisis in global capital accumulation that emerged in the early 1970s has increasingly become more severe.

The employers, in order to try to improve their profit rates at home, stepped up their attacks on the U.S. working class and the poor through wage cuts for labor, plant shutdowns, union contracts with "no strike" and "giveback" provisions, cuts in welfare spending, and tax breaks for the rich.

At the same time they attempted to increase the rate of appropriation of surplus value transferred to the advanced capitalist countries from the semicolonial periphery.

The essence of the restructuring strategy of international capital is to place the burden of economic reform on the backs of the working people in the advanced capitalist countries and in the peripheral semicolonies, the Caribbean region being no exception. Moreover, the antilabor domestic policy was complemented by a belligerent foreign policy designed to rebuild U.S. power and "make America strong again."

In the Caribbean and the entire Third World this deepening crisis has increased the pressures on the oppressed peoples of the world and strengthened their resolve to resist. This situation has logically led Washington — which following World War II arrogated to itself the role of world policeman, the central leader of counterrevolution — to aggressively counter all revolts of the oppressed.

The Reagan administration announced that it would prevent any more countries from going "communist" and, if possible, overturn those that had in recent years. It stepped up efforts to defeat Third World revolutions and national liberation movements. Its biggest success was the overturn of Grenada's revolutionary government, although that was actually a gift resulting from the coup there in October 1983.

President James Carter's "human rights" policy towards the developing countries gave way to a policy of blatantly ignoring human rights violations in fascist Chile or other countries with right-wing regimes, while fabricating abuses in progressive and revolutionary countries. Containing the spread of communism and revolu-

tionary movements was extended to rolling back revolutions already in power. There were no qualms in maliciously interfering in the domestic affairs of sovereign states, in defining whole regions of the world as "zones of vital interest," while arrogantly disregarding the norms and principles of international law.

Grenada and Nicaragua suddenly became "threats" to the national security interests of the United States and were therefore targeted for destabilization, dirty wars, state-directed terrorism, and ultimately direct military invasion. Economic warfare was unleashed on Nicaragua in 1985 as a complement to the contra aggressions, and imposed on Panama this year. The already existing economic blockade on Cuba has been tightened. Military assistance to rightist military regimes was substantially increased, but for those countries that appeared to be "soft on communism" immediate economic and diplomatic sanctions were applied.

Washington's satellites in our region were provided with special economic packages and privileged access to the U.S. market through the Caribbean Basin Initiative with the caveat that private capital be predominant in effecting this economic relationship. Indeed, all Third World governments came under increased pressure to pursue market-oriented economic policies, that is a brand of "Reaganomics" for countries of the developing world.

For the most part, this "Reagan doctrine" received bipartisan support from the Democratic Party in the United States. The Reagan administration succeeded in solidifying a bipartisan consensus in favor of using military muscle by concentrating its focus on Central America and the Caribbean as the region closest to home, the backyard where the Cubans and the Soviet Union were allegedly stirring up trouble.

The ultimate objective, however, of the "Reagan doctrine" was to reassert U.S. power over the Third World, stem the crisis in capitalism's neocolonial system, and guarantee "safe" conditions for appropriation and transfer of surplus value from the periphery to the center of the empire.

As we approach the end of the "Reagan era", the record clearly shows that these objectives have not been accomplished. In fact, overall this policy has been a failure and in future columns I will attempt to demonstrate its failures in the Caribbean.



CARIB NOTES

Don Rojas

New York City, the 74th American Assembly brought together 65 top-level representatives of capital, organized labor, the mass media, academia, and the state sector to discuss the crisis and to seek a way out.

Their conclusions were summarized in the following statement:

"America's economy is growing more slowly than it used to, more slowly than we need it to, and more slowly than our competitors' economies. We are consuming far more than we produce and earn and we are having growing difficulty paying the bills. Our prosperity is threatened, as is our capacity to provide world leadership and to achieve a more just and competitive society. The evidence is unmistakable. We have the largest budget deficit, trade deficit, and foreign debt in our history. . . . Globally, as economic competition grows in importance relative to military confrontation, we face a possibly irreversible decline, with an attendant erosion of our ability to protect vital national interests.

"This would be accompanied by growing threats to Western values, influence, and prosperity and to democratic interests throughout the world. In short, we are gambling recklessly with our destiny. That we are not

Haitian union leader discusses military coup

BY SUSAN LaMONT

"The military coup that took place June 20 did not surprise the Haitian people," said Yves Antoine Richard. "It was the military that gave Leslie Manigat a 'job,' and then revoked it. If the government had really been democratically elected by the Haitian people, they would have reacted to Namphy's coup. Nevertheless, CATH [Autonomous Confederation of Haitian Workers] and our members — workers and peasants — condemn this military coup d'état."

Richard is the general secretary of CATH, Haiti's leading union federation. In an early July telephone interview with the *Militant* from Port-au-Prince, he described the situation in Haiti since the coup by Gen.

Henri Namphy, former army chief under ousted dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier.

After a popular rebellion forced Duvalier to flee Haiti in February 1986, Namphy headed the military-dominated government that took over. In November 1987, presidential elections were canceled when the army and Duvalierist thugs carried out a massacre in which dozens were slaughtered. The army then installed Leslie Manigat as president in a rigged election in January of this year. After a dispute broke out between Manigat and the army in mid-June, Namphy pushed Manigat aside and declared himself president.

"CATH is the target of repression," Richard explained. "The first reaction of

the Namphy government was to fire 89 workers organized in the CATH union at the state-owned flour mill, La Minoterie d'Haiti.

"After the coup, the military government appointed a new director, James Catright, who began firing workers who were union members," Richard explained. "Catright is a Macoute [The Tontons Macoutes were Duvalier's private thug army] who worked with Duvalier and his wife, so the workers at the flour mill protested the appointment of this bandit by going on strike. They are also demanding a 25 percent increase in wages.

"The rest of the mill's 450 workers remain on strike," Richard continued. "Soldiers were given orders to chase off all the workers who had been fired. There is workers' housing in the area around the plant. They gave the workers one hour to clear out of this housing."

"There is repression against the workers and peasants, and the Haitian people in general," Richard said. "They are struggling to build democratic organizations so they can better defend themselves. We are struggling to improve the living conditions of the Haitian people, and against all forms of dictatorship. We want popular democracy now.

"We are organizing calmly," the union leader said. "That is, we must organize the people well, so that we will have a real revolution. We don't just send militants out to be massacred. We have had two years of experience since Duvalier fled in February 1986. We cannot send people into the streets any old way. The people must be organized, with real organizations. That is what is important now. After having prepared, we will go into action."

On July 9, Namphy announced he was discarding the constitution overwhelmingly approved by the Haitian people in a March 1987 referendum. Commenting that the constitution was "unhappily written and ratified in a climate of passion and emotion," Namphy said a new constitution would be drafted taking "Haitian reality into account." He also indicated that the provision of the 1987 constitution banning former Duvalier supporters from holding office would not be part of the new document.

Two days later, Lafontant Joseph, 54, former secretary-general of the Haitian

League of Human Rights, was beaten, stabbed, and shot to death. His body was found in his car near the airport outside Port-au-Prince. Joseph was director of Haiti's Center of Education for Human Rights, and was a candidate for the Haitian Senate in the aborted November 1987 elections. According to *Haiti-Observateur*, a weekly published in New York, his name had appeared on a death list, along with some 150 other people. His murder is the latest in a series of killings, arson, and robbery that have been on the increase in recent months.

Robert Dees contributed to this article.

Arizona Indians fight to halt uranium mine

BY DAVID SALNER

PHOENIX — The Havasupais, an Indian nation living on a reservation near Grand Canyon National Park in Arizona, are attempting to prevent uranium mining on that land that supplies their water — land that Havasupais traditionally regard as sacred.

