

Haiti: rising turmoil sparks soldiers' revolt

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Gen. Prosper Avril assumed the presidency of Haiti September 18 after a revolt by noncommissioned officers forced the ouster of Gen. Henri Namphy. The revolt was sparked by growing popular opposition to stepped-up and increasingly open repression by the Namphy regime.

Namphy, who immediately flew to exile in the Dominican Republic, had, in effect, headed Haiti's government since former dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier was forced by a popular upsurge to flee the country in February 1986. The only exception was the first six months of 1988, during which Leslie Manigat served as president. Namphy pushed Manigat aside in June and reasserted direct control of the government.

In the early morning hours of September 18, Sgt. Joseph Hébreux, a 27-year-old medic, read a statement at the presidential palace in Port-au-Prince, the country's capital. Speaking on behalf of noncommissioned officers in the 1,500-man Presidential Guard, Hébreux explained that the revolt was an attempt to restore honor to Haiti's armed forces and to put an end to random violence in the country.

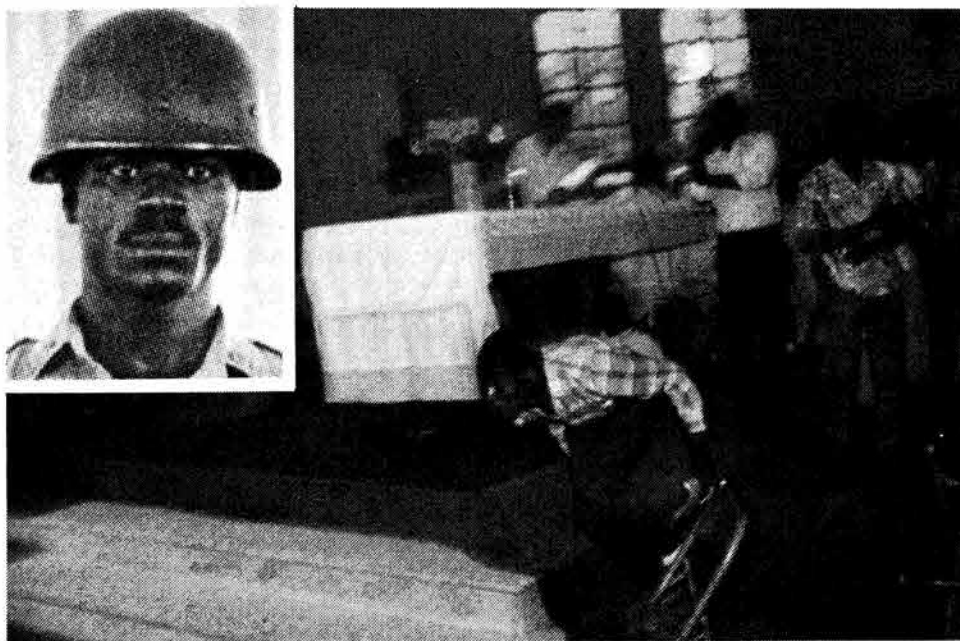
He then introduced Avril, who said he accepted the position as head of state "in order to save the country from anarchy and chaos."

Since then, Hébreux has remained with Avril constantly. Avril, who was in the Duvalier family's inner circle, has been a top figure in Haiti's army for many years.

The soldiers also presented a list of 19 demands to Avril, including restoration of the 1987 constitution, which had been voided by Namphy, and an end to arming of civilians. Other demands centered on improving conditions for soldiers in the armed forces.

Within hours after taking over as president, Avril met with U.S. Ambassador to Haiti Brunson McKinley and several other members of the diplomatic corps. At this meeting and in subsequent statements, Avril has said that his aim is a return to civilian government in Haiti. He named a new 12-member cabinet September 19, all but one of whom are civilians.

In the days following Namphy's ouster, soldiers in other units of the armed forces throughout the country revolted against



A dozen people were killed and more than 70 wounded in assault by Tontons Macoutes on church in Port-au-Prince September 11. Inset, Sgt. Joseph Hébreux.

their officers, many of whom were linked to the 29-year Duvalier dictatorship. Nearly 60 were driven from command. Some were arrested, others forced into hiding or beaten, and one colonel was paraded in his underwear and in handcuffs. Soldiers in the elite Leopard battalion arrested their commander and dumped him in front of armed forces headquarters.

At the same time, workers at the state-owned telephone company and flour mill went on strike, demanding replacement of the enterprises' directors, whom they accused of corruption and bad management. Strikes have broken out among other gov-

ernment workers and at the main military hospital, where workers demanded removal of the hospital administrators. Protesting students also forced the chairman of Haiti's State University to resign.

Violence and repression by Tontons Macoutes — Duvalier's private thug army — against Haiti's toilers and youth have been increasing in recent months. Although formally disbanded after Duvalier fled, the Macoutes and other gangs have functioned with increasing impunity — murdering peasants and youth, attacking union offices, and carrying out other ter-

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Cops yelled 'Mexican-lover' as they beat Curtis

BY MARGARET JAYKO

(First of a series)

DES MOINES, Iowa — On Friday night, March 4, 1988, at around 9:50 p.m., Jackie Floyd got a call from Mark Curtis, a worker at the Swift plant in Des Moines who was a longtime friend and political collaborator. He told her he had been arrested.

"What were you arrested for?" she asked him. "I don't know," he said. Floyd heard him turn to a nearby cop and repeat the question. He got back on the phone and said in a shocked voice, "Sexual abuse." Floyd asked who he had supposedly

The Mark Curtis Story



abused. He didn't know, and the cops refused to tell him.

Floyd had to leave for work in a little while. She was working midnight shift at the Firestone plant here. Floyd woke up her husband, Stu Singer, who had worked the midnight shift the previous night at the Maytag plant. He had been up all day, attending two meetings protesting the arrest

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Curaçao farm leader fights travel ban

BY CINDY JAQUITH

A farm leader from the Caribbean island of Curaçao is protesting attempts to curtail his right to travel and freely engage in political activity.

Eugene Godfried, president of Kopak (Agricultural Cooperative of Curaçao), flew to the Dominican Republic on Sep-

tember 8. He had been invited to meet there with peasant, youth, and church organizations.

Godfried is also a member of the Coordinating Committee of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America. He had traveled to Panama last June to participate in a meeting in solidarity with the Panamanian people's struggle against Washington, sponsored by the Anti-Imperialist Organizations.

At the Santo Domingo airport, immigration authorities refused Godfried the right to enter the Dominican Republic and put him back on the plane to Curaçao. Arriving home, the farm leader was met by Curaçao immigration officials, who threatened government action against him.

Godfried spoke with the *Militant* about the incident in a telephone interview from Curaçao September 24.

Curaçao lies about 40 miles off the coast of Venezuela. It is a colony of the Netherlands.

Godfried charged that the Dutch-appointed government of Curaçao was directly involved in his deportation from the Dominican Republic, and noted there is a long history of collaboration between Dutch and U.S. intelligence agencies in the region.

Godfried explained that when he arrived at the airport in Santo Domingo September 8, he was accompanied by Rudsel Alment, a leader of Juventud 70 (Youth 70), a Curaçao youth organization. Alment passed through immigration without incident.

Immigration officials took away Godfried's passport, however. Shortly afterward, "a high-ranking security officer and

some military personnel surrounded me," he said, "and the officer told me that according to their computer I am not granted permission to enter the Dominican Republic. He told me I should leave the country immediately on the very same plane I had flown in on."

Godfried had never been to the Dominican Republic before. The official refused to give a reason for his exclusion or to allow him to pick up his luggage.

The authorities did stamp his passport, Godfried said, on the page titled "Remarks." The stamp indicates he was denied entry to the Dominican Republic. "This will give me problems wherever I go," Godfried explained. Its goal is "to stop me from moving around and meeting the peoples of the world."

When Godfried arrived back in Curaçao that night, immigration authorities were waiting for him. The officer in charge "told me they had received a telex from the Dominican Republic saying I was refused landing there. He asked me, what have you done? I told him he shouldn't ask me what I have done, he should ask the authorities in the Dominican Republic what they have done."

"The immigration officer told me, 'This will go up higher' and that I would hear from them."

Godfried said his luggage was finally returned to him a week later: "When I opened it, it was all messed up inside."

Godfried explained the attack on his rights comes in the context of increased protests in Curaçao by farmers demanding land reform, as well as actions by students

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Daniel Ortega cancels UN trip after U.S. government delays visas

BY SETH GALINSKY

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — President Daniel Ortega canceled a trip to New York to attend the opening session of the United Nations General Assembly in protest against delays by the U.S. government in granting visas to the full delegation planning to accompany him. Ortega had also intended to visit the Organization of American States, headquartered in Washington, D.C.

Patricia Byrne, a U.S. State Department spokesperson, claimed the delay was caused by late applications by the Nicaraguans and by shortages of personnel at the U.S. embassy in Nicaragua. Víctor Hugo Tinoco, Nicaraguan deputy foreign minister, charged that the delay in the visas was "arbitrary and illegal." He said the holdup was a violation of the responsibilities of the United States as host government to the United Nations.

Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto is representing Nicaragua at the UN session.

Meanwhile, revelations in Washington about CIA involvement in antigovernment

provocations have been receiving wide publicity here. James Wright, Democratic congressman and speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, said September 20 that the Congress had "received clear testimony from CIA people that they have deliberately done things to provoke an overreaction on the part of the government of Nicaragua."

The September 25 *New York Times* said unnamed U.S. officials corroborated Wright's account as "a generally accurate description."

Barricada, the daily newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, commented, "This time it is the U.S. government itself that has confirmed and officially recognized that CIA officials finance and direct the activities" of the opposition in Nicaragua.

Sandinista officials have emphasized the parallel between the Wright disclosures and events last July 10 in the town of Nandaime, where antigovernment provoca-

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Argentine artist adds Che Guevara portrait to Pathfinder mural

BY FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK — Ricardo Carpani, a prominent Argentine painter, arrived here September 21 to begin work on painting the portrait of Ernesto Che Guevara on the mural going up on the wall of the Pathfinder Building.

Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution, a collection of writings and speeches by the Argentine-born revolutionary who became a central leader of the Cuban revolution, is published by Pathfinder, which has offices in the building.

When he completes his work on the mural, Carpani plans to travel in the United States. He will be available to speak on his work and views on art, political struggles in Latin America, the Pathfinder mural, and other issues.

Born in 1930 in Buenos Aires Province, Carpani began his study of painting in Paris in the early 1950s. Returning to Argentina he worked in the studio of the renowned Argentine painter Emilio Pettoruti. Carpani's work was exhibited for the first time in 1957.

Along with other Argentine artists, he founded the Spartacus Movement in 1959. The artists in the movement issued manifestoes against the advocates of "art for art's sake," who denied any connection between art and social struggles. Their dominant influence, Carpani says, was indi-

cated by the prevalence of abstract art at the time.

The Spartacus Movement also opposed the school of "social art" that, in Carpani's view, focused exclusively on "the negative aspects of the workers' movement" in Argentina and all of Latin America.

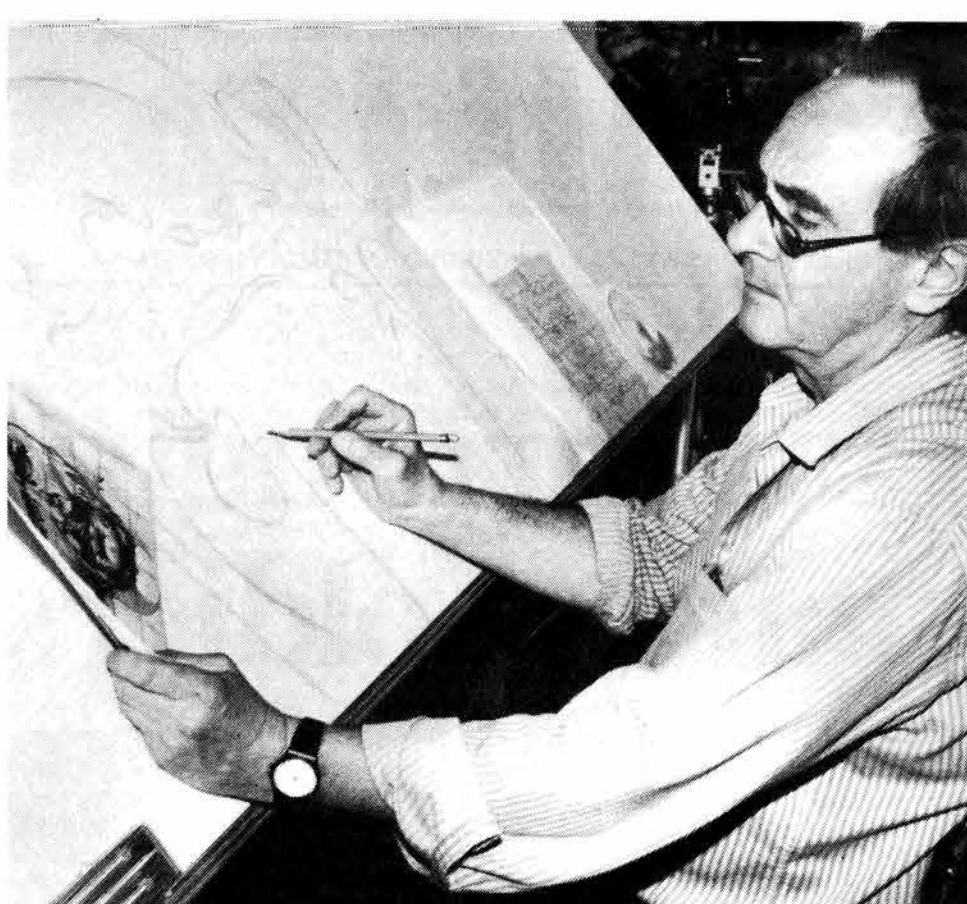
In opposition to these two predominant tendencies, the Spartacus Movement artists stressed the need to forge a Latin American art that was "national and revolutionary."

Over time, Carpani explained, most artists who identified with the movement drifted away from these views. Carpani and two other artists left the group and began devoting a large part of their efforts to creating art for the workers' movement.

Art for labor movement

His works include posters and illustrations, mostly executed for the Argentine labor movement, and several murals in union halls and working-class neighborhoods.

Together with such works, his political activities made him a potential target of reactionary governments in Argentina. His books include *Art and Revolution in Latin America* (1961); *Art and the Working-Class Vanguard* (1965); *Nationalism, Peronism, and National Socialism* (1973); and *Art and the Latin American National*



Militant/Selva Nebbia

Argentine artist Ricardo Carpani, in Pathfinder Mural Project office in New York City, prepares sketch for his portrait of Ernesto Che Guevara.

Question (1973).

In mid-1974 Carpani and his wife Doris left Argentina for a six-month visit to Europe that was to include exhibitions of Carpani's work in Sweden and Spain. Shortly after they left, military-backed death squads began to assassinate unionists, intellectuals, and others termed subversive. As the killings mounted, friends in

Argentina urged the Carpanis to stay abroad. They went into exile in Spain.

The death-squad killers helped prepare the coup that established a military dictatorship in Argentina in 1976. Carpani's posters and other works went out of circulation in his homeland and one of his murals was covered over.

While in Spain he wrote *Bourgeois Nationalism and Revolutionary Nationalism* and became active in the movement to demand that the Argentinian government account for the fate of those who had "disappeared" in the hands of paramilitary death squads and punish those responsible.

Return to Argentina

After the dictatorship fell and a constitutionally-elected government came to office, the Carpanis returned to Argentina in 1984. Since then he has held several art exhibitions in Buenos Aires and elsewhere in the country.

One-man showings of Carpani's works of art have taken place in Argentina, Italy, Sweden, Puerto Rico, Spain, West Germany, Cuba, Ecuador, and Venezuela. His works have been part of international art shows in Cuba, Mexico, Britain, the United States, France, Spain, Italy, and other countries.

He has also edited collections of drawings including *Revolutionaries on Horseback (La Montonera)*; *The Heart and the Guitar — Six Illustrated Poems by Luis Franco*; *Six Drawings of Solidarity and Struggle*; and, concerning Bolivia, *In this Obscure Land*.

Pathfinder Books opens for sales in London

BY CINDY JAQUITH

The new Pathfinder Bookshop has just opened its doors in London. More than 350 people stopped by the first week!

The eagerness of working people in London for the revolutionary literature published and distributed by Pathfinder is one indication of the importance of the Pathfinder Fund. The goal of the fund is to raise \$250,000 by December 1, to allow Pathfinder to keep publishing, promoting, and distributing books on working-class struggles around the world.

Brian Lyons, Pathfinder London representative, reports that the new Pathfinder Bookshop is already demonstrating the audience for such literature in Britain.

"In the first week more than \$1,500 worth of literature has been sold," he writes. "An important part of the opening day's sales came from five tables that fanned out from the bookshop to streets in different parts of London." Through such tables and other promotional activities, Pathfinder supporters are building an October 22 gala celebra-

tion in London of the bookshop's opening.

"The bookshop is located next to a Further Education college, where the overwhelming majority of the students are working-class and Black," explains Lyons. "They have shown a special interest in books by Malcolm X and on southern Africa. The *Communist Manifesto* is also selling well since it is part of the reading material for one of the courses."

The first week also saw sales of 18 Spanish-language books and pamphlets, along with 32 items from the Cuba and Latin America shelves and 18 books and pamphlets about the Irish struggle.

Lyons said that in addition, "64 individual copies of the *Militant*, four copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*, and three subscriptions were sold, all of them to first-time bookshop visitors."

Frank Gorton, the bookshop manager, said, "We have probably underestimated the potential of this Pathfinder Bookshop. Customers from 15 countries have bought books this week."

That should induce Pathfinder supporters around the world to send in their contributions to the Pathfinder Fund. Thus far, only \$25,441 has been collected; with \$185,459 pledged. There are just two months left to collect the remaining \$225,000. The Pathfinder Bookshop's first week in London says the potential is there.

Clip and mail to: Pathfinder Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

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How French coal miners won strike victory

Unity, mine occupation, wives' support helped force gov't to grant pay hikes

BY JOHN HAWKINS

GARDANNE, France — At the end of August, a delegation led by British coal miners and their supporters in Women Against Pit Closures visited this coal-mining area in the south of France near Marseille. I was one of two U.S. coal miners who participated in the trip.

Our purpose was to bring solidarity to French miners and their supporters and also to learn about their victory in one of the longest and hardest fought coal strikes in recent French history. The strike had ended a couple weeks earlier.

Most of the workers are organized by the National Federation of Miners, which is affiliated to the Communist Party-influenced General Confederation of Labor (CGT). Other miners here are members of the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT), which looks to the Socialist Party for political leadership.

The miners were demanding a 1.5 percent wage increase retroactive to the beginning of the year and a 1,500 franc bonus (\$235) to cover 1987 inflation. Prior to the strike, the average wage for underground miners was \$1,250 a month. Housing, or a housing allowance of \$63 a month, was also provided.

Management at the mine itself and the Charbonnages de France (CdF) — a body that supervises the government-owned mines — both rejected the workers' demands, in spite of the fact that productivity at the Houillères de Provence mine had gone up 22 percent in 1987 alone.

The Gardanne miners began their fight amidst many other struggles. Strikes hit the auto, metal, rubber, and transportation industries last spring. CGT-organized miners in other regions were also involved in battles. These struggles were in response to deteriorating wages and working conditions.

The 1,800 miners here called for a 24-hour strike at the end of March. They were demanding that the coal board sit down and negotiate with them. The action was timed to coincide with a visit of a CdF official.

After the official canceled his appearance, the miners extended the strike by two days. They also detained the mine manager until it was agreed that they would be paid for the three-day strike and that negotiations over wages would begin on April 6.

But management again refused to negotiate seriously. On April 7 the miners began two-hour strikes on each work shift.

Management responded by saying that as of April 28 the workers would only get paid for three hours' work a day. But instead, the mine and the power plant were completely struck that day and the mine site itself was occupied by workers.

For the next 104 days no coal was moved out of Houillères de Provence, one of the country's most modern and productive mines.

Management went to court to have the unionists removed from the mine. They

hoped this would open the door to use of scabs.

When 18 miners were dragged into court on May 13, they were accompanied by 400 other union members who reacted angrily when the judge announced that the mine occupation would have to end.

The miners held firm in spite of a court ruling against them. On May 13-14, some 60 workers moved the occupation underground, taking up positions 3,300 feet below the surface of the mine. Though changes were made in personnel, the underground occupation continued until the end of the strike on August 9.

Women organize support for strike

Miners' wives played a key role in organizing support for the strikers. Fifty of their ranks led a sit-in at a city hall near the mine. Five women staged a three-week hunger strike that drew attention to the demands being put forward.

Women were active on the picket lines, standing side by side with the miners in the face of police provocations. Miners' wives participated in the delegation that toured the British coalfields explaining the issues in the fight and helping to raise badly needed funds.

On July 25 Arthur Scargill, president of Britain's National Union of Mineworkers, visited the strikers. He went underground to talk with those occupying the mine.

The solidarity of the strike was endangered the next day.

It began with an offer by the coal bosses to settle, which was rejected as inadequate by the CGT-miners. But the CFDT called on their 200 members to accept the offer and return to work. Some scuffles between miners in the two unions took place.

CGT unions in the area mobilized for a 12,000-strong march at the Marseille City Hall on July 28. That union federation issued a nationwide fund appeal, and more than \$200,000 was raised in a week and half.

In the face of this determination by min-



Strikers cheering as miners emerge from occupation of mine, 3,300 feet below.

ers and their families, the Ministry of Industry intervened and presented a proposal that was nearly three times what the coal bosses had offered 12 days earlier.

Although they didn't win the demand for a retroactive wage increase, the miners won monthly pay hikes of \$23.50 for the rest of this year. For the 19 months after that, the monthly increase will be \$31. Terms of the settlement also called for them to receive a one-time bonus of \$1,433.

All criminal charges, suspensions, and other disciplinary action against the strikers was dropped.

This victory has put the miners in a good position to wrest more out of the coal bosses in another round of negotiations this fall. Formal talks are scheduled to open on October 10.

John Hawkins is a member of United Mine Workers of America Local 2368 in Brookwood, Alabama.

Drought hurts Wisconsin dairy farmers

BY JULIE THOMPSON
AND PAUL DAVIDSON

PRAIRIE FARM, Wis. — Coming on top of an already severe farming crisis, the summer-long drought has dealt dairy farmers in this area a major blow.

Scott Edelin, who took over his father's farm in Boyceville, Wisconsin, about 50 miles east of Minneapolis-St. Paul, said that since the 1960s many farmers were encouraged to acquire loans from federal lending agencies. Edelin's father borrowed to expand his farm from 400 to 700 acres, building more and bigger feed silos and acquiring new machinery. When Scott Edelin took over the farm in 1982, the debt was \$310,000. Despite six years' hard work, \$265,000 is still owed.

During the same period land prices have dropped 50 percent. A family nearby still owes \$180,000 on its farm, while the farm is now worth only \$110,000.

"Jim Johnson's farm has been on sale for two years," Edelin said, "but he can't find a buyer. Meanwhile the value of the farm has dropped. If he did sell, he would be left owing to the bank. But he can't find a buyer anyway."

There have also been many foreclosures, according to Edelin. "Five years ago there were seven farmers down my road, now there are only three. The banks now own the land, but they leave it idle."

Most Wisconsin dairy farms are suffering a greatly reduced hay yield. Edelin keeps 60 cows on his 700 acres, with 130 acres used for growing hay. His usual yield is 6,000 bales. This summer his crop was down to 765 bales. He estimates he will have to buy \$35,000 worth of hay this year.

The drought has reduced Edelin's weekly milk production from 56,000 to 40,000 pounds. Poor pasture has lessened the protein and butterfat yield on each pound of milk, meaning a cut in income from cheese and cream production. According to Kate Yurista, from Prairie

Farm, the protein and butterfat yield at the Twintown cheese plant has dropped by 1,000 pounds per day.

That day, Dan Yurista had sold 18 of the 19 milk cows on the family's farm as there was insufficient hay to make it through the winter. The cows sold at around \$800 per head, a drop of around \$200 over last year's prices.

In response to a question about Congress' recent \$3.9 billion drought relief package, Lee Theorin, who also farms near Boyceville, said, "You have to prove you have lost more than 35 per cent of your usual hay crop. In theory all dairy farmers are supposed to sign up with the Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation Service and submit details of their acreage and actual yields."

"In practice," he explained, "many farmers do not keep this up to date, which means they cannot apply for this aid."

Edelin had a good feed crop last year and still had feed left over when the drought hit. "The carryover will count against me if I apply so I don't expect anything from this package."

"To apply you have to produce a receipt for feed purchased at the feed mill. But with most feed mills working on a cash-only basis, many farmers cannot get the credit to see them through 'til they get the aid, which could take 'til next year," he added.

Theorin, who has 20 cows, said, "It's good if the government aids farmers, but with this package a lot of family farmers will not be helped. Some congressman stated that no good farmer will go out of business because of this drought. That makes no sense at all. It doesn't matter if you are a 'good' farmer or not, the drought has hit you the same."

Theorin also pointed to the government income deficiency payments farmers get when farm products drop below price thresholds set by the government. Due to

the current high prices, farmers won't receive payments this year. "The government will save at least as much as they are giving out," he said.

Dan Yurista explained that what dairy farmers are arguing for is parity between the price of milk and other commodities. The price of milk had dropped by 20 percent against other basic commodities between the 1940s and 1981. Today a pound of milk will only get you 48 percent of what it would after the war. Yurista said that 50 percent of parity with 1940s prices was needed just to meet the present costs of production. He felt the government was deliberately forcing the price of milk down in order to ruin the family farmer.

Edelin, Theorin, and the Yuristas are members of the Wisconsin Farm Unity Alliance, which is campaigning for a rise in the prices the milk processors pay the dairy farmer.

Kate Yurista told us, "In a typical U.S. family dairy farm at least four adults spend most of their time on the farm, with no hired help, often working at less than a dollar an hour. The farm wife spends on average four hours a day doing farm work, which includes milking cows. Often she also has another full-time outside job."

Both Dan Yurista and Theorin have been forced to take a second job doing carpentry, in order to make ends meet.

Kate Yurista stated, "It feels that the farm's working you, not you working the farm, with not enough time to spend with your family."

Kate, who had looked over a copy of the Socialist Workers Party's Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis, asked about the demand for a reduced workweek from 40 to 30 hours in order to share the available work around. "Is this the equivalent of farmers sharing the available land to all those who wish to farm?" she asked. "I'd support that. It is what we are fighting for."

*Coming in our
next issue ...*

New video documentary on Cuba and Angola

Our next issue will feature a review of the three-hour Cuban television documentary, "Response to the South African Escalation." This film describes the battle of Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola where South African forces were dealt a stunning blow by Cuban and Angolan troops. The battle was fought last March.

The video is now available for \$100 in the United States. It comes in English, Spanish, or English/Spanish dual soundtrack versions (the latter requires a VCR with hi-fi stereo capability.) Order from Pathfinder Dept. M, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

'Everyone knows about the cops in Des Moines'

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist in Des Moines, Iowa, who is in jail on frame-up charges of rape and burglary. He is also facing an October 10 trial on charges of assaulting the cops who beat him after he was arrested on March 4, 1988.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is leading an international protest campaign to defend Curtis. To contact the committee, write P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.

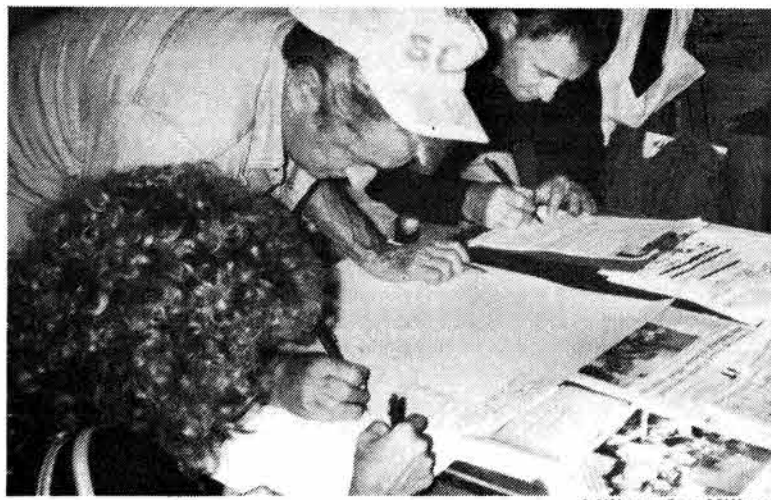
At the Amnesty International Human Rights Now Tour concert in Montréal on September 17, Curtis

slain leader of the 1983 revolution in Burkina Faso in West Africa.

"I'm from Des Moines. If you say it happened, I believe you. Everyone knows about the cops in Des Moines," commented one woman.

"Let us raise a new battle cry, 'Free Mark Curtis!'" Carl Snowden, city council member from Annapolis, Maryland, called for building a mass movement to win the release of Curtis at a September 17 defense rally in Baltimore.

Snowden recalled the case of Huey Newton, a leader of the



Militant/Jon Hillson

Paperworkers sign greeting to Curtis

Mexican and Salvadoran-born co-workers who had been rounded up by immigration cops.

frame-up is "an attack on our future."

Joel Aber, a teacher active in the Montgomery County Education Association, delivered a solidarity message from the Howard County Friends of Central America. Curtis has received FBI file showing that he was spied on as part of the FBI's illegal operation against the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

Kristen Meria, who recently toured Iowa talking to young people about the Curtis defense effort as part of a team organized by the Young Socialist Alliance, said this

"Give them hell. We're with you here."

"Justice will prevail."

These were some of the messages scores of striking paperworkers and their supporters in Jay, Maine, wrote on a poster-sized solidarity card to Curtis. He is currently in the county jail in Marion, Iowa. Dozens more unionists signed petitions demanding outstanding assault charges against Curtis be dropped.

Earlier that evening, at their September 21 weekly meeting, 400 members and supporters of United

Paperworkers International Union Local 14 heard strike activist Cindy Bennett describe the international Curtis defense rally she spoke at in Des Moines on September 4.

Fighters "from all over the world" were at the rally, she said. "We've just got to stand behind him and get him out of jail."

A color photo of the portrait of Nelson Mandela painted on the Pathfinder mural in downtown Manhattan is on its way to Mark Curtis. Also in the photo is Dumile, the South African artist and veteran anti-apartheid fighter who did the Mandela painting. The mural includes portraits of many of the revolutionaries whose works are printed by Pathfinder.

Dumile autographed the gift. The volunteers who work at the Pathfinder Building signed their names around the edges of the frame.

Pathfinder Director Steve Clark wrote a note to Curtis: "This photograph of the portrait of Nelson Mandela — like you, the victim of a government frame-up because of his work for freedom and social justice — is the first item among many that your friends and supporters at the Pathfinder Building will be sending you each week."

Katy Le Rougetel, Jim Sarsgard, Rachele Fruit, and Jon Hillson contributed to this column.

DEFEND MARK CURTIS!

supporters gathered more than 400 signatures on petitions and distributed 5,000 leaflets publicizing a September 30 Curtis defense meeting to be held there.

Most concert-goers had one of two reactions to the story of the cop frame-up and beating of Curtis: surprise and outrage that this could happen in the United States, or understanding that what happened to Curtis is typical U.S. "justice."

Two young men from the central African country of Burundi signed the petitions. They were supporters of Thomas Sankara, the

Black Panther Party framed by the cops in 1967: "The slogan 'Free Huey!' was everywhere then. We must do the same today until Mark's name becomes a household word."

George Lach, executive board member of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2203, pointed to the increased use of violence against those who seek to organize workers who are Latino, including recent goon-squad attacks on farm workers' union elections. On the day he was arrested, Curtis had spoken at a meeting to defend

Teachers union: 'Justice for Héctor Marroquín'

The following telegram was sent by National Education Association President Mary Hatwood Futrell to Alan Nelson, commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Futrell sent the message on September 15, five days before the INS office at Newark International Airport stamped the U.S. immigrant visa in Héctor Marroquín's Mexican passport, granting him permanent residency. This marked the victorious conclusion of the 11-year fight by Marroquín, a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, for his right to live, work, and be politically active in the United States.

The message from the NEA leader was one of many that were sent to the INS by union officials, members of Congress, and others to support Marroquín's fight in the days preceding his September 20 appointment with the Newark office of the agency.

* * *

The National Education Association, representing 1.9 million educational personnel across America and on Department of Defense bases around the world, has repeatedly urged the INS to exercise justice and reason in the case of Héctor Marroquín.

Marroquín has faithfully participated in the prescribed processes of the INS in the hope that a decision would be made to provide him with permanent residency and a green card, which would permit him to work and carry on a normal life in the United States. He has abided by every ruling and has met every standard even after 11 frustrating years in which it can only be concluded that the U.S. government in-

tended to exclude him solely because of his political beliefs.

Originally Marroquín deserved asylum from the Mexican government who quite obviously intended to kill him. Since then he has cooperated in the U.S. government's procedures and in the meantime has married an American woman and now has a son who was born in the U.S. Most recently he was told to seek a waiver from the INS forgiving his 1977 conviction.

He has applied and has been granted the waiver. Surely equity and reasonableness dictate that he should now be completely cleared of all outstanding charges and allegations and should be granted permanent residency and be provided his green card so that he may once again pick up his life and be able to properly support his family. I assure you that the members of this association will be watching the final proceedings in this matter and I intend to personally monitor it so that I can inform the entire membership of the INS decisions.

I urge you to use your influence to bring this matter to a favorable and final conclusion.



Militant/Carla Riehle

Héctor Marroquín addresses National Education Association Convention in 1983

Haiti: rising turmoil sparks soldiers' revolt

Continued from front page

rorist acts against the people. Meanwhile, Namphy stood by and did nothing.

Finally, on September 11, a murderous attack took place against hundreds of people gathered at Jean Bosco Church in Port-au-Prince. The priest at the church is Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a popular and outspoken critic of Duvalier and Namphy.

Many of those at the church service wore white, part of a national day of protest organized to demand reinstatement of the

1987 constitution. The campaign in favor of the constitution had been publicly criticized by Namphy. Attacks on other people wearing white also took place elsewhere.

According to one witness to the assault at Jean Bosco, about 100 Tontons Macoutes, many wearing red armbands, came to the church and began throwing stones at the building. They succeeded in breaking down the church gate, and attacked the congregation with machetes, heavy wooden sticks, picks, and guns. The assault lasted several hours, after which the church was burned. At least a dozen people were killed, and more than 70 wounded.

Another church and two radio stations were attacked that night.

No moves were taken by the Namphy regime to punish those involved in the attacks. Port-au-Prince Mayor Franck Romain, a longtime Duvalierist associated with the Tontons, publicly stated that Aristide had been "justly punished." Since Namphy was overthrown, Romain has been hiding in the Dominican Republic embassy. A new mayor, Carmen Christophe, has been appointed. Several of those involved in the September 11 assault have been found by the people and executed.

On September 25 Haiti's Roman Catholic bishops issued a statement urging the disarming and prosecution of the Tontons Macoutes, the purging of remaining Duvalierists, and an increase in international aid. Washington suspended \$70 million in economic aid to Haiti last November when elections were halted by a massacre that left dozens dead.

Meanwhile, Avril has said that he does not think the constitution can be restored without changes. He also does not foresee elections for at least two years, and has stated that he will not allow the free return of Haitian exiles.

MIAMI — One thousand Haitians and supporters marched through downtown Miami September 17, protesting the murderous attack on Jean Bosco Church in Port-au-Prince six days earlier. In the days following the attack, hundreds of Haitian workers gathered every evening in front of the offices of Veye-Yo (Watch Them), an organization in Miami's Haitian community, to hear news of the latest developments in Haiti. On September 19 Veye-Yo held a picket line in front of the Dominican Republic consul to demand that Namphy be returned to Haiti to be tried for murder.

President Ortega cancels UN trip

Continued from front page

teurs attacked police with stones and clubs during a right-wing demonstration. Ten policemen were injured in the assault.

The Nandaime demonstration was organized by the Democratic Coordinating Committee of Nicaragua (CDN). Thirty-eight people arrested and charged for their role in the provocation are currently on trial. These include several prominent leaders of CDN affiliates.

On September 20 Interior Minister

Tomás Borge said that the government was denying permission to the CDN for another march, this one planned for Managua. The permit application was turned down, Borge said, because the government had learned that the organizers were planning serious provocations, including "opening fire on the police."

Their goal, Borge stated, was to provoke a bloody confrontation with the police with the aim of influencing the U.S. Congress to approve more money for the contra forces.

Cops yelled 'Mexican-lover,' beat Curtis

Continued from front page
at Swift three days earlier of 17 of Curtis' coworkers by Immigration and Naturalization Service cops. Singer had just gotten to sleep.

Figured cops were beating him

He called back to the city jail to find out what the bail was set at. But the cops told him Curtis wasn't there — he should try the Polk County Jail. When Singer called the county jail, they said Curtis wasn't there. Why don't you try the city jail? When Singer got through to the city jail the

Mark Curtis is a packinghouse worker, unionist, and political activist in Des Moines, Iowa. On Sept. 14, 1988, he was convicted on sexual abuse and burglary charges, and is currently being held in the Marion County Jail, waiting to be sentenced. He faces another trial on charges of assaulting two of the cops who beat him on March 4, 1988, the night he was arrested.

Many unionists, farmers, and youth around the world recognize that Curtis is among those workers who are starting to stand up and fight back against the employers and their government. In their thousands, working people are beginning to join the fight for justice for Curtis.

The Mark Curtis Story is a multipart series that will describe what happened to Curtis, where it fits into the class struggle, and the big stakes for working people in the fight against this frame-up.

second time, the cops gave him the runaround again. One cop told him they weren't sure if Curtis was there, call back in 20 minutes.

By that point, Singer, who's had some experience in the civil rights and labor movements and knows how police function, assumed the cops were beating Curtis. He called back. The police officer who answered the phone said they were "processing" someone in the back room — call back in 10 more minutes.

At that point, Singer called John Gaige at the Hotel Fort Des Moines. A Rural Women's Conference was taking place there, and many farm activists and other people Curtis worked with politically were at the conference. Gaige is the national farm organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, the party that Curtis is a member of. Singer asked Gaige to have Bob Miller, organizer of the Des Moines SWP branch, meet him at the city jail.

At the jail, the police confirmed they were holding Curtis. Singer asked the cops if he could get Curtis out. They laughed at him and said sure, "if you have \$30,000 in cash on you."

Singer then called Alfredo Alvarez, a Mexican American community activist he'd worked with that day at the two protest meetings against the raid at Swift. Alvarez suggested Singer call Lando Valadez, who'd also been at the meetings. Valadez is an investigator for the public defender's office. He agreed to meet Singer at the jail the next morning.

Singer and Miller went back to the hotel and met with other unionists and farm activists to discuss what to do next. The key thing at that point, said Singer, was to bend every effort to get Curtis out of jail."

Singer and others spent the next two hours attempting to get a lawyer or some prominent community activists to call the jail. Singer hoped that if the cops knew people were concerned, it might deter them from hurting Curtis.

But virtually everyone Singer spoke with that night told him not to worry. "This isn't New York or Chicago. The Des Moines cops don't beat people up."

Curtis learns what the real charges are

In a letter to Sgt. Ben Bishop of the Internal Affairs Unit of the Des Moines Police Department, Curtis demanded an investigation into the cop beating he suffered that night. In it, he told the story of what happened:

"After my arrest on false charges of attempted rape I was taken to the city jail. Two officers took me into a small room off

the booking area. They ordered me to undress and I did. A third officer entered with a tape recorder and told me that I was going to have to confess to the charges against me. Another officer said that I had raped a girl.