The Havasupais have won a stay, barring subsurface development of a mine by Energy Fuels Inc. of Denver. The company had gotten the go-ahead from the courts and Forest Service.

"We hope the federal authorities will do the right thing," tribal chairman Delmar Uqualla told a committee of the U.S. House of Representatives. "But regardless of what happens, we will never stop fighting the mine."

It was recently revealed that rivers flowing into the Grand Canyon have been carrying radioactive sediment from a New Mexico uranium mine. Nine years ago this operation was the site of the largest radioactive spill in the United States. Water samples taken from the Puerco River, as it crosses a corner of the Navajo Nation near the mine, sometimes showed 10 to 100 times the level of radiation that is officially regarded as safe. Navajos rely on this river for drinking water and stock-raising.

The Puerco flows into the Little Colorado River, which carries the sediment into the Grand Canyon area where thousands swim each year.

ACTION PROGRAM AVAILABLE IN PAMPHLET

Pathfinder has just published "An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis" proposed by the Socialist Workers Party National Committee. With preface by James Warren, SWP candidate for president. Also includes "The Fight for a Shorter Workweek, Yesterday and Today" by Doug Jenness. The pamphlet will appear soon in Spanish.

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Reagan seeks more contra aid

After contra defeat, Washington debates Nicaragua policy

BY MARGARET JAYKO

In the wake of the defeat of the U.S.-run contras in their war against Nicaragua, Washington is trying to piece together a new bipartisan effort to step up pressure on the Sandinista government. This is what's behind the debate in ruling circles over renewing U.S. military aid to the contras, and the recent flurry of trips to Central America by Secretary of State George Shultz and other U.S. officials.

On July 21 White House chief of staff Kenneth Duberstein announced that the Reagan administration will seek a "strong, meaningful bipartisan package" of aid for the contras.

Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole (R.-Kan.) has proposed giving the contras \$27 million in "nonlethal" aid and \$20 million in outright military assistance. The latter portion of the appropriation could only be delivered after certification by the president that it is necessary, as well as a separate vote by Congress.

None of the prominent administration figures pushing for contra aid are calling for a resumption of the mercenary war against Nicaragua, which is viewed as an unviable option.

The White House is using the breakdown of talks between the contras and Managua, as well as recent moves by the Nicaraguan government — including the expulsion of the U.S. ambassador, the closing down of the daily *La Prensa* and Radio Católica, the confiscation of the largest privately owned sugar plantation, and the jailing of leaders of the opposition parties — to broaden bipartisan support for renewal of military funding for the contras.

Most Washington officials are skeptical, however, that Congress will agree to allocate new military aid for the contras, especially in an election year. What's more likely is that the House and Senate will vote for so-called nonlethal aid, in order to keep the rightist bands in place. Most of the contra troops are currently camped out in Honduras.

The editors of both the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* have argued against direct military aid to the contras.

An editorial in the July 13 *Washington Post* titled "Sandinista Repression" argued, "American policy as it is now emerging... goes beyond reprisals into an effort to firm up a common pro-democratic front with both Nicaragua's neighbors and a broadened spectrum of opinion at home. This effort involves keeping the contras assembled and intact as a bargaining weight but not as a fighting force, since it is now quietly accepted almost everywhere in the Reagan administration that there is a domestic and international consensus for promoting democracy but not for resuming the war."

Nicaragua defeats contras

The collapse of the U.S. rulers' contra war policy was registered March 3 of this year, when Congress failed to approve renewed military funding for the contras. By March 23 a provisional cease-fire had been

signed at Sapoá, Nicaragua, between the contra leadership and the Nicaraguan government. Despite provocations by some contra forces, the cease-fire has held steady since then.

The cutoff of military supplies by Congress was a devastating political blow to the contra army, which has suffered crippling military losses at the hands of the Sandinista People's Army. The contras have been disintegrating as a fighting force ever since.

The latest illustration of this came on July 20, when seven contra commanders resigned from the Nicaraguan Resistance, the main anti-Sandinista organization, to protest the election of Col. Enrique Bermúdez to the group's leadership body. Bermúdez served as a colonel in the National Guard of former Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza.

"For years the Sandinistas have been trying to say that our movement is dominated by the Somocistas and now, at the time when they are facing extremely serious domestic troubles, we have given them an important propaganda tool," said Tirso Ramón Moreno, who headed a guerrilla group inside Nicaragua for eight years, referring to Bermúdez's election.

Shattering blow for Washington

The defeat of the contra war policy is a shattering one for the tiny handful of super-rich families that rule the United States. It has been combined with other recent blows to U.S. policy in Central America, from Washington's failure to oust Panamanian Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega to the crisis of the U.S.-backed regime in El Salvador to the explosion in Honduras against U.S. intervention.

There is no substantial consensus in Washington on what to do now that the contra war has ended. So Washington is proceeding pragmatically, testing the waters, using its massive military might, economic weight, and political clout to attempt to economically bleed and politically isolate the Sandinistas. The goal is to maximize the political concessions that can be forced out of the Sandinistas and destabilize the government.

Shultz's June 29-July 2 trip to Central America to meet with the governments of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras was designed to bolster support for Washington's anti-Nicaragua campaign. Some Guatemalan and Costa Rican officials protested the decision to exclude Nicaragua from his itinerary, despite repeated invitations from officials in Managua. Shultz also met with contra leaders in Guatemala City, Guatemala.

Shultz's visit was an attempt to pressure the Central American governments to line up more closely behind Washington's policy of maintaining the contras and putting the maximum pressure on the Sandinistas. To generate some enthusiasm for Washington's proposals, Shultz included millions of dollars in new aid grants to the four governments as part of the package. Shultz returns to the region on August 1, to

meet with the foreign ministers of the same four governments.

A July 3 news analysis by *New York Times* El Salvador bureau chief James LeMoyné explained that Shultz's visit "appeared to be a renewed effort to isolate Nicaragua at a time when the Reagan Administration is perceived to be weakening and its policy toward the Sandinistas is seen to be in disarray."

Shultz used his visit, wrote LeMoyné, "to begin rebuilding the American-directed regional front that was once used to put pressure on Nicaragua..."

"Such an effort might mark the beginning of an Administration shift away from military pressure on Nicaragua in favor of political and diplomatic measures. That would signal a frank acceptance that the Administration's seven-year program of organizing and backing the contras is moribund..."

"He appears to be strongly encouraging Nicaragua's four neighbors to stand against the Sandinistas, rather than making an effort to negotiate a new understanding with Nicaragua."

Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sánchez, a staunch foe of the Sandinistas, continues to oppose new U.S. aid to the contras. Arias also urged contra leaders to drop their demand for immediate, sweeping political changes in Nicaragua, which led to the current impasse in the peace talks.

Congress added its voice to the latest round in the anti-Nicaragua campaign on



Secretary of State George Shultz is trying to line up Central American governments behind U.S. anti-Nicaragua campaign.

July 13 and 14, when both the House and Senate, by overwhelming majorities, passed resolutions denouncing Nicaragua: 91 to 4 in the Senate, and 385 to 18 in the House.

The Senate resolution condemned the Nicaraguan government for "dramatic new steps in brutality," supported Reagan's recent expulsion of Nicaraguan diplomats, and urged support for opposition groups inside Nicaragua.

It held out the prospect of economic aid if the Sandinistas "proceed to permit the establishment of a democratic system," and threatened that failure to do so "could cause Congress to consider the provision of additional humanitarian and other appropriate assistance [to the contras], including military aid, if conditions should so warrant."

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Cuba treats S. African wounded in Angola

"In Cuba I saw a Black doctor for the first time in my life," said South African soldier Johan Papenfus, who is now recovering in a Havana hospital from severe wounds to his leg and hip suffered while fighting in Angola in May.