"I said that I wanted to talk to a lawyer." One of the officers asked Curtis if he was a "Mexican-lover just like you love those coloreds." Another officer said, "I'll bet you've got AIDS."

The officers who mouthed those remarks made clear, for the first time since Curtis had been arrested, what his real "crime" was and what the real charges were: fighting for the rights of working people, including those who speak a different language, come from a different country, or are a different color than the monied families that rule Des Moines and the rest of the country. As one Curtis supporter later explained, "This case isn't about rape. It's about Mark Curtis being a dangerous man as far as the employers are concerned."

"I told the police officers that I did not want to talk to them," continued Curtis' account. "One of them grabbed me from behind in a chokehold and held me so tight that I could not breathe. Then he pulled me to the floor and another jumped on top of me, ramming his knee into my chest and stomach. I was then hit in the face with a club. . . .

"I was taken to the hospital where police handcuffed me to the table where I was being stitched up, and my ankles were painfully cuffed together. The police told people at the hospital I was a rapist and that I had AIDS. After bringing me back from the hospital, I was put in a cold, bare cell for the entire night, and was not given any clothes or blanket.

"At no time did I resist arrest, strike, kick, or threaten any police officer. I did not see or try to reach for an empty holster as the police claim."

Curtis hospitalized

Kate Kaku was working second shift that night at the Oscar Mayer beef-packing plant in Perry, Iowa. She is Curtis' wife. Kaku got home at around 1:30 a.m. Saturday morning. After learning Curtis was in jail, charged with sexual abuse, she called the city jail. She asked to talk to him, but the cops refused. She asked what he was arrested for. They said he tried to assault a 15-year-old woman and threatened her with a knife.

Kaku asked if Curtis was okay. The officer referred her to the sergeant. She asked the sergeant if Curtis had been taken to the hospital. Yes, he said, in a defensive tone. Curtis had tried to grab a gun from an empty holster, he said, so he had to be restrained. It was just some cuts and bruises, the sergeant continued, and a couple of stitches. And nobody could see him until his arraignment the next morning.

Out on bail — blow to frame-up

At 8:00 a.m., several of Curtis' friends and coworkers showed up at the jail. But the authorities claimed that because of lack of funds, there wasn't enough "security" available to hold public hearings on Satur-



Militant/Stu Singer

Mark Curtis day after he was beaten by cops

days and Sundays. No one except court officers were allowed in.

Lando Valadez was allowed to see Curtis. He helped him sign up for a public defender. Valadez came out and reported that Curtis was in pretty bad shape, dazed and barely able to talk, with a big white bandage over one of his eyes.

Curtis' supporters then went over to the public defender's office to figure out how to bail him out. Through a combination of a trust fund and five people signing over their cars, they raised enough money.

They went back to the jail about four hours later, at 1:00 p.m. But the cops told them that Curtis' clothes had to be kept as evidence, so someone had to go to his house and get some other clothes. Finally, after 2:00 p.m., Curtis left the jail and was taken home.

The cops were surprised by the rapidity with which his supporters raised the bail and got Curtis out of jail — less than 24 hours. It was the first blow to the frame-up effort.

Curtis threatened

Laying down on his couch at home, Curtis began to relate what had happened to him. As Singer listened, he was also looking out the window. He knew Curtis was being framed up. Not knowing, however, the exact configuration of the frame-up, Singer was on his guard. He suspected it had something to do with the protest meetings on Friday against the immigration raid at Curtis' workplace. Curtis had attended one of the meetings and had spoken from the floor in Spanish about the need to involve his union — United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431 — in the fight to defend the workers who were arrested.

In a few minutes, Singer noticed a big truck had parked in the middle of the road in front of the house. Singer went outside to see what was going on. A 6'3", 250-pound Black man was leaning out of the driver's door of the truck. Singer had never seen the man before. "Are you Curtis?" he asked Singer. "What do you want?" replied Singer.

"You're not Curtis," the man responded. "I'm the father of the girl he raped." Singer went into the house, made sure the police were called, and then went back outside, this time with Jackie Floyd. Meanwhile, Curtis was moved upstairs for safety.

"This guy raped my daughter," the man told Singer and Floyd. "No he didn't. It's not true," replied Singer and Floyd. "Did you see it happen?" asked Singer. No, he answered. If he had caught Curtis in the house, he said, he would have killed him. After a little while, the cops arrived and told him to leave.

Some time later, Singer would find out that the man in the truck was Keith Morris,

the father of the alleged victim.

Curtis' public defender, Robert Powers, later contacted the office of Polk County Attorney James Smith to report Morris' threat. The prosecutor's office assured Powers that they would instruct Morris not to threaten Curtis again. Over the next several months, this assurance would prove to be less than worthless.

The cops had taken Curtis to the Methodist Hospital after they beat him. He later received a \$75 bill from the city for the ambulance ride, as well as a bill from the hospital.

Curtis' friends called Ron Everson, a doctor they knew. He came to the house Saturday night and examined Curtis. When he removed the bandage, the blood was still seeping out of the cuts around Curtis' left eye. There were also bruises on his chest and leg.

Singer got his camera and took a picture of Curtis. For many working people, one look at that photo is enough to convince them to support the fight for justice for Curtis.

Singer, Kaku, and Everson then took Curtis to Iowa Lutheran Hospital to be completely checked out. The X rays taken there showed he had a shattered cheekbone.

Two days later, in the early morning, with Curtis bandaged and barely able to stand up, he and Kaku went to the Swift plant to try to get Curtis a medical excuse for missing work.

"Many workers could hardly recognize him," said Ellen Whitt, a coworker and member of UFCW Local 431. "He told them, 'The cops did this to me, and I am going to need your help.' And help they did, along with thousands of unionists, farmers, and other working people around the world.

Cops exonerate themselves

In response to Curtis' complaint about being beaten by the cops, William Moulder, chief of police, reported that the police department had conducted an investigation and exonerated itself.

On March 5, the day after Curtis was arrested, the *Des Moines Register*, the city's daily newspaper, carried the police-blotter report of what happened. It was titled, "Boy, 11, calls police, prevents rape of sister." It appeared right below the article on the meetings against the immigration raid at Swift. It was Curtis' first chance to read the story being used to frame him up.

"An 11-year-old boy was credited with preventing the rape of his 15-year-old sister Friday night," the article began, "and a Des Moines man, Mark Stanton Curtis, 29, was arrested at the children's home."

"Police were summoned by the boy about 9 p.m., when he told a police dispatcher a man was attacking his sister on the porch of their north-side home."

The article also reported that Curtis "was injured later in a scuffle with several police officers while being processed at the City Jail. Capt. Kayne Robinson said Curtis became violent and tried to reach for police officer Daniel Dusenbery's gun."

"Dusenbery had left his gun in a secure area of the jail, as jail rules require, but Curtis did not notice the holster was empty, officials said."

"During the struggle, Curtis kicked police officer Charles Wolf in the head, Dusenbery said. Wolf was not seriously injured, but Curtis was treated at a hospital for facial cuts and bruises suffered in the fight."

"Curtis was charged with second-degree sexual abuse in the attack on the girl and two counts of assault as a result of the jail scuffle."

Curtis was just one of many prisoners
Continued on Page 16

How you can help

- Mark Curtis faces a second trial on October 10 on charges of assaulting cops who brutally beat him. Send messages to Polk County Attorney James Smith demanding that those charges be dropped and the cops who beat Curtis be prosecuted. Address messages to Polk County Attorney James Smith, Room 408 Courthouse, 500 Mulberry St., Des Moines, Iowa 50309.

- The Mark Curtis Defense Committee needs to raise another \$7,500 in funds by September 30 for the immediate expenses involved in preparing new defense committee literature and the next round of legal moves. Just the transcripts of Curtis' trial, which are needed to prepare for his appeal, will

cost somewhere in the neighborhood of \$1,000. Contributions should be sent to the Des Moines defense committee. Checks for tax-deductible contributions may be made out to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Inc.

- To get defense committee materials, including fact sheets, petitions, and buttons, contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.

- Write to Mark Curtis. His address is Mark Curtis, Marion County Jail, Knoxville, Iowa 50138. Copies of the letters, as well as protest messages to Smith, should be sent to the Des Moines defense committee.



Margaret Manwaring. She and Michel Dugré will be candidates of Revolutionary Workers League in elections to Parliament.

Canadian socialists name candidates in upcoming elections to Parliament

'Powerful, united struggles will be needed'

BY STEVE PENNER

MONTREAL — The Revolutionary Workers League announced here September 26 that it will be running two candidates for the Canadian Parliament in the upcoming federal elections. The two candidates are Michel Dugré, a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union here, and Margaret Manwaring, a member of the United Steelworkers of America in Toronto.

"Our campaign comes at a crucial time for the working class," Dugré explained in an interview by the *Militant* with the two socialist candidates.

"Last October's stock market crash, which was even bigger than the one in 1929, was a sharp warning that a worldwide depression is approaching. The international capitalist economy has been in sharp decline since the mid 1970s. Since then, each new recession has been deeper than the last," Dugré continued.

"Depression-like conditions already confront the overwhelming majority of workers and farmers in semicolonial countries like Mexico, Brazil, India, Burma, and Haiti," said Dugré.

"Hundreds of millions of people suffer massive unemployment, hunger, malnutrition, and disease. Moreover, these unbearable conditions are becoming even worse as a result of the enormous and growing debts owed by the oppressed countries to U.S., Canadian, and other imperialist banks."

Dugré explained that the effects of the creeping social crisis will be felt more and more by working people in Canada.

"This is the peak of the economic upturn that followed the 1981-82 recession," he said. "Yet, there are still close to 1 million workers in Canada who are officially unemployed, along with hundreds of thousands of long-term unemployed workers who are not included in the government's statistics. Almost 2 million people are forced to subsist on government welfare. Those most affected are Blacks, Native people, women, and other oppressed sectors."

In addition, Dugré stressed, "tens of thousands of working people are homeless because of skyrocketing rents, and hundreds of thousands have to turn to the growing network of charity food banks to eat."

Working farmers have been particularly hard hit by the growing crisis said Dugré. "Over the past decade tens of thousands have been forced off their land by profit-hungry interest-gouging banks. Thousands more live on the edge of bankruptcy today. Last summer's drought has made the situation even worse."

Perspective of struggle

Manwaring explained that the Revolutionary Workers League election campaign "will advance a program to unite working people around the world in a common struggle to defend ourselves from the impact of the crisis."

"The three major parties, the governing Conservatives, the Liberals, and the New Democratic Party (NDP), would have us believe that our future depends on whether or not Ottawa agrees to the so-called free trade pact between Canada and the United States," said Manwaring.

"But that's not true. The trade pact is designed to increase the profits of the rich, not defend the interests of working people. Regardless of which trading arrangement is agreed to between Canada and the United States, the fundamental problems facing working people will continue to become more severe."

"For example, the Conservative government's trade pact will perpetuate the plunder of the semicolonial countries by Canadian and U.S. imperialists," Manwaring said.

"That's because the millionaire and billionaire families that rule the United States and Canada seek to build a protectionist wall around North America. They are trying to reduce the imports of goods produced by working people in the semicolonial countries as well as in Europe and Japan, while eliminating most restrictions on trade between Canada and the United States."

"The Liberals and the NDP oppose the trade pact," said Manwaring. "But their position is not fundamentally different from that of the Conservatives. They're all for maintaining high tariffs against the world's poorest nations. In reality, both the Liberals and the NDP argue for drawing a protectionist wall around Canada rather than around a Canada-U.S. common market."

"Like the Liberals, the trade union and NDP leaderships have wrapped their opposition to the trade pact in the Canadian flag and a lot of nationalist hype. But this just deepens divisions among working people. Workers should oppose both of these pro-

tectionist proposals. Whatever country we reside in, we need to fight together to defend ourselves against our common class enemies."

"The garment industry where I work has been one of the most protected industries in Canada for years," added Dugré. "The result has been huge profits for the most competitive garment manufacturers."

"The profits have been used to bring in more new machinery. As a result, thousands fewer workers today produce much more than workers did 10 or 20 years ago. At the same time, we work harder for wages that buy less than a decade ago."

"Many other workers face the same problem," said Dugré. "Since the mid-1970s the bosses and their government have been on an offensive demanding major concessions in terms of wages, benefits, and working conditions. They tried to convince working people that we had a stake in the profitability of 'our' company and in the economic strength of 'our' country."

"They wanted us to believe that some of their increased profits would dribble down to us," said Dugré. "Of course that's not what happened at all. The result was a disaster for working people. Over the past decade our real wages have been driven down. In addition, every time workers decide to give concessions to the bosses rather than fight, our unions become a little weaker and more vulnerable to future attacks."

Real social movement

"There is no way we can defeat the efforts of the ruling rich to drive down our wages and conditions unless our unions become a real social movement that champions the interests of workers throughout the world, especially the most oppressed and exploited," Dugré insisted.

"This is why in addition to opposing the Canada-U.S. free trade pact and all other forms of protectionism workers here should join the struggle to cancel the foreign debt of the semicolonial countries. As Cuban President Fidel Castro has said this debt is mathematically, politically, and morally unpayable."

"Over the past year in Montréal," Dugré continued, "thousands of workers of Haitian origin have demonstrated to demand that Ottawa end its support to the Haitian military. The labor movement needs to throw its weight into struggles like this against Ottawa's imperialist foreign policy. For example, our unions need to fight to force the Canadian government to end its support for Washington's military threats to the Iranian revolution and to break all of its economic and diplomatic ties to the South African apartheid regime."

"Instead of spending billions on nuclear submarines," he said, "Ottawa should send massive amounts of economic aid to help Nicaragua rebuild its economy, which was shattered by the contra war that was organized and funded by Washington with Ottawa's complicity."

Injury to one is an injury to all

"As the capitalist politicians and the bosses try to undermine our democratic rights the working-class principle of an injury to one is an injury to all becomes more and more important," said Dugré.

"For example, we need to unite to stop the deportation of immigrants and refugees

under Canada's newly revised racist immigration laws.

"The cops who killed Anthony Griffin in Montréal and Lester Donaldson in Toronto — both Black — have not been jailed. Neither has the Winnipeg cop who murdered Native leader J.J. Harper. They should be tried for murder and prosecuted to the full extent of the law."

Manwaring explained that the Revolutionary Workers League candidates will campaign to help build the international defense campaign to overturn the cop frame-up and conviction of Des Moines, Iowa, unionist and socialist Mark Curtis.

The socialists' campaign will also provide a platform for the fight to prevent Canada's rulers from recriminalizing abortion, and for the fight against all forms of sex discrimination and inequality, said Manwaring.

"A vital aspect of this struggle is affirmative action in jobs, housing, and education — for women, and for Blacks, Native people, and francophones throughout Canada. This includes the defense of Québec's Law 101, which bans the most blatant forms of discrimination against those whose first language is French," she said.

Dugré added that these demands should be linked to the fight for jobs for all, centered on the demand for a government-legislated shorter workweek with no loss in pay. "These proposals can unite the employed and unemployed, full and part-time workers, the organized and the unorganized in a common struggle," he said.

Canada's labor party

Manwaring explained that the Revolutionary Workers League will be calling for a vote for the NDP in every constituency except the two where she and Michel Dugré are running.

"Unlike the Liberals and the Conservatives the NDP is neither financed nor controlled by big business," said Manwaring. "It is a labor party, organizationally linked to the unions that arose out of the efforts of workers and farmers to build a party independent of the bosses that would fight for their interests."

"Unfortunately, the NDP has never sought to do more than seek some limited reforms of the existing capitalist system. Today the policies of its leaders reflect the general rightward shift of capitalist politics as the economic crisis deepens."

"Nevertheless, on election day a vote for the NDP is the only way most workers will be able to express their opposition to the Liberals and Conservatives, an action we fully support."

"However, the outcome of the elections will change nothing," Manwaring cautioned. "It's the struggles of working people themselves that has always been decisive in bringing about social change — for example in winning the 40-hour workweek, in establishing a system of government-funded medical insurance, old-age pensions, union, and other democratic rights."

"Today, in face of the sharpening attacks of the ruling rich, powerful united struggles of working people will be needed to defend those gains. Our campaign will champion every battle that points in this direction. It's among those involved in such struggles that the discussion of the way forward for the international working-class movement can win the biggest hearing."

Canada

International rally to launch socialist election campaign

The Coming Economic Crisis and the Road Forward for Working People

Speakers:

James Warren Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States.

Margaret Manwaring Revolutionary Workers League federal election candidate in Toronto and a member of the United Steelworkers of America.

Michel Dugré Revolutionary Workers League federal election candidate in Montréal and a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

Toronto: Sun., Oct. 16, 2 p.m. reception to meet candidates; 3 p.m. rally. Pathfinder Bookstore, Suite 400, 410 Adelaide St. West. For more information call (416) 861-1399.

Montréal: Pathfinder Bookstore, Suite 302, 4274 rue Papineau. For date and more information call (514) 524-7992.

Sponsored by the Revolutionary Workers League and the Young Socialists.

Warren, Mickells tours get serious response

BY SUSAN LaMONT

What does it mean to be a socialist? Is there a way to keep the bosses from using scabs if we go on strike? And how should unionists relate to those the employers do recruit as strikebreakers? What did the October 1987 stock market crash mean for workers? What would a socialist United States look like? Is there anything farmers can do to keep from losing their land? What's Cuba really like?

These were some of the questions James Warren and Kathleen Mickells, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for U.S. president and vice-president, talked over with the workers, farmers, and students they met as their national campaign tours continued in September.

Between September 8 and 23, Warren visited Miami, Philadelphia, and Birmingham, Alabama. Mickells made campaign stops in Chicago, Cleveland, Minneapolis-St. Paul, and Austin, Minnesota. Both candidates spoke at citywide forums and on campuses, campaigned at plant gates, were interviewed by the media, and spent hours in informal discussions.

Some 55 people came to hear Warren at a citywide meeting in Miami September 9 at the SWP campaign headquarters there. Several members of the Alliance of Workers in the Community — an organization in Miami's Cuban community — attended, along with unionists, and political activists from the Free South Africa Coalition and Central America solidarity movement.

The previous night, Warren received a warm reception at the weekly meeting of Veye-Yo (Watch Them), the main organization in Miami's large Haitian community. The meeting was attended by 200 people.

Warren then traveled to Birmingham. The day after a successful news conference September 14 in the Birmingham City Council chambers, Warren and several campaign supporters made a fact-finding trip to Sumter County in western Alabama to find out more about the increasingly harsh conditions facing Black farmers. They met with a group of staff members and Black farmers from the Federation of Southern Cooperatives.

Warren then went to the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa, where he spoke to some 70 students at a meeting of the Afro-American Association.

The following day, 10 members of the United Mine Workers of America gathered at the home of a miner in Birmingham and spent several hours talking with Warren. The recent strike by steelworkers at the Pullman-Standard rail car plant in Bessemer, Alabama, was fresh in the coal miners' minds, and much of the discussion revolved around how to confront the problem of scabs being brought in to break strikes.

Overcoming the divisions between em-



Militant photos by Andy Coates and Elizabeth Kilanowski
Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket James Warren and Kathleen Mickells

ployed and unemployed workers is at the heart of the question, Warren explained. This means those workers who are working, and especially those who are members of unions, have to fight not just for themselves but for the unemployed as well. Championing the demand for a shorter workweek, which would create jobs for millions of unemployed workers, would help build the kind of solidarity needed to combat the employers' use of unemployed workers as strikebreakers. "And workers can't wait until they go out on strike to begin fighting for this kind of class unity," Warren said.

From Birmingham, Warren headed for Philadelphia, where his visit helped win several young people to the Young Socialist Alliance. In all, one high school and six college students joined the YSA in Philadelphia during September. Five are students at Temple University, where the socialist presidential candidate spoke September 22. Tae, a young Korean-American who recently joined the YSA, chaired the meeting for Warren at Temple, which was attended by nearly 30 people.