Papenfus is being treated by a team of doctors and nurses headed by Dr. Efraín Chivás, who is Black. Chivás told the Cuban press agency Prensa Latina that he has discussed the issue of racism with the patient several times.

Papenfus' care has included 16 trips to the hospital's treatment room, skin grafts to 6 percent of his body, and general rehabilitative therapy. Papenfus was able to begin walking again within 40 days after arriving at the hospital.

His treatment has also included having access to newspapers and magazines from South Africa and visits by his family members. Papenfus declined to talk about the war because he said it made him feel bad. "I have dreamed about the war and Cuban soldiers, but not in battle," he said.

Estonians press for autonomy from Moscow

Government officials in the Soviet republic of Estonia have yielded some concessions to protesters demanding more autonomy from Moscow. The concessions have included replacement of local government and Communist Party officials, lessening economic ties to Moscow, permitting the display of the pre-World War II blue, white, and black flag of Estonia, and increased use of the Estonian language in party meetings.

The new party leader, Vaino Valas, who was appointed last month, approved the incorporation of many of the protesters' demands into proposals carried to the Communist Party conference in Moscow at the end of June. On June 17, some 150,000 people rallied in Tallinn, the Estonian capital, to hear delegates headed to the party conference.

The protests in Estonia take place amid continued strikes and protests in the Soviet republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Armenians living in both re-

publics are demanding that the mostly Armenian-populated region of Nagorno-Karabakh in Azerbaijan be incorporated into Armenia.

Soviet authorities have rejected the Armenians' demand and announced on July 20 that Paruir Airikyan, a leader of the protests, had been stripped of his citizenship and will be deported. U.S. officials have said Airikyan is expected to go to the United States.

The Nagorno-Karabakh region was made part of the Azerbaijani republic by the Soviet government in 1923. Estonia, along with Latvia and Lithuania, were granted independence within months after the October 1917 Russian revolution, which under V.I. Lenin's leadership brought an end to the tsarist empire. They were annexed again by the Soviet government during World War II.

Tunisian assembly makes constitutional changes

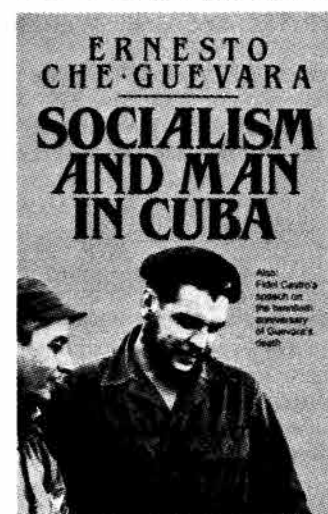
The national assembly in Tunisia has approved constitutional changes that among other things, abolishes the title of "life president." The title was held by Habib Bourguiba, who was overthrown by supporters of then prime minister Zine El-Abidine Ben Ali in a palace coup last November. Ben Ali is now president.

The 84-year Bourguiba is secluded in a villa 30 miles south of Tunis where he is forbidden to see anyone other than family members. Statues of the former life president have begun to disappear from town centers throughout the country.

The constitutional changes also limit the term of the head of state to 15 years and sets an age limit of 70. The minimum age limit for parliamentary candidates has been lowered by three years to 25. The ruling Constitutional Democratic Assembly will hold its first congress at the end of July.

It remains to be seen whether the Movement of Islamic Tendencies, the main opposition group, will be allowed to function. Seven members of the movement were sentenced to death last October on charges of bombings and plotting to overthrow the government. And a new law on political parties introduced by Ben Ali specifically forbids parties based on religion.

Che Guevara's Socialism and Man in Cuba



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

Available for \$1.95 from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Specify English or Spanish pamphlet. Please include 75¢ for postage and handling. Or from Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia, P.O. Box 153, Glebe, Sydney NSW 2037, Australia • Pathfinder, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England • 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400, Toronto, Ont. M5V 1S8, Canada.

They wanted it done safely? — A million tons of U.S. garbage a year was to be dumped at a site in England's Liverpool area. But the guy who cooked up the plan



Harry Ring

withdrew it, complaining that the British government was setting "impossible conditions."

Probably an asset — A British corporate psychiatrist says heavy drinking "shrinks" the brain, impairing memory and the ability to

do things requiring speed and accuracy. But, he assures, heavy-drinking top executives can still "cope very well." A drop in mental efficiency, he says, doesn't "automatically exclude performing successfully in senior management positions."

It would be an improvement — Dukakis and Bush are vying for the services of Seth Werner, the adman who created the popular dancing raisins commercial.

True — Continental Airlines is standing by its New York ads headlined, "Penn Station to Pittsburgh. 42 minutes." The smaller type explains it's 42 minutes from Penn Station to Newark Airport. A spokesperson said the headline is simply an attention grabber, add-

ing, "That's the creative nature of advertising."

Poisonous alliance — Reported food poisoning cases in Britain hit 30,000 last year, nearly treble the number a decade ago. And scientists charged the government and food industry are covering up an estimated 150 deaths a year from listeria, a food bacteria. It was demanded that the government "get out of bed with the food industry."

Really? — "Outplacement firms are hired by companies to help their dismissed [executive] employees handle the trauma and to guide them to new jobs, while providing office space, letter-writing services, and counseling. Such firms are not to be confused with

employment agencies." — *New York Times*.

Adorable — Burberry's, the British rainwear folk, will be marketing a line of babies' bibs, bonnets, and booties. Prices yet to be announced, but you can pick up a child's raincoat for \$250.

Can't be hasty — Last year U.S. hospital emergency rooms treated 47,000 people hit by various chemicals in cosmetics that can cause dizziness and memory loss, as well as breathing, vision, and balance difficulties. The Food and Drug Administration says it can remove cosmetics from the market only after they have proven dangerous.

Sunbeams and mushroom

clouds — A new line of women's clothing is dubbed, "WW II, The Big One." It features such items as bomber jackets with vintage photo decorations "which capture the nostalgia of the '40s."

Economy tip — If you're on a tight budget, check out the new designer dog foods. For the pudgy, there's the "lite" variety. Others, assertedly, are packed with extra nutrients. Cost? About 50 percent more than the regular product, but still cheaper than a Big Mac.

For the frequent traveler — A New York boutique is offering a flat, fold-up bedroom slipper that comes with a small leather drawstring pouch. (The pouch can double as a casual day or evening bag.) \$165.

—CALENDAR—

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

How We Can Best Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution Today. Speakers: Seth Galinsky, Socialist Workers Party; Ramon Diaz, Nicaraguan Cultural Center. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 30, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

San Francisco

Tribute to the Cuban People in Celebration of July 26. Cultural program and dance with Conjunto Céspedes, Vukani Mawethu, and others. Sun., July 31, noon-5 p.m. Capp Street Center, 362 Capp St. Donation: \$10. Sponsor: Venceremos Brigade.

No U.S. Aid for Death-Squad "Democracy" in El Salvador: Protest Death-Squad Killings. Demonstrate Mon., Aug. 1, 7 p.m. Assemble at Union Square, march to Salvadoran

consulate, 870 Market St. Picket Tues., Aug. 2, noon, at Salvadoran consulate. Sponsor: Winning Democracy, including San Francisco Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), Pledge of Resistance, others. For more information call (415) 648-8222.

Homage to Roque Dalton. Poetry reading; *El Meeting*, a play in one act. Fri., Aug. 12 and Sat., Aug. 13, 8 p.m. Mission Cultural Center, 2868 Mission St. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Codices and Mission Cultural Center.

FLORIDA

Miami

Celebration Honoring the Cuban and Nicaraguan Revolutions. Sat., July 30, 8 p.m. Dinner, raffle, videos, music. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

The Cuban Revolution Today. Speakers: Omari Musa, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, recently returned from Cuba; Debra Evenson, professor, DePaul University Law School, national president of National Lawyers Guild. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 30, 6 p.m. 6826 S Stony Island Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 363-7322 or 363-7136.