The same day, Warren spoke with oil workers at an informal reception for him at Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 8-234's union hall. Local 8-234 organizes workers at the British Petroleum refinery in Marcus Hook, Pennsylvania.

The secretary-treasurer of the local, who helped circulate petitions in defense of Mark Curtis at the recent OCAW national convention, attended both the reception and campaign forum the following night. A number of the workers attending Warren and Mickells' meetings are active backers of Curtis, the Iowa unionist recently framed up and jailed for his political activities and on whose behalf an international defense campaign is being waged.

The next stops in Warren's tour will be Charleston, West Virginia, September 28 and October 2-3; Athens, Ohio, September 29; Morgantown, West Virginia, September 30-October 1; Washington, D.C., October 6-7; and Baltimore, October 9-10.

The first stop in this leg of Kathleen Mickells' tour was Chicago.

"First they're working me to death, and now I'm just a spare part," a young worker told the socialist candidate outside the big Oscar Mayer plant in that city September 10. He explained that he was hired recently, had been working seven days a week, and had just been laid off. He was one of a number of workers — members of the United Food and Commercial Workers union — who stopped to talk with Mickells during the shift change that day.

Mickells then went to Ohio for several days of campaigning in Cleveland and Columbus. On September 12, she was the featured guest for one hour on the Joel Rose Show, a call-in radio program. Of the 10 people who called in to talk with Mickells, most were workers and all were friendly.

The following morning, Mickells talked with garment workers coming into work at Lion Knitting Mills on Cleveland's West Side. One worker explained how she and others helped organize the union, Interna-

tional Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 300, at Lion Mills in 1980. After spending time as a union shop steward, she explained, she now feels she can be more effective as a rank-and-file activist, encouraging other workers to fight for what's theirs.

Mickells began her stop in southern Minnesota by speaking to a meeting of the United Support Group in Austin, Minnesota, September 15. The group was formed to support United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 during its strike against Geo. A. Hormel & Co. in 1985-86. One of the questions discussed with Mickells was how to relate to the workers currently in the meat-packing plant, many of whom — including a number of immigrant workers from Mexico, the Caribbean, and Asia — had been hired as scabs during the strike.

The following day, Mickells and a team of supporters campaigned at the Farmstead Foods meat-packing plant in Albert Lea. By getting permission from the company to campaign at the gate, Mickells was able to have lengthier discussions with workers as the shift change occurred.

"So you're a socialist?" said one young worker, as he walked up to Mickells. "Well, I've considered myself a socialist for quite a while." He bought a copy of the SWP's Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis, and said he was looking for an organization like the SWP to get involved with.

Another young worker told Mickells that his family had just been forced to sell their farm, and that's why he was going to work as a meat-packer. "Before, I used to raise hogs; now I slaughter them," he said.

Campaign supporters who work in the plant report that Mickells' visit sparked discussions about communism — some friendly and interested, others hostile — that night on second shift. One worker decided to subscribe to the *Militant*.

A few days later, Mickells was in St. Paul, campaigning at the Ford assembly plant. There too permission was received to campaign inside the plant.

Mickells' next few stops will be Omaha, Nebraska, September 29-October 1; Des Moines, Iowa, October 2-3; Seattle, October 6-8; and Portland, Oregon, October 9-11.

SWP wins Michigan ballot spot, loses fight in 3 other states

BY FRED FELDMAN

The Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of James Warren and Kathleen Mickells will appear on the November ballot in Michigan, along with Mark Friedman, the party's candidate for U.S. Senate. The candidates were certified for the ballot after a slate of 20 presidential electors supporting Warren and Mickells was submitted to state officials, as required by a recent court ruling.

The court held that new restrictions on ballot access in Michigan that were enacted in May had become law too late to be enforced in the case of the SWP. The SWP campaign committee in Michigan filed suit after New Alliance Party candidates won a ruling to this effect. Other parties have also won similar relief from the 1988 law.

In future elections under the new law, however, independent parties and candidates will have to submit petitions containing more than 23,000 valid signatures in order to qualify for the statewide ballot.

On September 9 federal Judge George Smith rejected a request by the Ohio Socialist Workers Campaign Committee for an emergency injunction requiring Secretary of State Sherrod Brown to place Warren and Mickells on the ballot. The ruling meant that Warren and Mickells' names will not appear on the November ballot in Ohio.

Although supporters of the SWP campaign had gathered 11,000 signatures on petitions, Brown had asserted that they fell 751 signatures short of the 5,000 valid signatures required.

On September 20 Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for governor of West Virginia, denounced a September 13 federal court ruling that upheld provisions of that

state's election code that have effectively barred the SWP from the ballot there.

One provision requires that independent parties or candidates submit petitions containing 7,415 valid signatures and pay a fee of \$4,942 in order to qualify for a place on the ballot. Those unable to pay the fee must submit 27,183 valid signatures in order to qualify.

Federal Judge John Copenhaver's ruling on a lawsuit brought by the SWP candidates also upheld a provision that bars registered voters who sign independent nominating petitions from later voting in the Democratic or Republican primaries.

In Nebraska, where supporters of the socialist ticket had submitted 4,066 signatures to meet a requirement of 2,500 valid signatures, the secretary of state rejected the petitions. He said that most of the signatures were invalid because the signers had participated in the primary election, under a law similar to West Virginia's.

Some 50 prominent people in Nebraska sent messages to the secretary of state, protesting exclusion of socialists from the ballot.

SWP vice-presidential candidate Kathy Mickells appeared at a September 14 news conference in Omaha to denounce the ruling.

In the states where Mickells and Warren will not appear on the November ballot, their supporters have announced plans to urge a write-in vote for them.

SWP candidates have so far been certified for a place on the ballot in Michigan, Iowa, Rhode Island, Minnesota, North Dakota, Tennessee, New Jersey, South Dakota, Utah, Washington State, and Washington, D.C.

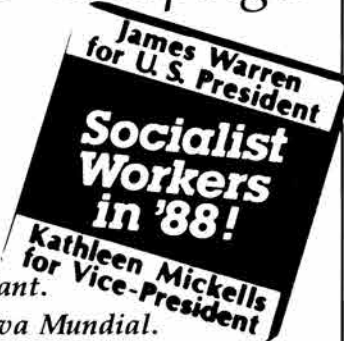
Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign Campaign volunteers needed!

- ☐ I endorse Warren-Mickells campaign
- ☐ Send me candidates' biographies. English _____ Spanish _____
- ☐ Here is \$4 for a subscription to the *Militant*.
- ☐ Here is \$3 for a subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial*.
- ☐ Send me Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis. \$1 each; 10 and up, 50¢ each. Specify English or Spanish. Enclosed is \$ _____.
- ☐ Send me campaign button (pictured above). \$1 each; 10 or more, 75¢ each. Enclosed is \$ _____.
- ☐ Enclosed is my \$ _____ contribution to the campaign.
- ☐ I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Clip and mail to Socialist Workers 1988 National Campaign, 79 Leonard Street, New York, N.Y. 10013. Tel. (212) 941-1174.

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Paid for by the 1988 Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee



Defending Curtis by winning new readers

BY NORTON SANDLER

With this issue we are beginning a series by *Militant* coeditor Margaret Jayko that tells the story of Mark Curtis, a Des Moines, Iowa, packinghouse worker recently convicted on trumped-up rape and burglary charges.

The series, which will run for several weeks, will be an aid to Curtis defenders in Des Moines, across the United States, and in other countries in getting out the truth

During the current sales campaign, supporters of the *Militant* are also helping to sell 20,000 copies of the Pathfinder pamphlet Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis. So far, 3,538 copies have been sold.

about the frame-up of this union and political activist.

The best way to follow the series and other developments in Curtis' fight for justice will be to get a *Militant* subscription.

Since Curtis was arrested and beaten by the police last March 4, the *Militant* has been providing its readers with weekly coverage of developments in this defense campaign. Included have been reports from Britain to New Zealand on the support Curtis is winning from workers, farmers, and students.

Last week we began a new column, "Defend Mark Curtis!" It will contain reports on the growing international campaign to defeat this frame-up.

We assigned two reporters to be in Des Moines for a September 4 international defense rally and for Curtis' trial, which began September 7, to make sure our readers received the best possible coverage of those events.

In addition to the series by Jayko, we will continue to provide timely on-the-scene coverage from Des Moines. This will include reporting on a second frame-up trial of Curtis scheduled to begin October 10. In that case, he is accused of assaulting the cops who beat him in the city jail.

Defense committee supporters in Iowa and elsewhere are using the *Militant* and the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial* as key tools in campaigning for justice for Curtis.

Teams at plant gates

In the days preceding and during the trial, the efforts of Mark Curtis Defense Committee activists from Des Moines were bolstered by the addition of teams of volunteers from many U.S. cities and from Toronto and Montréal in Canada.

An emphasis was placed on getting materials on the Curtis frame-up out at factory gates and in working-class neighborhoods.

Teams talked to strikers at the Armstrong Tire Co.; to packinghouse workers in Des Moines, and in Perry, Ottumwa, and Cedar Rapids in Iowa; and to unionists at Chicago and Northwestern railyards and at other plants.

Volunteers also went to shopping centers, campuses, and door to door in working-class neighborhoods.

Led by activists from Des Moines, they distributed thousands of fact sheets on the case while signing people up on petitions demanding that the charges against Curtis be dropped and the cops who beat him be prosecuted.

At the same time they sold hundreds of individual copies and several dozen subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

On September 15, the day after Curtis was convicted, a team of Holly Harkness, Virginia Angeles, and Paul Curtis — Mark Curtis' younger brother — went on the road around the state. They were joined later by Ellen Whitt.

'Glad to know we're still fighting'

The team talked to unionists at the Farmstead Food meat-packing plant in Cedar Rapids, the Excel packing plant in Ottumwa, and other factories. They also visited Curtis defense committee supporters in Decorah and spent several days at the large University of Iowa campus in Iowa City.

"Our goal," Harkness explained in a recent telephone interview, "was to talk to as many people as possible about Mark Curtis' case. We would describe why Mark did not receive a fair trial. People were surprised to learn that the court would not allow the jury to hear key testimony. We would also explain that Mark did not have a jury of his peers."

"We thought we would run into some who would say, 'Mark had his day in court and was found guilty. Therefore we aren't backing him anymore.'"

"Instead," said Harkness, "we ran into the opposite. Many familiar with the case were glad to know that the fight against the frame-up wasn't going away and that it was in fact expanding. We were also able to introduce many others to Curtis' fight for the first time."

Dozens signed defense committee petitions, and the team sold 120 copies of the *Militant* and *PM* and 17 subscriptions, she said.

Workers back Curtis

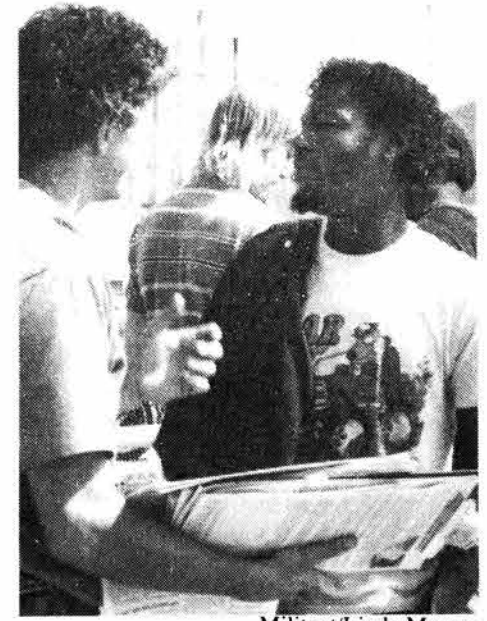
"Three or four times workers came by our literature table in Iowa City," Harkness noted. "They had no particular expression on their face so I wasn't sure what they were thinking. But they were listening to us talk. When we were done they'd pick up the pen and sign the petition. A Teamster and a sheet metal worker explained they had been involved in union organizing and

could see how a frame-up like this could happen. Another guy said that while his brother had been in jail, he'd seen someone beaten badly for asking for a glass of water."

A highlight of the trip was a visit to the small town of West Liberty about 45 minutes outside Iowa City. A big non-union Louis Rich turkey-processing plant is located there. Some 40 percent of the workers at Louis Rich were born in Mexico.

The team met with activists at the Centro Unido, a storefront community center. "These activists explained the importance of getting a union organized at the Louis Rich plant," said Harkness. Speaking in Spanish, team member Virginia Angeles described what had happened to Mark Curtis. "They were very interested in the Curtis case," Harkness said and are considering inviting a defense committee representative to speak to their group.

We encourage readers to help us get out the truth about the Curtis case. To help distribute the *Militant* and *PM*, look us up in the directory on page 16 or contact our business office at 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Phone (212) 929-3486.



Militant/Linda Marcus

At plant gates around Des Moines, Iowa, defenders of Mark Curtis signed up workers on petitions opposing frame-up. Dozens of subscriptions to *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold.

Sales drive scoreboard

Area	Drive Goals			Militant subscriptions		New International* single copies		Perspectiva Mundial subscriptions	
	Goal	Sold	% Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
UNITED STATES									
Oakland, Calif.	215	96	45	120	74	45	0	50	22
Philadelphia	220	85	39	140	69	30	12	50	4
Morgantown, WV	175	56	32	135	54	30	1	10	1
Portland, Ore.	140	44	31	100	38	25	4	15	2
Newark, NJ	500	147	29	275	84	110	30	115	33
Atlanta	220	64	29	160	52	40	1	20	11
Des Moines, Iowa	210	58	28	150	49	40	3	20	6
Boston	350	96	27	230	70	50	10	70	16
Pittsburgh	250	66	26	185	50	45	14	20	2
Kansas City	120	29	24	75	22	20	3	25	4
New York	1,200	286	24	600	181	300	47	300	58
Miami	300	71	24	185	31	55	24	60	16
Chicago	435	101	23	300	72	60	8	75	21
St. Louis	220	50	23	170	25	40	23	10	2
Los Angeles	700	158	23	375	85	125	15	200	58
Birmingham, Ala.	185	41	22	145	41	30	0	10	0
Cleveland	145	32	22	110	26	20	2	15	4
Detroit	265	53	20	200	46	40	4	25	3
Greensboro, NC	145	25	17	110	22	20	3	15	0
Twin Cities, Minn.	350	57	16	270	49	50	7	30	1
Houston	215	34	16	140	26	30	1	45	7
Phoenix	160	25	16	80	13	25	0	55	12
Omaha, Neb.	135	21	16	90	19	25	1	20	1
Washington, DC	250	38	15	150	28	50	5	50	5
Charleston, WV	105	15	14	85	15	15	0	5	0
Price, Utah	70	10	14	50	7	10	2	10	1
Milwaukee	170	24	14	110	19	35	2	25	3
Seattle	275	36	13	200	25	25	5	50	6
San Francisco	350	41	12	200	33	75	4	75	4
Salt Lake City	125	13	10	90	11	20	2	15	0
Baltimore	215	21	10	175	21	30	0	10	0
Austin, Minn.	110	10	9	85	7	15	0	10	3
National teams	203	49	—	130	48	23	0	50	1
Other U.S.	—	12	—	—	9	—	3	—	0
U.S. totals	8,728	1,964	23	5,620	1,421	1,553	236	1,555	307
AUSTRALIA									
	50	14	28	35	12	5	2	10	0
BRITAIN									
London	145	51	35	75	31	30	6	40	14
Nottingham	61	21	34	35	19	20	2	6	0
South Wales	80	9	11	40	8	30	0	10	1
South Yorks	90	10	11	50	8	20	0	20	2
Manchester	70	7	10	50	7	5	0	15	0
Other Britain	54	9	—	25	5	20	3	9	1
Britain totals	500	107	21	275	78	125	11	100	18
CANADA									
Toronto	400	79	20	250	61	75	11	75	7
Montréal	275	46	17	125	23	75	16	75	7
Vancouver	45	7	16	30	6	5	0	10	1
Other Canada	—	4	—	—	4	—	0	—	0
Canada totals	720	136	19	405	94	155	27	160	15
ICELAND									
	32	13	41	25	10	5	3	2	0
NEW ZEALAND									
Auckland	100	44	44	84	37	12	1	4	6
Christchurch	70	11	16	60	11	8	0	2	0
Wellington	80	7	9	68	7	10	0	2	0
New Zealand total	250	62	25	212	55	30	1	8	6
PUERTO RICO									
	30	3	10	5	1	2	0	23	2
SWEDEN									
	50	16	32	30	8	10	1	10	7
Other International	—	44	—	—	28	—	3	—	13
Totals	10,360	2,359	23%	6,607	1,707	1,885	284	1,868	368
Drive Goals Should be	10,400	2,210	21%	6,630	1,409	1,895	402	1,875	398

*Includes Nouvelle Internationale

Curaçao farm leader hits travel ban

Continued from front page

and others for social and economic measures to aid working people. Kopak, the organization Godfried leads, is at the center of the land reform fight.

Curaçao newspapers have given extensive coverage to his expulsion from the Dominican Republic. Some articles have also carried statements by outspoken opponents of land reform, who have denounced Godfried and made thinly veiled threats of violence against him.

Godfried said he explains to the media that "the farmers of Curaçao must have the right to meet with other farmers in order to learn from them and also to share their own experiences. No government should interfere for any reason."

He also described how Curaçao's colonial status fits into the attack on his rights. "Our head of state is the queen of Holland, and she appoints our governor and lieutenant governor," he said.

The Dutch government maintains several military bases in Curaçao, as well as police agencies. The Security Service of the Dutch Antilles "keeps an eye on the national liberation process in this area," Godfried said.

Dutch intelligence agencies are known to inform Washington about Caribbean activists who travel to Cuba or Libya, he ex-

plained. U.S. spy agencies return the favor. Godfried said U.S. intelligence agencies had notified Curaçao officials of his visits to Cuba.

Godfried sought to visit the United States in August 1987 and was denied a visa, without explanation.

Meanwhile, in the Dominican Republic, the Socialist Bloc has lodged protests with the government and with the Human Rights Commission in Santo Domingo against the treatment of Godfried. The Socialist Bloc is active in the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America. The Anti-Imperialist Organizations is made up of 38 political parties and movements from 23 countries in the English-, Spanish-, French-, Dutch-, and Creole-speaking Caribbean and Central America.

Messages to the Dominican government protesting the expulsion of Godfried and supporting his right to travel should be sent to Dr. Joaquín Balaguer, President of the Republic, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.

Protests to the Curaçao government should be sent to Maria Liberia-Peters, Prime Minister of Dutch Antilles, Fort Amsterdam, Willemstad, Curaçao.

Send copies of all protest messages to Eugene Godfried, West Groot St., Joris #92, Curaçao.

International Socialist Review

Supplement to the Militant October 1988

Carlos Fonseca on political roots of Sandinista National Liberation Front

Carlos Fonseca Amador was a founder and the central leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) until he was killed in combat by the Somoza dictatorship on Nov. 7, 1976.

The following interview with Fonseca was conducted by the journalist Ernesto González Bermejo in Havana, Cuba, in November 1970. It was published in the August 1979 issue of *Revista de la Universidad de Mexico* and later appeared in the Sandinista daily *Barricada* of Nov. 7, 1979.

The Sandinistas led the workers and peasants to power in Nicaragua on July 19, 1979. This culminated the struggle to free the people of Nicaragua from more than four decades of tyranny headed by the Somoza family.

The translation, subheads, and footnotes are by the *Militant* and are copyright © 1988 by 408 Printing and Publishing Corp.

González. I would like you to begin by telling me a little about yourself, your family history, and your joining the revolutionary struggle. I understand that you come from a family with ties to the Somoza regime?

Fonseca. I began participating in Nicaragua's revolutionary struggle when I was a secondary-school student. Earlier, when I was in elementary school, I had some experience with rebellion against the tyranny. Our third-grade teacher was accused of being anti-Somoza and she was fired. So, we children left school and decided to finish the school year (I'm talking about 1947) attending class in the home of the fired teacher. I remember that one of my compañeros of that time, Manuel Baldizón, years later participated in a guerrilla action with me. He lost his life and my lung was injured.

González. Where were you born?

Fonseca. I was born in 1936 in Matagalpa Province, in

northern Nicaragua. The provincial capital is also called Matagalpa. Like all cities of Nicaragua, Matagalpa is small.

González. What do they grow there?

Fonseca. It is a coffee, cattle, and grain producing area. Although it has crops that are important for the economy of the country, feudal latifundism¹ is more widespread in this area than in other regions, where latifundism of a more capitalist type exists.

González. And your family?

Fonseca. My mother was a very poor woman who earned her living as a domestic in the homes of the rich landholders of the area who lived in Matagalpa. My father, Fausto Amador, on the other hand, is a man with ties to the reactionary antipeople regime of Nicaragua. He is nothing less than the general administrator of the Somoza family wealth. I spent my infancy and my youth living with my mother.

González. When and why did that natural rebelliousness of your youth begin to become conscious?

Fonseca. The first smattering of conscious revolutionary ideas was at the end of my years in secondary school — around 1954. I began to understand that the struggle in my country is not only to get rid of a small clique, but to bring down a system. I was influenced by the experience of Guatemala, which had a short-lived people's government during those years.

González. Did the fall of Jacobo Arbenz² come at a

1. A latifundio is a large landed estate.
2. Jacobo Arbenz (1914–1971), president of Guatemala from 1951 to 1954, was overthrown by a CIA-backed coup.



Carlos Fonseca Amador, leader and founder of Sandinista National Liberation Front, was killed in combat by Somoza dictatorship in 1976.

time when you were politically experienced enough to understand the mechanisms of his overthrow?

Fonseca. Yes. At that time we shared the sorrow over imperialism's overthrow of Arbenz' democratic government. That's how we felt.

González. Was there any student organization at that time?

Fonseca. On the secondary-school level, a group of compañeros, which I was part of, created the first student committee at my school. We also had ties with the very weak workers' movement that existed in Nicaragua, and with the scattered Marxist cells of that time. In 1955 I went on to the university and there we formed a Communist cell, also the first ever formed in the student movement. We carried out some activities and put out some newspapers.

González. Does that mean you had ties to the Communist Party?

Fonseca. To a certain extent, yes. I was considered a member of the Communist Party. However, the modest work I did among students in those days was more the result of my own initiative than of directives from the party. This was due to the weakness of the nascent revolutionary movement.

González. When was your first political imprisonment?

Fonseca. In 1956, when I was 20 years old. I was detained under suspicion of having participated in the execution of the tyrant Anastasio Somoza by the revolutionary poet Rigoberto López Pérez. I honestly was not involved in that action. I didn't know about it. But I did have personal ties with rebels who participated in the execution. Including through the publication of our student newspaper — *El Universitario* — which was produced in a printshop whose owner, Edwin Castro, had participated in the action.

González. How long were you imprisoned?

Fonseca. Two months. I was transferred from the prison in Matagalpa to Managua. I was held totally incommunicado and received rough treatment — beatings. We weren't seasoned in battle yet and that small experience with repression was a test for us. In reality, those who suffered the brunt of it were the compañeros who had participated in the execution of Somoza.

González. Like Edwin Castro?

Fonseca. Like Edwin, Cornelio Silva, and Ausberto Narváez. They were tortured, held prisoner for four

Continued on next page



One of insurrectionary battles in city of Matagalpa that helped lead to toppling of Somoza tyranny in 1979. Fonseca grew up in Matagalpa Province, a coffee, cattle, and grain-producing region that was dominated by landlords.

Continued from previous page
years, and then brutally killed in jail.

González. And after your imprisonment?

Fonseca. We continued to be active in the student movement, trying to give it a revolutionary, anti-imperialist content. We also tried to link it to working people, which hadn't happened before.

González. What type of actions did you carry out?

Fonseca. One example was the action against Milton Eisenhower.

In 1957 I had participated in the World Youth Festival, sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth, held in the Soviet Union. I also attended the Fourth World Trade Union Congress, organized by the World Federation of Trade Unions. I was out of the country for four months.

Shortly after my return, Milton Eisenhower, delegate of the imperialist government of the United States, was scheduled to come receive an honorary degree from the reactionary board that governed the university. The students announced that we would not permit the name of Nicaragua to be so disgraced and Eisenhower didn't venture to appear at the university. We prevented that servile act of the university board.

González. Did the Cuban guerrillas fighting in the Sierra Maestra in 1958 have an influence in your country?

Fonseca. Of course. That influence was key. The example of the Cuban people — youth and guerrillas — was a key factor in the beginning of the maturing of the political process in Nicaragua, a process that had been brutally interrupted in 1934.³

In 1958 large student assemblies were organized and, for the first time in a long time, the name of Augusto César Sandino was heard again in Nicaragua. This came after a quarter of a century of darkness — of paralysis and atrophy of the Nicaraguan people's movement.

Also in 1958, the first guerrilla action in the country was carried out. It was led by one of the survivors of Sandino's old guerrillas, Ramón Raudales, who died in that action.

González. Was the organization of the guerrilla movement already beginning?

Fonseca. No, that was an isolated action. It was carried out in Yaule, in the north of the country. Isolated actions also took place in 1959. For the first time, I took up a weapon to combat the tyranny in one of those actions. It was the action at El Chaparral.

González. What was that operation like?

Fonseca. We prepared the operation on Honduran territory, near the border with Nicaragua. It involved students, workers, artisans, some ex-soldiers — young people, in general.

There were 54 of us. We were totally inexperienced, without mobility, and without adequate security. We did not have even minimal contact with the population in the



Portraits of Fonseca and A and noted Nicaraguan ...tis

area where we were to carry out the operation. In short, we had many limitations.

We were still in Honduran territory, about to enter Nicaragua, when we were detected in a region known as El Chaparral. Honduran military forces and Somoza's National Guard closed in on us. (There is no question about who detected us because some of the surviving compañeros were interrogated by the National Guard.)

Among some compañeros there was a feeling of wanting to resist until the last bullet, but there wasn't anything we could do. The terrain was not favorable for defense. Only a small ravine kept the military forces from being right on top of us. Our sentries were badly situated. They were so close to the camp that, for all practical purposes, we had no sentries.

González. How did the battle come out?

Fonseca. The group was wiped out. If we weren't all exterminated it was because, despite all its drawbacks, the terrain provided a minimum of cover in the foothills of the border region.

González. How did you personally come out of this attack?

Fonseca. With a wound that pierced my thorax. I still have the scar. The bullet entered through my chest and came out my back. It went right through me.

We were transferred, as prisoners, to Tegucigalpa. There, a mobilization of the Honduran people's movement obtained our release and departure for Cuba. I stayed a week in Havana in 1959, sharing the joy of victory with the Cuban people.

González. What conclusions do you draw about the guerrilla experience?

Fonseca. That armed struggle is the only road that can lead to revolutionary change in Nicaragua, and that we had to pull together the revolutionary elements of Nicaragua and organize them well.

González. How did you arrive at that conclusion?

Fonseca. In Nicaragua, it doesn't take long to convince yourself that the armed road is the only viable one. Already at that time we could see in our country's history that not even the two bands of oligarchs that arose from the struggle for independence from Spain took power peacefully. They always did it by force of arms. So, what hope could a revolutionary movement have for peaceful change?

On the other hand, it was easy to see that the National Guard, a reactionary armed force, was the power in Nicaragua. The military commander of a province was the master of that province. The civilian authorities were only for decoration in Nicaragua.

González. Wasn't there any period during which one can say there was bourgeois democracy?

Fonseca. That was always very embryonic in Nicaragua. Rather than bourgeois democracy what you did have once were bourgeois nationalists in power. As they con-

solidated their power, they too carried out excessive repression.

González. You told me that in 1958, for the first time in many years, the name of Augusto César Sandino was heard again publicly. What had happened to the memory of him before this?

Fonseca. For many years, it was evoked only in whispers. Surrounded by terror, obscurantism, domination by reactionary parties, and the conservatism of Nicaraguan intellectuals, the name of Sandino was a murmur. I was 10 or 12 years old when I first heard people talk about Sandino. It was said that a distant relative of the family had been a guerrilla with him and had been assassinated on the Coyol slope along with many other rebels.

González. What was the official mythology about Sandino?

Fonseca. They tried to portray him as a bandit. But the people's natural instincts prevented them from being misled: above all, because his assassin, Anastasio Somoza, was the one putting forward this story.

González. Was it clear to people that Somoza was directly responsible for the assassination of Sandino?

Fonseca. The most humble person knew that.

González. What happened during this period that you call "a quarter century of obscurantism?" Weren't there any attempts at rebellion against the dictatorship?

Fonseca. There were. Constantly. But they were individual and sporadic rebellions. Resistance to the state of affairs impelled individuals from among the people to rebel. But there was no revolutionary consciousness or organization.

González. Why?

Fonseca. For many reasons and for many years Marxism did not penetrate Nicaragua. Marxism, you could say, enters and takes root among broad sectors of the people and youth of Nicaragua with the triumph of the Cuban revolution.

González. Why did it lag behind other Latin American countries?

Fonseca. Because Nicaragua is a country with a cattle raising, coffee producing, feudal economy, surrounded by countries that also have a feudal economy; because it is a country that did not experience the immigration of European workers carrying revolutionary ideas that other Latin American countries did. The last names of Nicaraguans are those of the Spanish conquerors. Instead, there was a large population emigration. Today there are practically 1 million Nicaraguans outside the country and 2 million inside.

González. You told me that in 1959, after a week in Cuba, you returned to Nicaragua with the idea of organizing a guerrilla struggle. What happened then?

Fonseca. I established links with Nicaraguans living in

3. 1934 was the year Sandino was assassinated.

More on Fonseca and the FSLN

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Militant photos by Holbrook Mahn
Augusto César Sandino on Pathfinder mural in New York,
A. A. Guillén, who painted both.

Costa Rica who had participated in struggles there against Yankee fruit monopolies. We felt the need to link up with our people, so I returned to Nicaragua clandestinely in 1960 to begin to organize urban underground work. This was to enable us to prepare for rural guerrilla warfare and to launch a generalized struggle throughout the country.

González. That had never been tried before?

Fonseca. It was the first experience of that kind. The weak Marxist movement that had existed in the country since 1944 had always tried to stick to legal activity, within the minimal space for legality existing in the country. This delayed the development of a fighting underground organization for 16 years.

González. What happened with your attempt in 1960?

Fonseca. We bumped up against big difficulties, and we made many errors. On top of our own personal inexperience, we carried the inexperience of previous generations. There was a historic tradition of rebellions in the country, but they were of times long past and were followed by the interruption we spoke about earlier.

I was captured and deported to Guatemala in July 1960. It was my second deportation to that country. They had previously exiled me in 1959 for my student militancy, before the action at Chaparral. In Guatemala they imprisoned me.

González. Where?

Fonseca. In the Petén region, in a place called Poptún. Luis Augusto Turcios Lima⁴ was on duty there. With jailers like him, it wasn't too bad for me.

González. What was Turcios Lima like then?

Fonseca. He was one of the youngest people there. They were all sublieutenants who had just gotten out of military school and you could talk with them. Although, curiously, even the old reactionary military men there said that Somoza was an assassin and a bandit.

González. And what did you talk about with Turcios?

Fonseca. The role of youth, what our peoples were facing, the solutions needed for their problems, the changes — political conversations. Turcios shared some information on the use of dynamite with me, which reflected the level of trust established between us in just a few days.

González. Was he already a very politically conscious man?

Fonseca. No. I would be exaggerating if I said that,

4. Luis Augusto Turcios Lima, a lieutenant in the Guatemalan armed forces, was one of the leaders of a November 1960 revolt against the training of a paramilitary force in Guatemala for the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. After the failed revolt, Turcios escaped to El Salvador. He returned to Guatemala and became a leader of a guerrilla force. Turcios was killed in a car accident in Guatemala City in October 1966.

but he listened. I want to be honest. I don't want to pass myself off as a prophet. In reality, at the time I never thought that Turcios would become such an outstanding member of the revolutionary movement in Guatemala and even Latin America. He was very discreet. He limited himself to listening, to giving an opinion every once in a while. The one whom it fell upon for him to talk to there was to me, as I was known as a revolutionary. They weren't.

González. How did you get out of that prison?

Fonseca. I slipped away. It was a village, a military town. And repression in Guatemala was not even remotely similar to what it came to be after the uprisings of Zacato and Puerto Barrios. They gave me certain liberties. For example, I could go buy things at places in the neighborhood near the police station. One day, when Turcios was not on duty, I slipped away.

I had been able to get a few letters out with some soldiers who took them to the post office in the nearest region. I communicated with Nicaragua and told them where I was. When everything was ready, I fled and returned to my country to reinstate the organization of the guerrilla movement.

González. When did the Sandinista Front come into existence?

Fonseca. In 1962. At the end of 1960 we conceived of the creation of an independent organization to prepare the armed revolutionary struggle in Nicaragua. In 1961 we began to take practical steps in this direction. In 1962 the Sandinista Front was born.

It was made up of people who had been involved in the different isolated, unplanned, and uncoordinated actions that had taken place earlier. Some veterans of the former struggles led by Sandino also joined us, like compañero Santos López, a survivor of those actions.

González. He died, didn't he?

Fonseca. Yes. He came with us on a guerrilla action and he had a very hard time due to the natural obstacles of the mountains and the fact that he was already an old man. And what happened is that he contracted a serious illness that killed him.

González. The Sandinista Front was founded, and then what happened?

Fonseca. We ran into a serious problem: the influence that the traditional parties still had was very strong in my country, different than in other countries of Latin America. There are two parties — Liberals and Conservatives — that have survived a century and a half.

González. How active or real were those parties under Somoza?

Fonseca. They made a total alliance with imperialism to sustain the tyranny. Somoza directly took over the Liberal Party (official) itself, and the Conservative Party put up a formal opposition totally complicit with this.

Of course, in the time of the older Somoza, when there was not even the minimal revolutionary consciousness in the country, those parties succeeded in paralyzing the people's struggle. The masses, desperate and anxious for a change, were dragged along by those parties.

Then we realized that the bigger the difficulties, the bigger was our obligation to confront them, to multiply our efforts. So we began the preparatory steps for a guerrilla action. In 1962 we armed an expedition in the north of the country, in the Coco River and Bocay River area.

González. Why did you choose that area?

Fonseca. There was some arbitrariness involved, without a doubt. A series of more or less coincidental factors took us to that area, with its many disadvantages and isolation. You could say it's the most isolated part of the northern region of the country, with a very sparse and backward population, and a primitive economy.

The guerrillas suffered another setback. Valuable compañeros who came from the university fell in battle. Jorge Navarro, Francisco Buitrago, Iván Sánchez Argüello, Mauricio Córdoba, Boanerges Santamaría, Faustino Ruiz, and Modesto Duarte all died in that guerrilla attempt.

González. Did the guerrillas become a cause of concern for the country's oligarchy and the dictatorship?

Fonseca. It's not easy to say to what extent that happened. What is certain is that our setback coincided with a maneuver by the oligarchy to organize an electoral farce and put into office a docile person, as René Schick was. They wanted to create illusions in some sectors of the population by putting someone who was not a member of the Somoza family at the head of the government for the first time ever.

González. And what was the relationship between Schick and the Somozas?

Fonseca. Schick had always been a servant to the Somozas and he continued to be one. But a people who had been removed from political life, who were accustomed to associating the tyranny with one man, tended to let themselves be trapped by the maneuver. This, added to the setback we had suffered, interrupted our armed activity for some months.

González. You began a period of "accumulating forces?"

Fonseca. Exactly. We used more or less open methods, combined with some underground ones, but we stopped direct armed action for a time.

González. What was the result?

Fonseca. Experience showed us that the interruption lowered the morale and enthusiasm of the members so that the intended "accumulation" was really impotence. For a number of reasons, the Nicaraguan revolutionary activist needs to experience the armed struggle in some measure in order to be able to give his energy to revolutionary activity.

González. So you corrected this?

Fonseca. Yes. In 1966 we again set into motion the steps to begin direct armed action against the tyranny in rural and urban areas.

We were the only political force in Nicaragua that opposed the new electoral farce that the tyranny was preparing in order to put a member of the family — Anastasio Somoza, Jr. — directly into office. The bourgeois opposition played along with this maneuver by putting up a candidate — Fernando Agüero, a big landowner from the cattle region.

A certain so-called revolutionary sector lent itself to the farce as well, unfortunately. They argued — if you can call it that — that it was necessary to use the electoral process to link up with the masses. We did not think it indispensable to tail behind any candidate to link up with the masses. We thought that it was possible to take advantage of the general mobilization that the electoral process might generate in the country without doing that.

González. Did you carry out armed actions in that period?

Fonseca. Yes. In 1963 we carried out our first expro-
Continued on next page



Fonseca speaking in Havana in 1961 at Federation of Cuban Women rally.

Continued from previous page

priation of funds from a Nicaraguan bank in Managua. Also in 1963, at the time of [President John] Kennedy's March 20 meeting with his Central American puppets in Costa Rica, we occupied a radio station with arms in hand to denounce to the people the reactionary imperialist character of the meeting.

And, perhaps most importantly, we made contacts in the countryside with a certain peasant mass movement. We did see some struggles for land and this undoubtedly made it easier for us to establish a guerrilla base later on.

González. When and where did you set up that base?

Fonseca. In 1966-67 we settled in the Pancasán region, in the center of the country. We stayed there about a year. It is a cattle and coffee producing region with extensive cattle raising using very primitive techniques. This being the principal cattle region of the country, there has recently been a dairy established with investments from the Nestlé company that will process milk for all of Central America. It is an example of what those from the United States call "integrated industries."

González. What are the living conditions for the peasants of that region?

Fonseca. The peasants work a maximum of three months per year, during the coffee harvest. Latifundism, which is very widespread, monopolizes most of the land. For most of the year, the peasants kill their hunger with corn and salt. They don't know what animal fat is. If they have a few pennies they spend it on boiled beans. And if sometimes they buy a little meat, they make soup.

Near there, in the province of Matagalpa, which is roughly 3,500 square miles, more than 100 people have died of starvation in a period of a few days. There it is common to see children with bellies swollen from starvation, with their faces yellowed and their bodies and limbs swollen.

People are also afflicted with night blindness, due to lack of protein, in the town of Darío, named after the poet Rubén Darío, who was born there. Goiter is an endemic illness and it abounds there. In other regions of the same zone cases of collective insanity caused by hunger have been known to occur. Whole populations eat only old corn because it's the cheapest thing around. But it has lost all nutritive value, and people who subsist on it go crazy from hunger and kill each other. This happened in the Malacahuás area.

González. Did those peasants support the guerrillas?

Fonseca. A myth has been created that the guerrillas failed because of lack of support from the population. That's not true. We had the support of one sector of the population. Whether or not we knew how to organize them to fight is another question. That is something that requires a lot of care and a certain skill, you could say.

In our situation, we gathered together peasants from different zones and took them to an area that wasn't their own. Some deserted. What happened to them? They went back to wage guerrilla struggle on their own in the areas they came from. Precarious guerrillas, no doubt, because they lacked leadership. But they would, for example, carry out expropriations of the rich merchants in the zone. In a certain way, this reflected their commitment to fight. It's not just a matter of putting a gun into the hands of a peasant, but also deciding what kinds of activities he will carry out and where.

González. During that year did you engage in combat with the National Guard?

Fonseca. Yes, during the last part of the year. Some of our compañeros died there. The university teacher Danilo Rosales, Silvio Mayorga, Francisco Moreno, Otto Casco, Carlos Tinoco, Carlos Reyna, Ernesto Fernández, and Fausto García all were killed in those actions.

At that time a brutal offensive was launched against the Sandinista Front. Peasants like Fermín Díaz and his sons, Felipe Gaitán, the farmer Oscar Hernández Flores, and many more were skinned alive by the National Guard.