IOWA

Des Moines

Farmers, the Drought, and the Deepening Economic Crisis. Speaker: Pat Smith, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Local 1513. Sat., July 30, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis

The Drug Trade: Who Profits and How to End It. Speakers: Chris Nisan, Marketplace Forum; Eric Mahmoud, Black People Against Drugs; Mark Burrows, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers. Sat., July 30, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis. Two classes by a representative of the Missouri 1988 Socialist Workers Campaign. Sat., July 30, 1 p.m. and 3 p.m. 4725 Troost. Donation: \$2. For more information call (816) 753-0224.

St. Louis

Cuba Today: A Celebration of the Cuban Revolution. Speaker: Tom Leonard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 30, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Art and Revolution: The Pathfinder Mural Project. Speakers to be announced. Sat., July 30, 7:30 p.m. 140 S. 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Public Art and the Mural Movement. Speaker: Eva Cockcroft, painter and author, director of Artmakers. Fri., July 29, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Pathfinder

Books. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Concert in Support of the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15. Sandra Roldán. Special guests, Yvonne Meléndez and Elías Castro, Puerto Rico/Hartford 15 defendants. Sat., Aug. 6, 8 p.m. to 2 a.m. Tin Pan Alley, 220 W. 49th St. Donation: \$10. Sponsor: Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression. For more information call (718) 927-9065, (212) 795-0379.

Puerto Rico: 90 Years of Resistance, Independence for Puerto Rico! March to the United Nations. Mon., Aug. 15. Assemble for march at noon at 116th St. and Lexington Ave., rally at 4:30 p.m. at UN.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Revolutionary Cuba Today. Speaker: Julie Weed, recently returned from Venceremos Brigade to Cuba. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 30, 7 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Iran Airbus Massacre: Behind the War in the Persian Gulf. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 30. Dinner, 6 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 3165 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donations: dinner \$3, program \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

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9th anniversary of Nicaraguan revolution

Continued from front page

American region to be free of all foreign military presence, for Central America to become a zone of peace, a neutral zone, for them to leave us Central Americans in peace to do what we want to do with Central America."

Ortega's next point was "we are also internationalists." He pointed to Kampuchean President Heng Samrin, guest of honor at the ninth anniversary celebration, as "a show of that internationalism, of that solidarity that exists between peoples no matter how distant they may be geographically from one another. Nonetheless, we are united because we are waging a common battle for independence, peace, and democracy."

"In recognition of the merits of compañero Heng Samrin," Ortega continued, "and as a representative of the heroic people of Kampuchea, a few days ago we awarded him the Augusto César Sandino Order."

"Today," he went on, "ratifying our internationalist essence, in recognition of the heroic struggle the people of South Africa have waged, and on the 70th birthday of imprisoned compañero Nelson Mandela, we have decided to grant our brother Nelson Mandela the Augusto César Sandino Order from here — from the heart of Chontales (the province where Juigalpa is located), from the heart of Nicaragua, from the heart of Latin America."

Washington's role

Ortega devoted extensive time to Washington's role in "strangling and killing" the peace accords signed between the Sandinistas and the contras. "The U.S. government has ordered the contras to continue assassinating," he said. "It has ordered an internal destabilization plan to set up a so-called government of 'national salvation.'"



Members of the Sandinista National Liberation Front's National Directorate greet crowd at ninth anniversary of revolution

Militant/Harvey McArthur

Ortega also spoke about the expulsion of the U.S. ambassador by the Nicaraguan government the previous week. "Mr. [Richard] Melton did not act like previous ambassadors acted," he said. "I remember that when I received Ambassador Melton's credentials, he told me, 'I do represent the administration,' letting it be clearly seen that the others — [former U.S. ambassador Harry] Bergold and [former U.S. ambassador Anthony] Quainton — had not been ambassadors of the Reagan government."

Ortega concluded this point by saying, "We will be respectful of the ambassador and functionaries from the United States who are respectful of Nicaragua. But those who violate our laws, who try to make fun of the government and the people, those will be put in their place — in the United States. They will not be allowed here in Nicaragua."

Ortega spent the most time on what he called the "Juigalpa Peace Proposal." It laid out a series of initiatives by the FSLN government:

1. An invitation to the U.S. government to renew discussions with the Nicaraguan government with the aim of normalizing relations between the two countries.

2. A unilateral extension of the cease-fire with the contras to the end of August and a renewed call for the contras to accept another round of negotiations in Managua, July 26-28.

3. An appeal for the reactivation of international bodies in charge of verifying compliance with the Guatemala peace accords signed by all Central American governments last year.

Elaborating on the cease-fire, Ortega said, "Those who are in the best position to observe whether the truce is being respected or not are the peasants in the war zones." He pointed out that the last four months, during which a cease-fire has been in effect between the contras and the

Nicaraguan government, "has made it possible for the peasants to plant crops with optimism, to plant more than they were planting in previous years." There has been a 50 percent increase over the last year in the planting of beans, corn, and rice, he said.

"What the peasant wants," he noted, "is to be allowed to work in peace."

'Reagan goes, revolution stays'

In the final point of his speech, Ortega referred to the contra meeting being held in the Dominican Republic at the same time as the Juigalpa rally. "At this moment the contras are meeting with Reagan and conspiring to bring more death, more harm to the Nicaraguan people. Those of us Nicaraguans here in this plaza are meeting to bring more life to the Nicaraguan people."

Ortega concluded, "In January 1989, when President Reagan is leaving office, the Sandinista revolution will continue firm. The revolution will remain, Reagan won't."

Three-year GE pact ratified

BY RUSSELL DAVIS

LYNN, Mass. — General Electric workers represented by the International Union of Electronic Workers overwhelmingly voted in early July to ratify a new three-year national contract. The unofficial results showed 32,698 for the pact and 6,774 against. IUE members make up 42,000 of the more than 70,000 unionized workers at GE.

The contract includes modest wage and benefit gains, cutbacks in medical coverage, and extension of the two-tier wage structure.

On June 26 IUE President William Bywater announced that he and officials of 12 other unions representing GE workers had reached a tentative agreement with the company.

The full IUE Negotiating Committee, however, unanimously urged rejection of the pact the next day, followed by unanimous rejection by delegates from all IUE-GE locals.

Bywater then sent a letter to all members urging a yes vote.

GE management also called for ratification. At plant meetings, and in newspaper, radio, and television advertisements, the company stressed that the alternative to a yes vote was a long strike.

Resistance to the pact began to crumble among the local delegates who had earlier voted to reject. The executive board of 9,000-member Local 761 voted 14-1 to recommend ratification. Several other boards recommended acceptance or divided on the issue, although some continued to recommend a no vote.

Comments on the contract from workers in these locals ranged from, "It's better than I thought it would be" to "What can we do, we can't win a strike."

The board and stewards of Local 201 in Lynn were among those who continued to recommend rejection, despite efforts by the local vice-president and business agent to reverse this stand.

They warned of a "payback" by the company in the form of layoffs if the local voted no. GE management also dropped hints to this effect.

At a July 5 business meeting in Lynn, Bywater was greeted by boos and shouted insults by 500 members.

On the job, however, many workers wondered whether they could afford a strike, and what were the prospects of success given the lack of unity.

About 55 percent at the plant here voted to reject the pact, with more than 1,800 members not voting.

Campaign against Iowa activist

Continued from Page 3

his day in court . . . he does not appear to be very anxious to prove his innocence. He has requested and received three extensions on his trial. . . . The family of the molested girl has accused Mark Curtis of using the extension to give him time to pander money and garner sympathy. . . .

"So please, don't let yourself be duped into throwing away money," the leaflet said. The effort failed to disrupt the meeting, which 16 people attended to hear Curtis present an update on the case.

Peace activist Robert Brammer is one of those in Des Moines who claim Curtis' supporters have built up a lot of resentment by attending meetings and asking groups to take a position on the case. "I don't want to see the peace movement split over this," he

said.

He also said he had looked into the facts of the case. People at a rape crisis center told him it's a good rape case. He said to call Marty Anderson to get more information.

"While I am inclined toward sympathy to Mark," another peace activist stated, "our group is divided down the middle. I chose to stay between a rock and hard place until more facts come out," he said.

Another approach is to try to get SWP members to disassociate themselves from Curtis. "It's not your organization that's a problem, it's Curtis," a few say. "You are putting all your marbles on this guy. If you drop this fight," they claim, "the credibility of the SWP can be restored in Des Moines."

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25¢
Aug. 4, 1978

WELLINGTON, New Zealand — The struggle for the return of the land at Bastion Point, near the center of Auckland, to the Ngati Whaata tribe has developed into the most significant Maori land struggle in this century. The land in question consists of a little less than 200 acres of open space on a headland jutting into the Waitemata harbor. It is an extremely valuable piece of "real estate."

On May 25 the New Zealand government employed an intimidating army of more than 700 police, backed by military units, to round up hundreds of protesters occupying the site. More than 200 were evicted in the peaceful 17-month protest, and 222 more were arrested, making it the largest mass arrest in New Zealand's history. The majority of those arrested were Maoris.

The story of how the Maoris originally lost the land at Bastion Point is one of relentless encroachment by *pakeha* (European) society, which sought to push the Maori community right out of this area, the "gateway" to the wealthy eastern suburbs of Auckland. The authorities used every dirty trick in the book, from seizure of land for "defense" purposes, takeovers under the Public Works Act, and picking out and pressuring individual Maoris who were, perhaps because of indebtedness, more vulnerable to pressures for sale.

On a nationwide scale, this same steady process has whittled away the amount of Maori-owned land from the entire 66 million acres of New Zealand when the *pakeha* arrived, to less than 3 million acres today, while Maoris constitute more than 10 percent of the population.

THE MILITANT
Published in the interests of the Working People
Aug. 5, 1963 Price 10¢

The U.S. Communist Party's policy

statement on the Negro struggle appeared in the July 7 issue of the *Worker*. It was written by James Jackson, editor of the *Worker* and a leading spokesman for the Communist Party.

The *Worker* launches a campaign of divisive slander against elements in the Negro movement that have opposed the Kennedy administration from the left.

On the Black Muslims, Jackson's article says: "The Muslim organization in general and Malcolm X in particular, are ultra-reactionary forces operating in the orbit of the Negro people's movement with the strategic assignment to sow ideological confusion, to dissipate the organization energies of the Negro masses, to promote divisionism within the Negro movement, and to alienate the Negro movement from fraternal ties with and support of comparably deprived or democratically inclined white masses."

The *Worker* further says: "The Muslims represent the single most reactionary and countervolutionary force among the organizations in Negro life today." Jackson directly accuses Malcolm X of being "an agent of their [the Negroes] enemies and consequently an opponent of their progress."

On Robert F. Williams, the leader of the NAACP branch in Monroe, North Carolina, who was framed up by racist police and forced into exile in Cuba, the *Worker* says: "There are certain other personalities who, in their egotism and ignorance, persist in counterposing their conceived schemes to the primary requirements of the Negro masses. . . . Whatever the merits of their contribution in the past, the role they play in the present situation only brings grist to the mills of the segregationists."

"Such a personality is Robert F. Williams, whose utterly irresponsible attacks upon the personalities of Negro leaders and their allies in the thick of battles here which appear in his broadcasts from Cuba and in his newsletter — the *Crusader* — must be roundly denounced."

Iraq's use of chemical weapons

One of the most barbarous features of the Iraqi war of aggression against Iran was Iraq's use of chemical weapons.

Against civilians — including Iraqi citizens — as well as soldiers, the Iraqi forces used mustard gas, hydrogen cyanide, nerve gas, and other fearsome chemicals.

Mustard gas raises blisters that take much longer to heal than ordinary burns. It also attacks the eyes and lungs.

This gas was used in World War I and caused such widespread revulsion that in 1925 the world's major governments agreed to ban it. Both Iran and Iraq have signed that agreement. (The U.S. government finally signed it in 1975.)

The cyanide used by the Iraqis was a type used in the Nazi gas chambers. The victims are rapidly asphyxiated.

Nerve gas induces dizziness, vomiting, choking, convulsions, and failure of the respiratory system. A tiny droplet on the skin is enough to kill.

The most grisly chapter in Iraq's use of such weapons was its March 1987 attack on the Kurdish city of Halabjeh, a part of Iraq.

The attack came after Iraqi troops had surrendered Halabjeh to Iranian fighters and Kurdish guerrillas. The Kurds, long oppressed by Iraq, supported the Iranian takeover.

Chemical bombs were dropped on Halabjeh that in-

cluded a mixture of cyanide and mustard gas. (Doctors later said that symptoms of victims indicated that other chemicals, with longer-lasting effects, were also mixed in.)

The accounts by the doctors were harrowing. They said the victims were suffering burns on their skin, eyes, and lung tissue.

A reported 5,000 people, mostly civilians, died in that poison gas attack, and another 5,000 were injured. This evoked little public response in international official circles. Washington, by then openly aligned with Iraq, clucked its tongue, but refused to present this patent violation of the Geneva Convention's rules of war to the United Nations.

Earlier, in 1985, the UN Security Council criticized the use of chemical warfare against Iran but refused to name Iraq as responsible.

The failure to condemn and act against this use of chemical weapons meant that Iraq was able to get away with its crime. This is an ominous precedent for other countries and other wars.

The danger is not hypothetical. In 1980, Washington spent a bit more than \$50 million on chemical and germ warfare research. By 1987, the figure had climbed to nearly \$350 million.

And the army plans to build a new high-security laboratory in the Utah desert to test germ-warfare aerosols.

Curtis case and Des Moines cops

Mark Curtis has explained since his arrest and beating at the hands of cops in Des Moines, Iowa, that he is a victim of a police frame-up.

If convicted of the phony rape and burglary charges in a trial scheduled to begin September 7, the political activist faces 25 years in jail. A second trial on charges of assaulting the cops who beat him is set for the first week of October.

While Curtis was being worked over with a nightstick in city jail last March, the cops called him a "Mexican-lover, just like you love those coloreds."

This racism on the part of the cops is consistent with revelations that have come out in recent days as the result of a lawsuit by a former Des Moines policewoman.

Articles in the *Des Moines Register* reporting on the woman's suit explain that a couple of cops donned Ku Klux Klan robes to harass a Black policeman who was new on the force.

Other cops regularly demanded that the woman have sex with them. To make his point one cop would unzip his pants in public.

The same week, the *Register* reported that a Black

woman police trainee who filed a complaint over a cop's racist remark was about to be fired herself. The police chief says she made a "false accusation."

The antiwoman and racist prejudices exposed in these articles jibes with the view many working people in Des Moines already have of the cops. The Des Moines police have a reputation for roughing up those they arrest, acting as strikebreakers, and harassing gays in the city's downtown loop.

The latest revelations make it easier to understand why a political activist who has fought against the U.S.-run war in Central America, defended the right of immigrant workers to live and work in the United States, supported women's rights, and spoken out against police racism and brutality would be hated by the cops. It makes it easier to understand why Curtis became a target of an insidious frame-up.

It underlines why all supporters of justice should flood the office of Polk County prosecutor James Smith demanding that he drop the charges against Curtis and that the cops who beat Curtis be prosecuted.

The Democratic Party convention

What, if anything, did the Democratic Party national convention reveal about the relationship of forces between working people and the employers and what workers and farmers are thinking about today?

In and of itself, not much. A significant phenomenon that marked the months of primary races, however, was registered at the convention. This was the large vote for Jesse Jackson.