Savage repression was also unleashed in the cities. Casimiro Sotelo, the Sandinista Front representative at the OLAS (Organization of Latin American Solidarity) conference⁵, and several other compañeros were captured in the middle of Managua in broad daylight. They were taken to Tiscapa Hill, where Somoza's throne is. There they were assassinated. David Tejada, a student leader, was beaten to death by Oscar Morales, Somoza's main aide. Morales gouged the dead boy's eyes out and threw his body into the crater of a volcano.

González. How did the situation develop after that?

Fonseca. During 1968 we achieved a certain amount



National Institute of Agrarian Reform
Cuban leader Fidel Castro in 1960 meeting with peasants who were getting land under new agrarian reform. Marxism took root in Nicaragua, explained Fonseca, "with the triumph of the Cuban revolution."

of reorganization, but in 1969 a brutal new repression was unleashed. When the hideout of one compañero was discovered by the National Guard, they sent in 200 armed men, supported by tanks and planes, to get him. That happened on July 15, 1969, simultaneously in two neighborhoods of Managua — Santo Domingo and Las Delicias del Volga. This was repeated on January 15 and April 3, 1970.

The first attack was aimed at 10 compañeros. Julio Buitrago, longtime student leader, stirred the conscience of the entire nation — and especially of young people — as he fought alone in a house for two hours until his last cartridge was gone, against that avalanche of military force. His body was recovered under the ruins and spirited away to prevent the massive demonstration of grief that his burial would have produced. Three other compañeros died with Buitrago: Marco Rivera, Aníbal Castillo, and Alesio Blandón.

On Jan. 15, 1970, the young poet Leonel Rugama and two more compañeros fought until death under similar circumstances. On April 3 the same thing happened with guerrilla fighter Luisa Espinoza and compañero Enrique Lorente in the city of León.

González. That was some of the fiercest repression on the continent.

Fonseca. I believe so. The facts are hardly known even though everybody speaks so knowingly of the Somoza tyranny. There is an occupation army in Nicaragua. The National Guard was created expressly to go after the Sandinista patriots. It was created at the behest of the Yankees and, since its inception, has had the tradition, habits, and structure of an occupation army. It has, for example, a director-in-chief, a post peculiar to occupying forces.

González. Apart from the obvious — the exploitation of the natural resources of the country — what other specific objectives is the United States pursuing in Nicaragua?

Fonseca. There is one important one and that is the control of a potential interoceanic route the country offers. That is the reason the Yankees have been attacking Nicaragua since the last century. In 1848, 1854, and 1855, there were armed U.S. interventions against the country. And even today those interventions continue and have become, now that they have the Somozas as watchdogs, fundamentally political.

But there is more. The United States is thinking also of the eventual construction of an oil pipeline in Nicaragua that would link the two oceans. The monopolies have a problem transporting petroleum extracted in Alaska because large tonnage oil tankers cannot navigate the Panama Canal. That's where the interest in constructing an oil pipeline across Nicaragua comes from. It is said that the distinguished Aristotle Onassis is involved in this venture.

And, finally, Nicaragua serves the United States as a base for aggression against other countries. The 1954 expedition organized by the CIA and led by Castillo Armas, which ended the constitutional government of Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala, departed from Nicaragua. The invaders of Cuba left from Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua, for Playa Girón in 1961. Other armed incursions against Cuba have left from Puntamisco, from bases the United States has installed in Nicaragua.

Somoza is an unconditional ally of imperialism. He was the only Latin American head of state who publicly offered to send a contingent of military forces to Vietnam

in October 1967.

González. Under what circumstances were you detained again?

Fonseca. At the beginning of 1969, the organization saw the need to produce a series of analytic documents about the serious problems facing the revolutionary movement. Given the fierce repression that existed in Nicaragua, the Front sent me to Costa Rica to direct the training of revolutionary Nicaraguans residing there. My unfamiliarity with that area of Costa Rica made it possible for Costa Rican repressive forces to locate and capture me.

I was detained in Costa Rica for more than a year. My imprisonment, like that of all Nicaraguan revolutionaries, was condemned by the Costa Rican people, who refuse to allow the jailing in their country of those who rebel against the Somoza dictatorship.

It was in that context that an airplane hijacking was carried out on Costa Rican territory. With four U.S. technicians from the United Fruit Co. aboard, the plane was flown to the Colombian island of San Andrés. From there, our release was demanded — that of three other compañeros and myself. If this wasn't granted, there would be reprisals against the U.S. citizens. I think the Costa Rican government gave in to this mainly because Mr. José Figueres⁶ was at the United Nations Assembly in the United States at the time. Figueres came out publicly against our release. From Costa Rica we went to Mexico, and from Mexico we came to Cuba, where we were welcomed with the international solidarity typical of the Cuban revolution.

González. To wrap up, what perspectives do you see for the struggle of the Sandinista Front? Will Somoza be around for a long time?

Fonseca. I am optimistic about the future of the revolutionary struggle in Nicaragua, which doesn't mean that I don't see big difficulties and big obstacles ahead. The struggle will be long and difficult. It will be bloody. We have already achieved some important objectives such as cutting the rope the two traditional parties tied around the Nicaraguan people. The Sandinista Front is a mass movement, which has penetrated the peasantry, not only where the guerrillas have operated but in diverse parts of the country.

The influence the traditional parties still maintain is deteriorating, totally declining. Never before in the history of the country have those parties been in such an advanced stage of decay. The international press has reported on the infamous alliance that individuals such as Fernando Agüero, the Conservative big cattleman, are planning with Anastasio Somoza, Jr., the Liberal.

In planning to continue the revolutionary struggle, we are guided by the most advanced principles, by Marxist ideology, by Commander Ernesto Che Guevara, by Augusto César Sandino. We are aware that socialism is the only prospect the people have to achieve a profound change in their conditions of life. This does not mean we exclude persons who don't think the same as we do. And even though we think the fundamental guide must be the principles of scientific socialism, we are ready to march together with persons of the most diverse beliefs if they are interested in the overthrow of the tyranny and the liberation of our country.

6. José Figueres was president of Costa Rica from 1953 to 1958, and again from 1970 to 1974.

5. The conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) was held in Havana, Cuba, July 31-Aug. 10, 1967. The conference voted to support guerrilla movements throughout Latin America.

'We must reclaim right to lead struggle for unity'

This is the second installment of a speech I delivered to a public forum of more than 200 people on Caribbean and Central American unity at Hunter College of the City University of New York on Sept. 9, 1988. The forum was sponsored by the Coalition for Caribbean Unity of New York City.

* * *

All previous attempts by the Caribbean masses and their leaders to unite have been frustrated and obstructed by colonialist and local elites. Post-emancipation Caribbean history is replete with aborted and stillborn unity initiatives such as the West Indies Federation of 1957,



CARIB NOTES

Don Rojas

the Grenada Declaration of 1971, and the Petit St. Vincent Agreement of 1972, among others.

In recent times yet another artificial initiative has emerged. Emanating from the leaders of the member parties of the bankrupt Caribbean Democratic Union (CDU) is the proposed political unification of the countries of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS). The current initiative, as James Millette once eloquently observed, "is singularly innocent of anything to do with the people of the Eastern Caribbean."

In St. Vincent in November last year, 10 progressive and revolutionary parties met to arrive at a common position on OECS and Caribbean Community (CARICOM) unity. The conference, which was hosted by the United People's Movement (UPM), recognized the urgent need to establish mechanisms to facilitate OECS and Caribbean unity that involve the masses of the region. It called for the establishment of broad-based, nongovernmental committees in each country of the OECS as instruments to discuss, debate, define, and struggle for a People's Agenda.

The conference affirmed that the People's Agenda

must contain demands for the implementation of economic policies that emphasize full employment, self-reliance, and developmental strategies based on the satisfaction of fundamental human needs, and that guarantee an increasing standard of living for the region's peoples.

Central to this agenda, too, is the demand for the demilitarization of the region; the recognition of the Caribbean as a zone of peace and independence; the deepening of democracy, both representative and participatory; and for the defense of our region's sovereignty and independence. It must include respect for human rights and for the principle of ideological pluralism.

In June 1984, for the first time in our history, political parties and liberation movements from throughout the Caribbean and Central America came together in Havana, Cuba, to launch a common organization dedicated to opposing imperialist military intervention and economic and political domination of our region. We decided to call ourselves the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America. We decided to begin the task of building *our* unity.

The Anti-Imperialist Organizations is now made up of nearly 40 political parties and movements from 23 countries in the English-, Spanish-, French-, Creole-, and Dutch-speaking Caribbean and Central America. Despite diverse origins and philosophies, all these organizations have united around a common anti-imperialist and anti-colonial platform and a shared opposition to the aggressive, interventionist policies of Washington. We have united also to put up a common fight against the socioeconomic crisis pressing down hard on the backs of our peoples.

Our organization is a historic attempt to overcome the imperialist-imposed isolation of the peoples of the Caribbean islands from those of Central America, as well as the linguistic and cultural divisions within the Caribbean itself. In and of themselves, many of these historical factors have resulted in a rich cultural diversity that can and will contribute positively to meaningful development and cooperation of the peoples in our region, which can ultimately lead to what George Lamming calls "a unique Caribbean civilization."

But the imperialist powers continue to misuse these assets instead — to keep us weak, divided, dependent, poor, and isolated from one another. This dependency and isolation continues up to now — whether or not our

nations have achieved formal independence — since none of us have achieved independence from imperialist exploitation.

We say tonight that the time has come for the building of a regional mass movement around the unity question, as well as for the building of a mass consciousness on unity within and among the Caribbean communities of New York, Toronto, and London. We cannot leave it up to the neocolonial elites to chart the boundaries of Caribbean political unity and integration.

The Caribbean masses and their representative organizations must reclaim their right to lead the struggle for unity. To be sure, imperialism and its clients will make strenuous attempts to frustrate this unity of the peoples. Therefore, bringing it to full fruition will necessitate anti-imperialist struggle.

The arguments and positions on Caribbean unity hitherto have been articulated by political directorates and economic technocrats who speak a jargon the masses cannot understand, and who, as we have said, are concerned only with their survival and with the maintenance of their power and privilege.

Certainly we of the left recognize the harsh realities of economic survival in an increasingly competitive and crisis-ridden world capitalist market. It is becoming clearer that our Caribbean ministates are unable to survive economically on their own, are unable to withstand the shocks of an unstable and volatile world capitalist system.

Only a year ago the stock markets in the advanced capitalist economies — on Wall Street, in London, Japan, Australia, Hong Kong — all plunged in 24 hours in a manner more catastrophic than the great 1929 crash. This event sent shock waves around the world and signaled that the world capitalist economy is sick and is plagued by its own imbalances, contradictions, and irrationalities. But more ominously, it warned that the entire world — and that includes the Caribbean and Central America — is today standing precariously on the threshold of a global economic depression that could trigger social calamity and widespread unrest on an unprecedented scale.

Great class battles on a world scale lie ahead of us as we move into the 1990s. Here I'm not being a prophet of doom and gloom but merely a realist trying to understand the historical laws propelling the course of future world events.

Literacy gains in Nicaragua have been set back

BY SETH GALINSKY

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Illiteracy in Nicaragua has increased to 25 percent according to Yadira Rocha, national literacy director of the Ministry of Education. After the Literacy Crusade in 1980 the rate had dropped as low as 13 percent.

In some areas of the country illiteracy is even higher, Rocha pointed out in a recent interview. Region VI, in mountainous north-central Nicaragua, now has an illiteracy rate estimated at 40 percent.

Before the triumph of the Sandinista revolution in July 1979, more than half the population was illiterate. One of the revolutionary government's first acts was to launch a literacy campaign in early 1980.

By mobilizing thousands of students and teachers from around the country tremendous strides were made. In just a few months illiteracy reached its lowest level in Nicaragua's history.

Four hundred thousand people over the age of 10 learned to read and write in the course of the campaign. The volunteer literacy workers included 52,000 brigadistas, mainly high school and university students from the cities, organized into the People's Literacy Army (EPA).

They spent five months living with their adopted peasant families in the countryside. The volunteers of the People's Literacy Army came face to face with the poverty and difficult conditions of life among

Nicaragua's rural working people.

The brigadistas often worked side by side with their students in the fields by day and taught them at night. The literacy workers helped to harvest crops and build bridges, parks, and health centers. Separate EPA health brigades traveled through the countryside, educating about preventive medical care, treating common diseases, and teaching hygiene.

Some setbacks

But some of these gains have been set back since 1980. "We have had 500 schools destroyed by the counter-revolutionaries," Rocha said. Three hundred teachers and teaching assistants have been assassinated by the contras.

"The counterrevolutionaries see the people's teachers, the land reform technicians, and health workers as their main enemies," she noted.

According to the Ministry of Education, 200,000 children in Nicaragua are not in school. Some because their schools have been destroyed by the contras. Others because the economic situation forces them to work to help their parents. Rocha pointed out that "we have a 50 percent drop-out rate among children in the first grade."

Illiteracy is the highest in the mountainous areas. "These are also the areas where the population is very spread out," Rocha said. The war unfolded "in the countryside, in the rural parts of these regions."

Rocha noted that a large part of the government budget goes to defense, cutting into funds available for education. "What use is it to educate people if imperialism takes us over? Then there would be no literacy campaign. Our first priority must be to maintain the freedom of the people."

The problem of illiteracy goes back before the revolution, to the days of the Somoza tyranny. "There were only four teachers' training schools in all of Nicaragua, in such a large country full of illiteracy," Rocha said. "And these schools were only in the main cities."

Nicaragua now has 13 teachers' training schools. They are not only located in the main urban centers, but also in the rural areas.



Militant/Fred Murphy

Send-off rally in Managua swears in literacy brigade during 1980 drive

Rocha cited the example of the teaching school in the region of Río San Juan, in southern Nicaragua near the Costa Rican border. Before the revolution this region had one of the highest rates of illiteracy.

"Can you imagine? It had more than 80 percent illiteracy and there wasn't one teacher in Río San Juan. Now we have a teaching school there and all the teachers are from Río San Juan."

Mass participation falls

An attempt was made after 1980 to continue literacy work with the help of the Sandinista Youth, the women's organizations, the Sandinista Defense Committees, and the Federation of Secondary Students. The idea was to build on the gains of the campaign.

But according to Rocha "the participation of the mass organizations has fallen off." This has led to another problem.

Some of those who learned to read in 1980 have become illiterate again.

No new massive campaign like the Literacy Crusade of 1980 is planned. In Rocha's opinion, "We have so many battlefields: health, jobs, underemployment, education, the economy. There are so many fields. We are not going to stop doing each one of them to do just one like we did with the campaign."

Right now, according to Rocha, the main priority is to "control" illiteracy. "What we hope to do with this stage is stop the deterioration."

This will be done step by step. Any village, town, zone, factory, or cooperative that lowers its illiteracy rate to under 5 percent will be declared an "Illiteracy Free Territory." Several small towns and neighborhoods have won this honor in the last year.

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Miami, 1987. Cubans protest against Washington's anticommunist radio station, Radio Martí.

The real Miami: new political space for Cuba partisans

BY PETE SEIDMAN

MIAMI — This city has recently been the subject of at least three new books, cover stories in *Newsweek* and the *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, and of a major television weekly crime show, *Miami Vice*.

The image that is portrayed in all these efforts is that of Miami as an exotic town (*Newsweek*: "America's Casablanca") whose inhabitants are at the mercy of wealthy drug dealers and whose political life is dominated by right-wing exile Cubans.

But Miami is different from this image cultivated by the big-business media.

As a major center of capitalist financial and trading operations for the Caribbean and Central America, it is inevitable that commodities like cocaine are part of daily business operations here. As in any other city, the illegal status of these commodities serves to enhance the price capitalists can secure for them — as well as fostering the governmental and police corruption necessary to the existence of this type of trade.

But wealthy capitalist entrepreneurs of both legal and illegal commodities are a small minority here as anywhere else. Miami is a city where industry is dominated by small-scale sweatshops organized to exploit the huge pool of immigrant workers who have been forced to come here as a result of the mounting crisis being created by imperialist exploitation throughout Central America and the Caribbean.

This working-class majority — which sews \$500 men's suits, cleans luxurious

\$100-a-night hotel rooms, and picks tomatoes, all for wages that often sink below even the federal minimum wage — rarely receives attention in the big-business media.

It's also true that more Cubans live here than in any other city but Havana, Cuba, itself. There are nearly three-quarters of a million, making up more than 40 percent of the population of Dade County, which includes Miami.

But the situation has changed dramatically in Miami's Cuban community since the first wave of fiercely anticommunist supporters of dictator Fulgencio Batista came here after the July 26 Movement took power in Cuba on Jan. 1, 1959.

Cubans here are less and less defined simply by their status as anticommunist exiles from Cuba — and more and more shaped by their lives here in the United States.

As a result, important political space has opened up both within the Cuban community and this city as a whole for opponents of U.S. policy in Central America and the Caribbean. And also for those inspired by the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions who are struggling to advance the interests of workers and farmers in the United States.

This article is the first in a series of three on these changes and why they have occurred.

* * *

One dramatic example of the changes is a July 6 informal call-in survey conducted

by Spanish-language station WLTU-Channel 23.

The station asked its overwhelmingly Cuban audience to express its views on whether the U.S. government should release arrested Cuban exile Orlando Bosch.

Bosch is a notorious terrorist who fled the United States in 1974 while on parole after having been imprisoned for shelling a Polish freighter docked at the port of Miami.

U.S. officials say that after jumping parole, Bosch was implicated in more than 50 bombings and possibly assassinations during the two years before he was finally arrested in Venezuela.

Authorities there charged him with the 1976 terrorist bombing of a Cubana airline jet that killed all 73 passengers.

Bosch was eventually released after 11 years in prison. He was immediately rearrested in 1987 when he returned to the United States.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service says Bosch is an excludable alien because he broke parole. It is trying to deport him.

Right-wingers in Miami's Cuban community have long demanded Bosch's release as an act of mercy for an aging "freedom fighter" who is "no longer a threat."

Nonetheless, of those who called in during the 14½ hour survey, 39 percent said Bosch should remain behind bars.

This result — surprising in the context of previous assumptions about supposedly overwhelming support for Bosch among Miami Cubans — provoked outrage from the jailed terrorist.

But the important changes taking place among Miami Cubans are registered by much more than TV phone surveys.

A number of other events here in the last year underscore this:

- Perhaps most important was the decision by Miami Mayor Xavier Suárez to stop by a March 26 rally in support of the Central America peace process to assure the 250 participants that he respected their right to demonstrate.

Two years earlier Suárez had been part of a counterdemonstration made up overwhelmingly of some 2,000 right-wing Cubans and Nicaraguans who threw rocks and bottles at 300 demonstrators protesting contra aid.

Even though this year's demonstration occurred only a few days after the Sapoá cease-fire accords had been signed in Nicaragua, only a dozen counterprotesters mobilized — and police kept them many blocks away from the antiwar demonstrators.

- On April 9 some 60 Cubans organized by the Alianza de Trabajadores en la Comunidad, demonstrated in support of the Sapoá accords at a rally in front of the downtown Federal Courthouse. There were no incidents.

- On April 20 the family of Benjamin Linder, a U.S. engineer murdered by the Nicaraguan contras, filed a \$50 million lawsuit against the contras in Miami's U.S. District Court. The next night they spoke to a well-publicized meeting of 100 people. Not one contra supporter showed up to protest.

- Last November Pathfinder had a very visible booth at the Miami International Book Fair.

Passersby saw a big banner with a picture of Cuban revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara announcing a new book of his writings. Below the banner were volumes of writings and speeches by Cuban President Fidel Castro, Guevara, Sandinista leaders of Nicaragua, and the murdered Grenadian revolutionary leader Maurice Bishop.

Although numerous people expressed some anger or disagreement, by far the biggest reaction was positive. No attempt to harass or attack the table was made.

The always-crowded booth sold \$1,100 worth of revolutionary literature — half in Spanish — in only three days.