Jackson won 6.7 million votes in the primary round, against Michael Dukakis' 9.7 million. He won the vote in 10 states plus the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. He carried many major U.S. cities including New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Houston, and much of the South. And he won a majority of all votes cast by people between the ages of 18 and 29.

Jackson not only weighed in second in the Democratic race — he's probably the only contender outside of Dukakis whose name most people can still remember. And he was given a prominent role at the convention in Atlanta. This is a long way from his showing in 1984.

Fueling Jackson's success is the deepening economic crisis engulfing millions of working people, which lies behind the facade of the highly touted economic boom.

- The jobless rate — including those who can only get part-time jobs and those who have given up looking for work — stood at 12.4 percent for March. That's 14.6 million people without full-time jobs.

- The number of jobless workers receiving unemployment insurance dropped last year for the fourth consecutive year in a row. Fewer than one in three people without jobs collect benefits in the average month — that adds up to 5.1 million people.

- Since 1980 the percentage of the U.S. population living at or below the poverty line has averaged more than 14 percent.

- The already depressed conditions for working farmers have worsened qualitatively with the government's foot-dragging on adopting measures to relieve the effects of the current drought.

Even many workers and farmers who do have jobs or are doing okay today are aware that the crash of the world's stock markets last October signals that a devastating depression is in the offing. They are voting what they perceive to be their future rather than their current economic situation.

It's this anticipation of economic catastrophe, this feeling of insecurity on the part of broad layers of working people, that gave Jackson more than 40 percent of the primary votes.

Jackson ran a campaign much more in the liberal, "New Deal" tradition of the Democratic Party than any leading Democratic contender has done for a long time. He promised to use government power to help those who are suffering from the effects of the worsening economic situation — workers, farmers, Blacks, Latinos, small businesspeople, and others.

It's these promises about what he'll do once in office to help the victims of the deteriorating economic conditions that raise the expectations of working people. It's this, and not any specific economic proposals Jackson makes, that stamps his campaign as different than the others.

The support for Jackson is a reflection of the search by many working people for political solutions to the worsening economic and social problems we face. It confirms that tens of thousands will be open to the action proposals put forward by the Socialist Workers Party — proposals that are aimed at unifying working people to wage a political fight for protection from the ravages of the economic and social crisis that is deepening.

The two pillars of constructing socialism

BY DOUG JENNESS

For those of us who live in capitalist countries, it is hard to imagine a society where the factories, mines, and mills; the railroads and airlines; the banks; and most of the land is not in the hands of private owners who collect profits, rents, and interest. Even where one or another branch of industry is nationalized in capitalist countries, bonds are issued to finance these operations and wealthy investors rake in millions in interest.

The money that flows into the accounts of the industrialists, bankers, and landowners comes from the wealth

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

produced by working people. It is derived from that portion of the value working people create that exceeds what is necessary to replace the plants and equipment used up in the process of production and to cover what workers need to live on and train a new generation of wage laborers.

From these revenues the ruling families — Rockefellers, Mellons, Duponts, and others — are able to live luxuriously at our expense. At the same time, they invest part of this income in new machinery and in expanding plant capacity. Some engage in real estate speculation or play the stock market. Where to invest is determined by where the highest rate of profit can be found — not on what society needs.

In a country like Cuba, where working people have overturned capitalist rule and taken the factories, banks, and big landholdings away from the private owners, the situation is very different. There is no stock market, commodities exchange, or land speculation. Individuals are unable to buy the machinery to set up a factory or open a mine or to invest in a housing project and exploit the labor of others for their own private benefit.

What happens, then, to the social wealth that workers produce in Cuba? Is it divided equally among them?

Che Guevara, in his 1965 article on "Socialism and Man in Cuba?" recently reprinted by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia in a pamphlet with the same title, noted that with respect to countries like Cuba, "wealth is far from being within the reach of the masses through the simple process of appropriation. Underdevelopment, on the one hand, and the usual flight of capital, on the other, make a rapid transition without sacrifices impossible."

Making the transition from an underdeveloped country, oppressed by centuries of colonial and imperialist domination, to a modern industrial society is one of Cuba's big challenges. This has required allocating a significant portion of the social product to expanding production and introducing new technology — that is, increasing labor productivity.

Che emphasized that "delay is least excusable in regard to the concept of technology as a basic foundation since this is not a question of going forward blindly but of following a long stretch of road already opened up by the world's more advanced countries."

Another portion of the social product goes to replace materials and machinery that are used up in production. And part covers costs of government administration not belonging to production.

There are insufficient resources at this stage in Cuba's development for working people to simply contribute whatever they are able through their labor, and in return, receive what they need. This is the communist goal they are striving to reach.

Instead workers get paid wages for the work they do. Since some are more skilled or able to work longer and harder they get more. This inequality is partially compensated for by apportioning part of the social product to meeting needs such as schools, health services, and child care, which benefit all those who live in Cuba no matter what they earn.

Che wrote that there are "two pillars of the construction of socialism." In addition to developing technology, he stressed that work must be given a "new status of social duty." To accomplish this, he said, was the goal of "voluntary work based on the Marxist appreciation that man reaches his full human condition when he produces without being compelled by physical necessity to sell himself as a commodity."

Che contrasted this course with "the pipe dream that socialism can be achieved with the help of the dull instruments left to us by capitalism (the commodity as the economic cell, profitability, individual material interest as a lever, etc.)"

He said this will lead to an economic foundation that will undermine political understanding and social consciousness. "To build communism," he said, "it is necessary, simultaneous with the new material foundations, to build the new man."

That is "why it is very important to choose the right instrument for mobilizing the masses," he emphasized. "Basically, this instrument must be moral in character." Retaining the effect of moral motivation, however, "requires the development of a consciousness in which there is a new scale of values."

Israeli support to apartheid, military dictators

Israeli Foreign Policy: South Africa and Central America by Jane Hunter. South End Press, Boston, 1987.

BY MARK FRIEDMAN

This well-documented exposé of Israel's foreign policy focuses on two examples: the Israeli regime's relations with South Africa, and its policies in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua.

Hunter details the South African government's support to the formation of Israel and expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians in 1948, and the role of South

The Israeli rulers defied the worldwide demand for an embargo on arms sales to the apartheid regime. In one 1986 sale, Israel sent armored cars, cannons, 50 Gazelle helicopters, 20,000 automatic rifles, and 12,000 machine guns to South Africa.

Israeli Uzi submachine guns, Galil assault rifles, and missiles are now produced in South Africa.

Israel's number one export item on the world market is polished diamonds produced from South African stones. South African capital makes up 35 percent of non-U.S. foreign investment in Israeli enterprises, producing fighter aircraft, textiles, citrus fruit, and other goods.

Mercenaries from Israel guard South African government officials, as well as the casino tables at the Sun City resort. Israelis have helped train the thugs backing Gatsha Buthelezi, head of the KwaZulu bantustan. His gangs terrorize and murder foes of apartheid.

The Israeli rulers are the major suppliers of military hardware to the Guatemalan counterinsurgency squads that have killed 45,000 Indians since 1978. Israel has set up plants in Guatemala producing arms for the military,

and has 300 advisers in the military and other government bodies.

In El Salvador, the Histadrut — which doubles as a labor union and the biggest business combine in Israel — works with the American Institute of Free Labor Development to forge progovernment organizations of peasants and farm workers.

Hunter shows how pro-Israeli lobbyists, who spend millions of dollars to influence congressional votes, helped the Guatemalan, Salvadoran, and Honduran governments to procure weapons and money from Congress.

From its creation in 1948, the Israeli government backed the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua, and provided it with 98 percent of its weaponry during its last six months in power. Soon after the victory of the Sandinista revolution in 1979, the Israeli government began providing the contras with weapons, advisers, and moral support. The shipments included weapons that Israeli invaders seized in Lebanon during their war there.

Hunter stresses the importance of educating people in the United States about Israel's true role.

IN REVIEW

African capitalists in financing military and other industrial development in Israel.

Israeli assistance, in turn, helped South Africa to build nuclear weapons and train South African troops for war in Angola.

LETTERS

Unemployment

The official U.S. unemployment rate of 5.3 percent announced with much fanfare by Reagan conceals more than it reveals about the conditions facing working people currently. The truth is that many cities and communities are experiencing recession or depression-level joblessness right now.

According to detailed figures published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in May, Flint, Michigan, has 15.6 percent unemployment and Beaver County, Pennsylvania, has 10.2 percent. In West Virginia, 11.8 percent of the labor force cannot find any work at all, and in Louisiana 11.7 percent are out of a job.

Texas currently has 8.3 percent unemployment statewide, with the worse conditions near the border with Mexico. El Paso, a city of a quarter million people, has 11.5 percent unemployed; Brownsville has 15 percent; Laredo 16.9 percent; and the McAllen-Edinburg-Mission metropolitan area in Hidalgo County has 19.6 percent joblessness.

Hidalgo County, with its depression-level conditions, is noteworthy for another reason. It is the home of Lloyd Bentson, the wealthy pro-contras U.S. senator picked by Michael Dukakis to be his vice-presidential running mate.

Jim Sarsgard
Baltimore, Maryland

Book catalog

I would appreciate it if you could send me a book catalog. I am a union butcher who enjoys reading your paper.

K.N.
Lemoore, California

Farmers

I like the SWP presidential ticket and platform, but I don't think its farm program goes far enough. It doesn't seem to offer anything to the farmers who have already been driven off their land.

Farmers who have been driven off family land should have that land restored. Farmers who have

been driven off land that has changed hands several times should be compensated with new land. These two demands add up to land reform.

These landless farmers-become-workers are a vital link between the workers and the farmers. Land reform would be a powerful lever for winning them to a revolutionary alliance of farmers and workers. If the workers don't address the landless farmers' land hunger, it will be exploited by the right wing.

B.M.
Lawrence, Kansas

Running for cover

Underneath all the lies, clichés, and hype of the capitalist politicians (so evident at the Democratic Party convention) there is occasionally something interesting. One example was a speech by William Proxmire, senator from Wisconsin. It was reported on in the *Milwaukee Journal* under the headline "Victory may be a loss in '88, Proxmire says."

The *Journal* quotes Proxmire: "Many of us earnestly believe our country is headed for economic hell-in-a-handbasket. Our businesses, our families, our farms are up to their eyeballs in debt. We are long overdue for a recession. That recession will be a killer. As businesses close their doors in bankruptcy, tens of millions of Americans will lose their jobs. This senator would give very strong odds that sometime in 1989 or 1990 recession and probably depression will hit."

That brought Proxmire to a rather startling piece of advice for his Democratic Party.

"The next president and his party at that time will be in a political dilemma from which there will be no escape.

"Let us face it. You will not get 1 in 100 to admit it, but the best thing that could happen to the Democrats might be to lose the next presidential election."

On one hand this is a refreshing answer to all the politicians, labor officials, and "progressives," who



Dana Summers

tell us that electing the Democrats will put us on the road to overcoming the decline in our living standards.

On the other hand, Proxmire's advice — to run for cover — won't work for those of us who work for a living. A more useful approach is to distribute and discuss the pamphlet *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis* and to support the Socialist Workers Party candidates in 1988.

Bill Scheer
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Nicaragua

The *Militant* is a fine paper. Comparing it to the mainstream press has helped me see the biases contained in both, and has helped me understand the media a little better. I like the in-depth articles on Nicaragua. Can you do similar series on other countries in the future?

E.T.
Bryan, Texas

Native Americans

Today I got my last issue on my sub. I intended to let it expire. But Harry Ring's article on Native Americans changed my mind. Enclosed is a check.

I'm of Da Kota (Sioux) heritage and recently I have begun working at the Southwest Missouri Indian Center in Springfield, Missouri.

Reagan's remarks on Indians he made in Moscow were stupid, but my recent experience shows they are not unique. The Department of Interior/Bureau of Indian Affairs is a joke. Racism is a given.

I do not feel from my experience with the Socialist Workers Party that the party is in cultural sync completely with the general Indian movement, but it does make an attempt to keep in touch and the *Militant* publishes the most and best articles that I know of.

By the way, the illustration for

the article was dynamite! I'll steal it many times I'm sure.

Jack Bresée
Fordland, Missouri

British rail workers

More than 5,000 signaling and telecommunications workers organized by Britain's National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) are involved in industrial action to protest management's imposition of a new pay and grading system.

The job action was approved by a four-to-one majority. It began with a union ban on overtime followed by national one-day strikes on July 4 and 11.

Workers are angered because British Rail (BR) management went over their heads in imposing new measures that include 15 different rates of pay for the five work grades. The new pay rates are dependent upon length of service at BR and on completion of training courses. But there are never enough courses offered to meet the workers' demands and selection for the available slots is at management's discretion.

Because of the meager pay at BR, many are forced to put in long hours of overtime. And BR management makes workers compete with one another for the overtime, which is arbitrarily handed out and is often viewed as a privilege. This makes some cautious about getting on the wrong side of the boss.

The attack is part of BR's overall drive to restructure the now-nationalized industry before turning it over to private owners.

This drive has affected all BR workers. Just as the overtime ban got under way, the 10,000 NUR members who are guards (brake men and women) voted narrowly to accept a recommendation by the union executive to do away with their job category. The Train Crew Concept, as this is called, will dramatically reduce crew sizes.

The attack by management has united the signaling and telecom-

munications workers. In preparation for the job action, union meetings were organized at the depots and railway workers' social clubs. We have organized pickets to discourage those who mistakenly think management will look after them better than the union.

It is clear that BR aims to weaken the union, but through this action many are beginning to get confidence that a mobilized NUR membership will be key to defending ourselves in the battles that lie ahead.

Joyce Fairchild
National Union of Railwaymen
London, England

The cover-ups

Your paper is an excellent true information paper. It brings out the true results of capitalism — the cover-ups of the industrialists.

R.M.
Denver, Colorado

America

Unless America starts acting like the *Militant* there will be nothing left to call America.

E.B.
Middletown, Connecticut

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.

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. Where possible the fund also tries to fill prisoners' requests for other literature. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: *Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Readers invited to participate in Action Program discussion

Many readers of the *Militant* saw the Socialist Workers Party National Committee's *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis* when it appeared in our June 24 issue or in the new Pathfinder pamphlet that carries it. Others may not have read it yet but are planning to buy a copy soon. And during the course of the next months many new readers of the *Militant* will be learning about it

and reading it.

One of the goals of distributing the Action Program as widely as possible is to stimulate discussion on its proposals.

As part of this discussion, we invite our readers to send their comments or questions on the Action Program to us for publication. We will devote space in our letters page to this as we get contributions.

— Editors

Revolt continues in West Bank, Gaza

Israelis launch new round of Palestinian deportations, close schools

BY HARRY RING

The Palestinian uprising in the West Bank and Gaza Strip entered its eighth month July 9 with the Israeli government intensifying its repression and the Palestinians continuing their determined resistance.

A sense of the depth of the conflict is conveyed by the news articles found in a single issue of the Palestinian weekly *Al Fajr* (The Dawn), which is published in Jerusalem, in Arabic and English.

A lead story in the July 10 issue is on the Israeli move to curb medical care for wounded Palestinians by escalating the fees at government hospitals.

A new round of deportations of Palestinians from their homeland has been ordered, along with the banning of community self-help committees.

Meanwhile, an Israeli drive to break a Palestinian tax boycott evoked a mass response in at least one West Bank village.