- In June 1987 *Areíto* began appearing here again after having suspended publication for two years. *Areíto* is a progressive magazine published by Cubans who wish to promote a dialogue in their community over such questions as normalizing relations between Cuba and the U.S. government. Its promoters include supporters of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, an organization of young Cubans that sponsors trips to Cuba to help get out the truth about the revolution.

Areíto moved back to Miami from New York City — where it had been forced to go by right-wing threats after it had first begun publishing here in 1974. An editorial explained that changes in Miami's political climate have made it necessary and possible to resume its work here.

Areíto supporters have distributed thousands of copies in the Little Havana areas of Miami without major incident.

Not only has it become easier for partisans of Cuba to organize publicly in Miami, there has been a growing isolation of terrorist tendencies and a rising demand that disagreements be discussed without the threat of violence and intimidation among opponents of the revolution.

One example is the recent debate over the Cuban Museum of Art and Culture. The museum was founded 15 years ago by exiles who wanted to preserve for themselves at least some of the culture of the homeland they had abandoned.

In April it became known that among 173 works to be sold at a fundraising auction, the museum would include paintings by four artists who still live in Cuba.

Soon several Cuban radio stations received anonymous mailings attacking the museum for displaying work by "communist painters." The museum began receiving anonymous phone calls. Death threats and a bomb threat were called in.

Two years earlier a pressure campaign like this coerced organizers of Miami's "First Annual Festival of Hispanic Theater" to cancel a scheduled performance of a play by Dolores Prida. Prida's work was targeted because of her past association with *Areíto* and her support for resumption of U.S. diplomatic relations with Cuba.

This time, however, such a pressure campaign backfired. Museum Vice-president Ramón Cernuda stood firm. This is a "major test of cultural freedom," he explained.

A majority of the museum's board of directors voted to go ahead with plans to include the four artists.

The night of the auction, a man participating in a small protest outside went in

Continued on Page 17

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The October issue of *PM* features the international campaign to demand justice for Mark Curtis, a young working-class fighter in Des Moines, Iowa. He was beaten by cops, and framed up and jailed on trumped-up rape and burglary charges.

Also featured is the historic victory of Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born socialist who just won an 11-year fight for permanent residence in the United States.



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Kurds flee Iraqi rulers' savage repression



Woman and children killed by Iraqi military's poison gas attack on Iraqi Kurdish city of Halabja in March

BY FRED FELDMAN

An estimated 75,000 people have been compelled to flee to Turkey from Iraq in recent weeks. The Iraqi government has carried out a devastating military offensive, involving tens of thousands of troops, and helicopter gunships that, Kurdish refugees say, dropped chemical weapons on them.

The 3 million Iraqi Kurds are part of a nationality of 20 million people who occupy a contiguous territory, often termed Kurdistan, that is divided between Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria, and the Soviet Union. Outside the Soviet Union, Kurdistan is predominantly rural and the population mainly peasants.

The stepped-up Iraqi offensive against the Kurds followed the July 18 announcement by the Iranian government that it favored an immediate cease-fire in the eight-year war with Iraq. The attack escalated further after a cease-fire with Iran went into effect August 20.

By mid-September, Iraqi forces had sealed the border with Turkey — apparently able to assert their authority over the main Kurdish-populated areas.

Forced relocation

One aspect of the offensive is a campaign to force Kurdish villagers to relocate from their mountainous homeland to areas where they can be more tightly controlled.

"What is clear from a helicopter survey of the region today," wrote correspondent Patrick Tyler in the September 17 *Washington Post*, "is that dozens of Kurdish villages have been razed, attacked or dismantled in a sweeping campaign by the Baghdad government to remake the face of Kurdistan. . . .

"Many [villages] appeared to have been completely leveled, with only foundation stones and shrubbery remaining."

In Dahuk Province alone, the governor appointed by the Iraqi regime admitted that 200 villages had been destroyed and the inhabitants relocated to "complexes that have all the necessary infrastructure."

"This is not a deportation of people," Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz said September 3. "This is a reorganization of the urban situation in a mountainous and difficult country." Relocation, he said, would end the "state of trouble" on the frontier.

Although the Kurds have been dealt major setbacks before, this is believed to be the most massive exodus of Kurds to Turkey in many years. Kurdish rebels and civilians say that the reason for the flight is Iraqi use of chemical warfare.

The Iraqi government denied the charges, but announced September 16 that it would not permit a United Nations observer team to check the reports. The U.S. State Department has backed the Kurdish charges, and the U.S. Senate unanimously adopted a resolution criticizing Iraq and calling for imposition of economic sanctions.

Poison gas

The Iraqi government has a well-documented record of using poison gas against Iranian soldiers and against both Iranian and Iraqi Kurdish civilians in the course of the war. A UN team that recently visited the Persian Gulf region confirmed that Iraqi forces had been using poison gas since 1984.

In March the Iraqi military used poison

gas against the Iraqi Kurdish city of Halabja after it was occupied by Kurdish guerrillas and Iranian troops, killing at least hundreds and perhaps thousands of Kurdish civilians.

At that time the U.S. government, which was backing the Iraqi regime in the war and had mobilized a sea and air armada in the Persian Gulf, blocked a move to have the UN Security Council discuss Iraqi use of poison gas in Halabja.

In recent weeks, Turks living near the Iraqi border have reported that chemical weapons unleashed by Iraq against the Kurds have drifted into Turkey, damaging crops and land.

Some Kurdish refugees described Iraqi planes dropping blue-painted canisters that spread a gas smelling of apples or pears. The survivors then reported experiencing constriction of the throat and burning of the eyes.

"I dealt with scores of terminal cases," said Youssef Hamid, a former student at Mosul University in the Kurdish section of Iraq. "The signs were all the same: conjunctivitis, heavy breathing, tremors, loss of sensitivity in the skin, vomiting and death." Corpses, he said, were left scattered across the hills and ravines of the mountainous area.

Turkish policy

Many Kurds arriving in Turkey had wounds and other symptoms consistent with the effects of poison gas. But Turkish doctors in the hastily thrown together refugee camps, and later Turkish government officials as well, said they had found no evidence to confirm that the injured were victims of poison gas.

Those who live on the Turkish side of the border area back the refugees' claims. "Even the birds were falling from the sky," a Turkish Kurd told the *Wall Street Journal*.

Like the Iraqi regime, although on a smaller scale, the Turkish government has faced armed opposition from forces demanding national rights and responded with intensified repression in the Kurdish areas of the country.

Turkey's regime denies the existence of a distinct Kurdish grouping — the 7 million Kurds are called "mountain Turks" — and bans their language and culture.

The Kurds occupy the impoverished rural areas of southern Turkey. The average annual income among Turkish Kurds is \$650, about half the per capita income for Turkey's population as a whole. The area was under martial law until a few years ago, and 30,000 troops and thousands of non-Kurdish police stand guard over the local population.

Until recently, the Turkish government cooperated closely with the Iraqi government in the latter's war on the Kurds. Turkish military forces staged cross-border attacks on Kurdish fighters in Iraq and attempted at first to bar Kurdish refugees from entering Turkey.

The mass exodus and the wide popular sympathy for the plight of the Kurds in Turkey and internationally has forced the government to modify its stance. The Kurdish refugees were allowed into Turkey and Iraqi forces were barred from pursuing them. The Turkish government also offered temporary sanctuary to Massoud Bar-

zani, one of the main leaders of the Iraqi Kurdish revolt.

The modern Kurdish struggle, like other struggles for self-determination and economic development among oppressed peoples in the Middle East, began to emerge in the period around World War I. One result of the war was the defeat of the Ottoman Empire based in Turkey, which had domi-

nated the Middle East for several centuries, and revolts against Ottoman and imperialist efforts to dominate the region.

In the wake of the war, the Iraqi Kurds staged an uprising against British occupation forces in Iraq.

In 1920, the bloc of imperialist powers that had won the world war courted Kurdish support by promising to sponsor an independent Kurdish state. That promise went by the boards.

The Turkish government crushed Kurdish uprisings. When the Kurdish region of Iraq promised to become an important oil producer, the British rulers received a mandate from the League of Nations to rule the area in 1925.

In the wake of World War II, Kurdish nationalists in Iran established the Kurdish People's Republic, which was crushed by the shah after Soviet troops withdrew from the area in May 1946.

The Kurdish revolt in Iraq began after the revolution that toppled the British-imposed monarchy in 1958.

In 1970, the Iraqi rulers agreed to grant the Kurds a degree of autonomy, the right to use their own language, and other concessions. But the agreements were quickly violated, as the regime resumed its drive to crush the Kurds. For a time in the 1970s, the Kurds received aid from the shah of Iran and the U.S. government in an effort

Continued on Page 17

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

New crackdown in South Africa

At least 22 Black trade unionists and anti-apartheid organizers have been detained in the latest crackdown by the apartheid regime in South Africa. An additional five faced restrictions on their activities. The apartheid rulers banned a major anti-apartheid conference that was to take place in Cape Town on the September 24 weekend.

South African police, aided by soldiers, raided offices of the country's largest union federation, the nonracial Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and other anti-apartheid groups. Pamphlets, anti-apartheid literature, and other material were seized.

Under a 28-month-old emergency decree the police are not required to release the names of those held. Most of those held were members of the 1-million-member COSATU and the 3-million-member United Democratic Front (UDF). Both groups were targets of a crackdown in February in which the activities of 17 organizations were banned.

Among those detained are Trevor Manuel and Zolile Malindi, regional leaders of the UDF, and several regional organizers of the National Union of Metalworkers.

Other anti-apartheid figures have taken refuge in the U.S. consulate in Johannesburg. Murphy Morobe and Mohammad Valli, leaders of the UDF; Vusi Khanyile, president of the National Education Crisis Committee; and Clifford Ngcobo, a member of the Soweto Civic Association, arrived at the consulate on September 13 and 22.

They had been held in detention for 14 to 21 months but managed to escape while receiving medical attention at a nearby hospital. The four have declared they will not leave the consulate until other detainees are released.

Aubrey Mokoena — chairman of the Release Mandela Campaign, a group working for the release of the jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela — is among five anti-apartheid leaders who have been restricted. Under the restrictions they must remain in their homes at night and within their magisterial districts during the day, and they are prohibited from talking to journalists.

Thousands in Chile rally against Pinochet

An estimated 200,000 people rallied September 4 against Gen. Augusto

Pinochet, the Chilean dictator. The action was held in the capital city of Santiago. Only two people were reported injured during the protest and there were no arrests. The protest came in the wake of the lifting of a 15-year-old state of emergency on August 27.

The rally was organized by a broad coalition called the Social Accord for the No. The coalition is backed by unions and political parties, including the Christian Democrats and the Party for Democracy. Its objective is to get a majority of Chileans to vote no in the plebiscite to be held October 5. A yes vote would give Pinochet another eight-year term as president.

Pinochet is the only candidate in the plebiscite. If a majority votes no, the general is required — by the rules for governmental transition drafted by the ruling military junta — to call elections for president by the end of next year. Parties other than Pinochet's would be allowed to enter candidates in that balloting.

The protest was the largest held against the junta, led by Pinochet, since it took power in a 1973 coup in which President Salvador Allende was killed. Thousands of unionists, students, and members of the Socialist and Communist parties were killed or "disappeared" by the military following the coup.

State of emergency imposed in Azerbaijan

The Soviet Union declared a state of emergency in a region of the Azerbaijani republic September 21. It is one of 15 republics within the Soviet Union. The declaration came after armed fighting between Azerbaijanis and Armenians in the Nagorno-Karabakh region where the emergency is now in effect. It is largely populated by Armenians.

Massive protests began in Nagorno-Karabakh and in the Armenian republic last February demanding that the region be incorporated into the Armenian republic. So far 36 people have been killed during the protests. In the recent fighting 17 people were hospitalized.

Nagorno-Karabakh was made a part of the Azerbaijani republic in 1923 by the Soviet government.

The state of emergency decree also makes a general strike by Armenians in Stepanakert, the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh, illegal. The strike has closed industry, schools and public transportation in the region.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Justice for Mark Curtis. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, supporter of Mark Curtis Defense Committee, attended Curtis trial in Des Moines. Sat., Oct. 1, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

The Drought and the U.S. Farm Crisis. Speakers: George Paris, Federation of Southern Cooperatives; Sue Skinner, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 8, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Justice for Mark Curtis. Speakers: Piri Thomas, Puerto Rican poet and author; Howard Wallace, national field representative for United Farm Workers union; Melba Maldonado, Committee for the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15; Joel Britton, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-547. Sat., Oct. 1, 7:30 p.m. ILWU Local 6, 255 9th St. (between Howard and Folsom). Donation: \$3. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

Bay Area Socialist Conference. Class 1: "1919-38: Lessons From the Founding of the Communist International and the Socialist Workers Party." Speaker: Peter Thierjung, SWP candidate for Congress from the East Bay, 9th C.D. Sat., Oct. 1, 1:30 p.m. Class 2: "Perestroika vs. a Revolutionary Program for the Soviet Union." Speaker: Marcus Mullen, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 1, 4 p.m. Militant Labor Forum: "An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis." Speaker: Joel Britton, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-547. Sat., Oct. 1, 7:30 p.m. Class 3: "The Rectification Campaign in Cuba." Speaker: Tina Rosen, chairperson of Oakland

Curtis beating

Continued from Page 5

who both Wolf and Dusenbery have sent to the hospital after alleged attempts to assault a cop.

In June 1983 Wolf made headlines when Jeffrey Feinman, a 22-year-old Drake University student, was shot to death by Wolf's partner after Feinman allegedly tried to grab Wolf's gun. The youth was killed at Broadlawn Hospital, where he had been taken for psychiatric evaluation after he had been arrested on two misdemeanor charges. Wolf was subsequently cleared of any wrongdoing by a police investigation.

Feinman's sister then sued the two cops in district court, but the jury ruled against her.

That same month, Wolf shot to death another prisoner at Broadlawn who allegedly tried to attack him.

In March 1984 Wolf and another officer maced a man, who had to be taken to the hospital, after the man allegedly grabbed his nightstick.

Dusenbery has a similar kind of record, as a review of the last 11 years of the *Des Moines Register* reveals.

(To be continued)

Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Oct. 2, 11 a.m. Class 4: "Building a Revolutionary Workers Party Today." Speaker to be announced. Sun., Oct. 2, 2 p.m. All events held at ILWU Local 6 Hall, 255 9th St. (between Howard and Folsom). Donation: each class \$2, forum \$3, or \$10 for weekend. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (415) 420-1165 or 282-6255.

Celebrate Eight Years of FMLN Struggle and Unity for the Freedom of the Salvadoran People. Video: *All the Love*, interviews with Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front combatants. Music by Grupo Atonal. Salvadoran food, no-host bar, and dance. Sat., Oct. 1, 7 p.m. Good Samaritan Community Center, 1292 Potrero (between 24th and 25th sts.). Donation: \$3. Sponsor: El Salvador Solidarity and Information Office. For more information call (415) 626-2161.

An Evening With Nicaraguan Youth on Tour in the U.S. Hear from two high school and two college students about their experiences in the reconstruction of their country. Sat., Oct. 8, 7:30 p.m. Dolores Baptist Church (Dolores St. at 15th). Donation: \$3-\$5. Sponsor: Maestros por la Paz and Science for the People. For more information call (415) 863-3778.

FLORIDA

Miami

Free Mark Curtis! Speaker: Thabo Ntweng, National Committee Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 1, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

Florida's "English Only" Referendum: Attack on Civil Rights. Speaker: Pat O'Reilly, Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 8, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Korea: The Truth Behind the Olympics Hype. Speakers: Nam Hee Lee, Young Koreans United; representative Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 8, 6 p.m. 6826 S Stony Island Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 363-7322 or 363-7136.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

The Decline of the U.S. Empire and the Road Forward for Working People. Speaker: James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president. Sun., Oct. 9, 5 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Campaign '88. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

Defend Women's Right to Abortion. Panel discussion of threat to overturn *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision. Sat., Oct. 15. Dinner, 6 p.m.; panel, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

South Korean Struggle for Democracy and Reunification. Sat., Oct. 1, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Revolutionary Cuba Today. Speaker: Omari

Musa, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, recently visited Cuba. Sat., Oct. 1, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

South Africa's Defeat in Angola. A class by Omari Musa. Sun., Oct. 2, 11 a.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Film showing of Malcolm X Speaks. Sat., Oct. 1, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Walkathon for Medical Aid to Central America. Sat., Oct. 15. Gather 11 a.m. at Columbia University, 116th St. and Broadway. For more information call (212) 979-8805.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

The Economic Crisis in the Caribbean. Speakers to be announced. Sun., Oct. 9, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OREGON

Portland

The Truth Behind the U.S. Government's "War on Drugs." Speaker: Janet Post, Socialist Workers Party, member United Transportation Union Local 1238. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 1, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Young Socialist Alliance Pot Luck Supper. Sat., Oct. 1, 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave., Donation: \$4. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS

Houston

Uprising in Burma. Speaker: James Khyne, Burmese-born member Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 8, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Report from Frame-Up Trial of Mark Curtis. How the Des Moines, Iowa, Cops Framed and Beat a Unionist and Political Activist. Speaker: Brian Williams, eyewitness to frame-up trial. Sat., Oct. 1, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Farm Workers Fight Against Pesticides and Poor Work Conditions. Speaker: Dan Carter, district director, United Farm Workers, Greater Washington Boycott Support Committee. Video, *Wrath of Grapes*. Sat., Oct. 1, 7:30 p.m. 3165 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

New York

Mark Curtis Defense Rally

Speakers:

Yvonne Meléndez Puerto Rico/Hartford 15 defendant • **Bob Livesey** national coordinator of the Veterans Peace Convoy • **Cindy Bennett** striking paperworker, Jay, Maine, member United Paperworkers International Union Local 14 • Representative of the **African National Congress** of South Africa • **Kate Kaku** wife of Mark Curtis • **Héctor Marroquin** Mexican-born socialist who recently won permanent residency in the United States • Representative **Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador** • **John Gaige** Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Sun., Oct. 9. Reception 1 p.m.; rally 2 p.m. Mabel Dean High School Annex, corner 2nd Ave. and 15th St. Manhattan. Sponsor: MCDC. For more information call (212) 925-1668 or (201) 643-3341

The Decline of the U.S. Empire and the Road Forward for Working People. Speaker: James Warren, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. president. Fri., Oct. 7, reception, 7 pm.; forum to follow. 3165 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Socialist Workers '88 Campaign Committee. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

The Decline of the U.S. Empire and the Road Forward for Working People. Speaker: James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president. Sun., Oct. 2, 5:30 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Rebellion in Haiti. Speaker: Matt Munro, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Oct. 8, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

The Third World Debt Crisis: How It Affects Workers in the U.S. Speaker: Pat Grogan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Film: *Children in Debt*. Sat., Oct. 1, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

BRITAIN

London

New International Forum. Video on Malcolm X. Shown for the first time in Britain. Fri., Oct. 7, 7 p.m. Pathfinder Bookshop, 47 The Cut, London SE1. Donation: £1.

Nottingham

Public Meeting on Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution. Speakers: representative of South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia; Betty Heathfield, Women Against Pit Closures; Connie Harris, Pathfinder. Fri., Oct. 14, 7 p.m. International Community Center, 61B Mansfield Rd. Donation: £1.

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Wellington: 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Postal address: P.O. Box 9092. (4) Tel: 844-205.

SWEDEN

Stockholm: P.O. Box 5024, S-12505 Älvsjö. Tel: (08) 722-9342.

Still polluting — With his heirs warring over his big-bucks estate, new facts have emerged about the demise of Henry Ford II. His will



Harry Ring

stipulated that his ashes be secretly scattered from a helicopter onto the waters of the Detroit River.

A touch of irony? — Philip and Rita Amato of New York face one to three years for torching a building on their block slated to be a children's shelter. In an unusual

presentencing conference, a judge said the Amatos would not be jailed at the same time so that their children would always have a parent at home.

Everything's cool — Japanese officials and the power industry are waging a massive campaign to persuade an increasingly skeptical public that the islands' nuclear power plants are safe. Since April, there have been 21 "incidents," eight of them forcing shutdowns.