The troop attacks on protesters continues. *Al Fajr* reports that the Palestinian death toll is now estimated at 272. (According to Israeli figures, 16 more have died since then.)

With the move to further restrict hospital care, that toll is likely to increase.

Under orders issued by the military administration July 5, all West Bank hospital patients, including the wounded, must pay \$170 a night. On admission, they must pay for three nights, and do the same if at the end of the three days they need further treatment.

Those who cannot pay will have to seek treatment at already overtaxed private hospitals or simply do without.

Meanwhile, on July 8 the Israeli government ordered the expulsion of 10 West Bank and Gaza Palestinians, accusing them of "incitement" and anti-Israeli activ-



Palestinian youths battle Israeli soldiers with stones and bottles in the West Bank town of Nablus in January

ity. Those banished from their homeland will join more than 20 others who have been deported since the uprising began.

On July 1 the Israeli military declared that popular committees established during the uprising are illegal.

Local committees have made help available to those who have lost their jobs or been cut off welfare.

Other committees help farmers cope with agricultural problems. And, with the collective resignation of Palestinians from local police forces, the committees have led in establishing community patrols.

Al Fajr reported that most Palestinians believe the Israelis will not be able to stop the work of these committees since they are not formally organized.

Israeli authorities also ordered the 1,200 West Bank public schools shut down for five days. The schools had reopened in late

May after being shut down for four months.

Hardest hit were high school seniors racing against time to prepare for final exams in order to graduate. Because of the four-month closing, the finals had been postponed from June to August so that students could catch up on their studies.

Palestinian teachers — poorly paid to begin with — are also victimized since they are not paid during the closings.

On July 7, the day higher education institutions were scheduled to reopen, the shutdown was ordered extended another month. All Palestinian universities, community colleges, and vocational training centers have been shut since the beginning of the year. At least 1,000 students have been unable to graduate because of this.

Al Fajr reported that according to Israel TV, the police are considering fingerprinting all Gaza and West Bank residents.

It cited a report in the Israeli daily *HaAretz* that two children, eight and 10, were arrested in Gaza City on charges of throwing firebombs at Israeli army vehicles. They were arrested inside a mosque, and the paper said one of the children was beaten on the spot.

On July 6 the Israelis kicked off a massive tax collection drive in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In both areas there has been a widespread tax boycott.

Tax collectors accompanied by troops set up checkpoints where motorists and pedestrians were checked against tax delinquency lists.

In towns and cities, shops were raided and personal belongings — cars, TVs, refrigerators — seized to be held until the taxes are paid.

In the West Bank town of Beit Sahur a massive tax raid added fuel to an already tense confrontation.

On July 5 residents had clashed with troops when the army began demolishing several homes.

That night, and the next day, rocks and firebombs were hurled at Israeli vehicles. Meanwhile, students staged a sit-in strike at the town hall, protesting the closing of their school.

Early in the morning on July 7, Israeli tax collectors, accompanied by 300 soldiers, raided the homes of 50 Beit Sahur merchants, confiscating their ID cards.

Meanwhile, roadblocks were set up at entrances to the town and all cars thoroughly checked. Many cars were impounded.

Pedestrians were also stopped and had their ID cards taken.

For Palestinians, subject to constant check by the police and military, ID cards are important. But as the word spread in Beit Sahur about what was happening, people began descending on the town hall, handing in their ID cards to be turned over to the Israelis.

According to *Al Fajr*, more than 1,300 people turned in their ID cards.

That night the defiant residents staged a huge protest march. Israeli authorities clamped a curfew on Beit Sahur and cut off telephone service.

N. Carolina Indian activists out on bail

BY SHERRIE LOVE

GREENSBORO, NC — Eddie Hatcher and Timothy Jacobs were released from jail July 5 after more than five months of illegal detention. The two Tuscarora Indians took over a newspaper office in Robeson County, North Carolina, on February 1 to protest racism and government corruption there.

Charged with "hostage-taking," a new federal crime, Hatcher and Jacobs had been held in preventive detention under the 1984 Bail Reform Act. After being denied bail at three separate hearings, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered a hearing in New Bern County to set bail.

The terms of release argued for by the assistant U.S. attorney included electronic ankle bracelets to monitor movement, house arrest except for visits to the probation officer, no phone calls, no letters and no visitors except attorneys and immediate family.

Hatcher stated, "Even in jail, I was allowed 45 minutes on the phone. This was designed to limit how much we can do on our defense."

Although the terms demanded by the prosecution were rejected, the conditions of their release deny Hatcher and Jacob's right to return to their homes in Robeson County. Hatcher, 30, is living with an uncle in Winston-Salem and Jacobs, 19, is staying with friends of the family in Halifax County.

Hatcher says he's been "marching since I was 15." When asked what the February 1 takeover action accomplished, he replied, "Even though they are still doing things in the county that you wouldn't believe go on in the United States, it has opened up the eyes of the world so now when something happens like Julian

Pierce's death, it was national and international on that."

Julian Pierce, a Lumbee Indian, was murdered in March this year. He was running for a judgeship against Joe Freeman Britt, Robeson County district attorney. Britt holds the record in the United States for placing the most people on death row. Election law would not allow another candidate to file in Pierce's place. A symbolic victory was won in the primary vote when Britt came in second to the dead man.

Many people in the county believe that the sheriff's department is connected to drug trafficking.

The department has carried out racist killings, including the November 1986 shooting down of Jimmy Earl Cummings, a Lumbee, by a sheriff's deputy. Cummings was stopped on a county road, allegedly under suspicion of carrying drugs, and shot in the back. This incident sparked mass meetings, protests, and the formation of a coalition that Hatcher participated in.

Robeson County has more than 30 unsolved murders of Lumbees and Blacks. In January a young Black, Billy McKellar, died in the county jail after being denied medication for asthma. No one has been charged.

A poor, rural county in southeastern North Carolina, Robeson County is made up of an evenly divided population of Blacks, Lumbee and Tuscarora Indians, and whites. There are no unions. Hatcher explained, "Plants come to Robeson County for the sole purpose to get cheap labor." He worked for Converse, a shoe manufacturer, for \$3.50 an hour. Converse has plants in Robeson County and Puerto Rico.

Hatcher described his time in jail as "miserable, but it made me stronger and I learned a little more patience." During his

and Jacobs' five-month incarceration, they were moved five times. This was done "so we wouldn't get familiar with the surroundings and to harass our families, to make them have to drive as far as possible to see us."

Hundreds of people attended meetings throughout the spring to build support for Hatcher and Jacobs.

Mark Curtis, a union and political activist who was beaten by the police and framed on rape and burglary charges in Des Moines, Iowa, sent a letter to Hatcher and Jacobs congratulating them on their release. Hatcher called Curtis to find out more about his case and is writing a letter protesting the frame-up of Curtis.

Scheduled to go on trial August 1, Hatcher said a demonstration is planned for that day outside the courthouse in Fayetteville. They could face life imprisonment.

Messages of support and donations can be sent to: Robeson Defense Fund, P.O. Box 1389, Pembroke, N.C. 28372. Telephone (919) 521-2401.

New wave of Israeli violence

Intensified Israeli violence has erupted, with three Palestinians killed in a single day, July 21. Over the previous two weeks, 16 Palestinians were killed, the largest number since the worst days of Israeli bloodletting last April.

The current attacks were triggered as Israeli troops tried to stamp out widespread demonstrations that occurred when the Israeli military authorities shut down West Bank schools a month early. There had been a five-day shutdown in early

July and, previously this year, schools were closed for four months.

In East Jerusalem there were three days of pitched battles between Israeli cops and Palestinian protesters. Enraged by the death of a Palestinian youth, demonstrators smashed windows, burned tires, and hurled rocks and bottles at cops.

Unlike the West Bank and Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem is formally incorporated into Israel, and Palestinians there are legally Israeli citizens.