You scratch my back . . . — Five Massachusetts city and town treasurers apparently broke the law by accepting free meals, theater tickets, and a Florida golf trip from a bank. But state probers felt the practice had been so common that no action should be taken.

Treasurers select the banks in which municipal funds are deposited.

Cross the "t," turkey — At Land O' Frost, the Arkansas cold cut company, the director of "human resources" is into handwriting analysis. He says a specimen will tell him if someone will relate to cutting turkey all day. He also uses handwriting to block promotions.

The Crawlman — A new market is being opened for cassette players. There's the Babyphones for the pregnancy period. Lightweight stereo speakers wrap around the waist, offering the incipient person gentle music or the crooning of mom 'n pop. Follow up with "womb tune." Pacifies the

newborn with the body sounds heard in utero.

Family man — Faced with a hostile takeover, I. MacAllister Booth, top dog at Polaroid, vowed, "This company is like a family to me. When my family gets attacked, I fight." Fighting the takeover, he said, means cutting costs and hiking profits. So, 1,500 of the Polaroid "family" will take early retirement or get bounced.

Aesthetics dep't — "There has been a tendency to believe that the most profound effect of architecture has been deciding what kind of molding to put in the \$3 million beach house of an investment banker." — Architecture critic Paul Goldberger on recent trends

in the profession.

Apparently so — Louis, Boston (that's the name), a clothing shop, is opening a New York branch. Suits, \$1,100 and up, neckties from \$50, shirts \$135 to \$150. A bit pricey, the owner concedes, but "If you want quality and good service, there's a price for it."

The way the cookie crumbles — NEW YORK (AP) — Purveyors of tip sheets, investor hotlines, and market-intelligence reports have suffered sharp declines in new subscriptions in the months since the October crash. Several have put their businesses up for sale and others have stopped publishing because of cancellations and trouble in finding new customers.

Real Miami: new political space for Cuba partisans

Continued from Page 14

and purchased a painting by Manuel Mendive (one of the four) for \$500. He took it out and burned it. Despite this incident, 500 people attended the auction, which grossed \$200,000.

The following Tuesday, May 3, a pipe

advertisement

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The following stations are committed as of 12 September 1988*

KLCC-Eugene OR	Springs OH
WRFG-Atlanta GA	KILI-Porcupine SD
WORT-Madison WI	KUMD-Duluth MN
KGUN-Boulder CO	WHUS-Storrs CT
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KMUD-Garberville CA	KRCL-Salt Lake City
WBAI-New York	KCMU-Seattle WA
WYSO-Yellow	KFAI-Minneapolis

*For up-dates, contact Stuart Hutchison

bomb blew up at the museum, doing only cosmetic damage.

At a heated meeting the next night, 17 of the board's 54 members walked out after Cernuda and another museum vice-president, Teresa Saldise, refused to resign.

Cernuda said, "I sense there is incredible fear. . . . The board is truly intimidated." But, he added, "the issues are no longer censorship and intolerance, the issues are intimidation and terrorism."

The campaign of intimidation continued. The Dade County Cuban-American delegation to the state legislature withdrew its previous request for increased state funding for the museum. Nonetheless a new board was elected that rejected calls for its resignation that came from powerful right-wing exile organizations such as the Cuban American National Foundation and the Latin Chamber of Commerce. The Miami City Commission requested state and federal investigations of the bombing.

A debate was organized between Cuban supporters and opponents of the museum's policy. "The issue is now whether you can live in Miami and think differently, or whether everyone in Miami has to believe the same thing," Museum Director Pedro Ramón López told the meeting. The gathering was held at the union hall of the International Association of Machinists local that organizes Eastern Airlines workers here.

This debate continues. A "Cuban Museum Rescue Committee" has been formed by those who resigned. But all sides have condemned the terrorist bombing.

The Union of Cuban Writers and Artists in Cuba has also entered this discussion. It

Kurds flee repression

Continued from Page 15

to put pressure on the Iraqi regime.

In 1974, the Iraqi government proclaimed autonomy for the Kurdish areas — but with provisos guaranteeing near-total control from the Iraqi capital of Baghdad. In 1975, the Iraqi rulers signed a treaty with the shah, and aid to the Kurdish fighters was cut off.

The Iraqi government then escalated its drive to subjugate the Kurds. The regime systematically razed all Kurdish villages within 12 miles along its frontier with Iran and Turkey and deported hundreds of thousands to the south.

The situation in Iraq at this time highlighted the discrimination that Kurds face. Although they make up about one-fifth of the Iraqi population, only 3 percent of the country's industry was located in Kurdish areas in 1975. Even oil refineries and steel or iron mills, which use raw materials from Kurdish areas, were built in the Arab-populated parts of the country.

In the wake of the 1979 Iranian revolution that toppled the shah, the Iranian Kurds also waged a struggle for autonomy, but they were pushed back by the military repression carried out by the Khomeini-led government.

The opening of the Iran-Iraq war in 1980 provided an opening for the Kurds in Iraq to intensify their struggle. Kurdish organizations eventually claimed to have control of an area encompassing 4,000 square miles.

offered to send paintings for the museum to exhibit. It condemned the burning of Mendive's work as a "fanatical reaction" and "a monstrous act."

Meanwhile, the museum has successfully gone ahead with its next project — a major showing of works by the world famous Cuban artist Amelia Pelaez. Until her death in 1968, Pelaez continued to live and work in revolutionary Cuba.

A group of no more than 50 picketed outside on opening night, July 15, while some 250 people enjoyed the paintings inside. On subsequent days hundreds continued to enjoy the exhibit, while a small handful picketed outside.

Another example of the increased isolation of terrorist groups within the Cuban community is the outraged reaction to the May 26 pipe bombing of the home of María Cristina Herrera.

Herrera, who left Cuba in 1960, has been disabled since birth. She lives with her 70-year-old mother.

A Metro-Dade Community College professor, Herrera heads the Institute of Cuban Studies here. The bombing was in response to an institute conference scheduled for the

next day on "USA-Cuba, Another Perestroika?"

After the bombing, the Sheraton Hotel management refused to allow the conference to take place as scheduled.

But the University of Miami invited the 100 conference participants to its campus.

The University of Miami Graduate School of International Studies' associate dean for academic affairs, Enrique Ba loyra, was one of the panelists.

Referring to recent actions by right-wing Cuban groups, he brought the applauding audience to its feet when he asked, "What to say about those valued patriots that win faith for their anticommunism by intimidating handicapped children, dancers, and singers, athletes, painters, and artists? Who needs to maintain the image of an angry, unthinking and reactionary exile? Who benefits, in the end, if we continue to be the political laughingstock of the hemisphere?"

The bombing was also condemned by Tomás García Fusté, a prominent right-wing radio newscaster on WQBA-La Cubanísima. Moments later, Fusté himself received a telephone bomb threat.

(To be continued)

— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25c

Oct. 6, 1978

Using weapons supplied by Washington, the U.S.-trained troops of the Nicaraguan National Guard have succeeded in regaining control over the cities where popular uprisings occurred during the second week of September.

Terror and mass destruction have been the principal methods of the National Guard. As *Newsweek* magazine put it, "President Anastasio Somoza . . . seemed ready to destroy his country in order to save it — for himself."

Estelí, a town of 25,000 some 80 miles north of Managua, was the last to fall and the hardest hit. "The whole town is a cemetery," a Red Cross worker said after the National Guard fought their way into Estelí on September 21. "The guardsmen are killing like dogs," said another.

THE MILITANT
Published in the interests of the Working People
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The Militant reprinted this item that originally appeared in a bulletin put out by Canadians living in Cuba.

Is there democracy in Cuba? Do the people have some say about what's done, about who represents them in government? When audiences in movie theaters applaud at the appearance of their revolutionary leaders on the screen; when more than a million people turn out for a demonstration in Havana, while simultaneously other meetings are taking place in other parts of the country,

they are indicating how enthusiastically they support their government.

A new political party is now being formed in Cuba in order to give direction to the political life of the country — a party based on Marxist-Leninist philosophy. It will encompass workers and farmers, professionals, and intellectuals, from all sections and all levels. A mass meeting of the employees of the Cuban Institute of Mineral Resources was held during the month of March. For two days running approximately 300 people spoke, discussed, and argued over the nominees who were to be their political representatives for the United Party [of the Socialist Revolution].

The regulations imposed for a person to qualify for membership are designed so that the best workers are selected: participation in voluntary work; enrollment in the militia; exemplary work record; excellent relations with fellow workers; participation in organizational activities; etc. A minimum of 80 percent of the employees in their favor is necessary for nomination.

Here is how the meeting went. An accounting-machine operator was nominated. Primarily through his efforts, working 12 to 16 hours a day, the previous years' accounting had been completed, thereby eliminating a backlog of six months' work. In addition, he had stood guard twice a week, four hours at a time, and had gone cane-cutting on weekends.

Women had their share of nominations. Efforts in raising funds, clothing, and equipment for a school adopted by the institute won an attractive brunette, a typist, her approval by the workers.

The head of the nucleus of the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations (ORI) was turned down for neglecting his work in the institute, for taking privileges that his position offered, and for his habit of making types of promises which were not fulfilled. He was discussed for three hours.

Frame-up victims around world

The number of working people incarcerated in U.S. jails continues to rise, along with the numbers on death row. This trend is not limited to the United States.

As social and economic conditions worsen, workers and farmers in many countries more and more often find themselves "in trouble" with cops, courts, and other repressive institutions.

Workers and farmers are routinely framed up, presumed guilty in the media, convicted by stacked juries on the basis of perjured testimony, and handed brutal sentences by biased judges. There is no justice for working people in any part of the law enforcement setup. The system is aimed at intimidating us.

Workers and farmers who are outspoken fighters against capitalist oppression and exploitation are especially targeted for this treatment. As clashes increase between the employing class and working people, there are going to be more frame-ups and jailings.

Defending the victims of the so-called system of justice is vital. Workers protecting each other is part of our struggle to win more political space for the fight to defend our interests and eventually overturn capitalist rule.

Following are some of the victimized fighters against injustice, who deserve our full support:

- Six South African youths remain in prison and under sentence of death for having participated in a protest against rent increases in the Black township of Sharpeville, during which a township councilman was killed. Their execution was indefinitely postponed in July by the apartheid regime to allow "legal remedies, including appeals" to be exhausted.

- Eddie Hatcher and Timothy Jacobs, Tuscarora Indians, are on trial in North Carolina for "hostage taking" — a federal offense carrying a possible life sentence. Their trial stems from their protest against racist discrimination in the county government, including the refusal to solve the murders of Indians and Blacks.

- Mark Curtis, a political activist and unionist who was convicted September 14 in Des Moines, Iowa, on trumped-up charges of burglary and attempted rape, goes on trial October 10 on charges of having assaulted the police who beat him up when he was arrested in March.

- In Israel, the killings and other repressive measures

against Palestinian protesters have been accompanied by stepped-up repression against any one in Israel who opposes the oppression of Palestinians. Five members of the editorial board of *Derech Hanitzotz* (Way of the Spark) are being held in jail and subjected to abuse. Four are now on trial on charges of being members of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Michel Warschawski, who heads the Alternative Information Centre in West Jerusalem, is on trial on charges of aiding the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

- In Hartford, Connecticut, 15 Puerto Ricans who advocate independence for their country are being tried on charges of conspiracy in connection with the 1983 robbery at a Wells Fargo depot. From taping private conversations to long detention without bail to selecting an anonymous jury and violating the defendants' right to a jury of their peers, the government has trampled on every constitutional right in its drive to assure conviction.

- Four Kentucky miners, members of the United Mine Workers of America, are in jail on murder charges stemming from their participation in the 1984-85 strike against A.T. Massey Coal Co. Federal and local cops collaborated with the company to cook up the case against these unionists. They are appealing their convictions and prison sentences of 35 to 45 years each. A fifth miner now faces murder charges stemming from the same incident in a state trial after having been acquitted in a federal trial.

- Six alleged members of the Irish Republican Army are serving life sentences in Great Britain, charged with planting a bomb at a pub in the city of Birmingham. Confessions were beaten out of the "Birmingham Six," who remain in prison, even though the case against them has been exposed as a fraud.

- Leonard Peltier, a founder and central leader of the American Indian Movement, has been in prison since 1976. He is charged with participating in the killing of two FBI agents during a government attack on an Indian protest at the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota. His conviction was upheld even though government officials have admitted falsifying evidence and having "no idea" who killed the agents.

'Timely' debt payments

The annual joint meeting of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, held in West Berlin, was stacked against the debt-burdened peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Pacific.

Although 151 countries sent 10,000 representatives, the gathering — like the IMF and World Bank themselves — was dominated by the imperialist countries known as the Group of Seven: the United States, France, Japan, Britain, Canada, West Germany, and Italy. The Third World countries never got a serious hearing for proposals that could remedy the staggering burden of the \$1.2 trillion debt they owe banks in the imperialist countries.

On the eve of the September 27-29 conference, the Group of Seven announced a plan that — through reduced interest payments, partial debt forgiveness, and longer repayment schedules — is supposed to reduce the debt burden of some of the world's poorest countries.

The Japanese representatives announced a plan they say will provide some relief to what are termed "middle-income" debtor countries, mainly in Latin America, through increased loans and debt restructuring.

U.S. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, continuing Washington's policy of opposing virtually all moves that even hint at meaningful debt relief for colonial and semicolonial countries, chided the IMF for its growing "arrears" problem. "Let us remember that the IMF began as a

revolving pool of resources," Brady said. "A revolving fund must revolve, with payments made in a timely fashion."

Last year, the net flow of funds from semicolonial debt or countries into the coffers of the ruling imperialist families was more the \$20 billion.

Outlining the effects of Latin America's \$410 billion debt, Colombia's Finance Minister Luis Fernando Alarcón Mantilla told the conference, "National product in real terms has declined, per capita income has fallen, and social conditions have deteriorated."

Botswana's Finance Minister Peter Mmusi explained that attempts to pay Africa's \$220 billion debt — which has doubled since 1980 — has pushed the continent to the breaking point.

No consideration was given at the IMF-World Bank meeting to the only real solution to the Third World debt crisis — cancellation. But this proposal, first put forward by Cuban President Fidel Castro, is one that is gaining increasing support among the world's toilers, who daily stagger under this ever-greater burden.

This demand is also gaining more of a hearing among working people and youth in the imperialist countries, whose fate is completely bound up with that of toilers in the colonial and semicolonial countries as the worldwide economic crisis looms closer and closer.

Raise the minimum wage!

The refusal of the U.S. Congress to adopt even a paltry 40 cent per year increase in the legal minimum wage for the next three years — raising it from \$3.35 an hour to \$4.55 — is a blow aimed at all workers.

The measure died when there proved to be insufficient votes in the U.S. Senate to halt a filibuster by Republicans. The increase would have been the first since 1981.

But Democratic Sen. Robert Byrd of West Virginia said, that the increase would probably not have been enacted even if the filibuster had been halted. Since both houses of Congress are controlled by the Democrats, this highlights the bipartisan character of the bloc that defeated this legislation.

A representative of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce hailed the outcome, claiming that "hundreds of thousands of jobs were saved today."

The employers rake in billions of dollars by paying

workers who are the least organized and most discriminated against less than a living wage. A disproportionate number of these workers are Blacks, Latinos, or women.

Holding down the minimum wage tends to keep the wages of all workers lower. In capitalist society, wages are set from the bottom up, not the top down. A lower minimum wage puts the employers in a stronger position to hold down the wages of the rest of the working class.

The minimum wage, which was first won in 1938 after massive struggles by working people, is an affirmative-action measure that limits the scope of widening wage inequality and helps counter racist and sexist discrimination in the job market.

Raising the minimum wage would help increase the wage level for all workers, particularly benefiting the lowest paid. This would increase the unity and political strength of the working class for the big battles that lie ahead.

The fight to guarantee farmers use of their land

BY DOUG JENNESS

Land is very much on the minds of farmers — no matter what part of the world they live in. Do they have enough? Does it cost too much? What shape is it in?

Ever since human beings began tilling the soil and keeping animals, land has been essential to farming. Working farmers are necessarily preoccupied with it.

This is quite different than for people who are employed as wage workers in factories, mines, meat-packing

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

plants, or other enterprises. When they go to work they don't think much about land, unless, of course, they're also farmers. They may also be buying a house on a small plot of land and be worried about mortgage payments and interest. But land is not a big question for them in how they make a living. They show up for work at a factory or mine that they don't own, use machinery that doesn't belong to them, and produce products that are not theirs to use or sell. As producers they don't need land.

Working farmers, however, need land whether they are communal producers from Burkina Faso, sharecroppers from the Philippines, or soybean farmers from Missouri. And all of these producers face a common problem — they live under a sword that threatens to sever them from their land.

Millions of tenant farmers can lose their land any time the landlord chooses to kick them off.

Working farmers who do hold title to their "own" land in reality own the noose that is used by bankers and other lenders to hang them. To get loans farmers put up their land as collateral. When times get hard and costs are greater than income, farmers are unable to make their interest payments. The bankers won't roll over the debts any longer, the mortgages are foreclosed, and the farmers are forced off their land. Holding a deed is not enough to keep the sheriff's posse from seizing the farmers' land, machinery, livestock, and even personal possessions.

The last decade has been a nightmare for farmers all over the world. In the economically advanced capitalist countries many have lost their farms. And in the semicolonial and colonial countries, the plight of those who work the land has worsened as millions have been forced off the land and into urban slums. The unprecedented debts owed to imperialist bankers has severely aggravated the conditions they face.

But as bad as conditions have gotten in the last few years, the storm clouds that are gathering portend an even more devastating crisis. Farmers around the world, like millions of wage workers, were jolted by the October 1987 stock market crash. This was no ordinary dip, but the steepest plunge in prices on the New York Stock Exchange in this century. The biggest previous drop was the Wall Street Crash of 1929 that signaled the Great Depression of the 1930s.

The world depression that is coming will engulf working people in a devastating economic and social crisis in every corner of the globe where the capitalist market reaches.

Under the pressures of this crisis, the exploiters will intensify their efforts to pit workers and farmers against each other. They will attempt to utilize the different forms of exploitation of these producing classes to keep us from joining together in a common struggle against our common enemy.

What is needed to prevent this is for the labor movement to champion demands that draw exploited wage workers and the exploited debt slaves on the land into a united fight. This perspective requires advancing proposals to guarantee farmers the use of the land they need to farm.

One of the foremost needs of agricultural producers around the world is land. Land of large capitalist landholders should be confiscated and distributed to farmers and farm laborers who've been deprived of land or have insufficient land to make a decent living.

Farmers currently renting lands, as well as those awarded any grants of land, should be given deeds reaffirming this guarantee.

Land farmers use should not be subject to leasing agreements, sharecropping arrangements, and mortgages. Instead of being forced to mortgage land in order to cover production costs, working farmers should be provided cheap credit by the government on the basis of need.

In order to end the evils of real estate speculation and to prevent the concentration of land ownership in the hands of new layers of exploiters, the only land sales permitted should be transfers to the state. All other buying and selling of land should be abolished.

Fighting for these measures will be part of the program that will help workers and farmers weld an alliance in the struggle to protect themselves from the adversities they face today and the ravages of the social and economic disaster that is coming.

Next week I'll take up the problem of prices that farmers face.

How packinghouse workers won skirmish in two plants

BY PHIL NORRIS

ALBERT LEA, Minn. — Packinghouse workers in two plants in Iowa and Minnesota won a recent skirmish with the Farmstead Food Co.

Protesting a change in attendance policy, 1,600 United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) members walked off the job on August 31 at the Farmstead plant in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The next morning 1,200 workers here in Albert Lea joined them in the walkout.

These Farmstead plants used to be part of the Wilson

UNION TALK

packing company — one of the longtime "big five" U.S. meat-packing outfits.

The company was sold to an Albert Lea businessman in 1984. Overnight, wages were cut from \$10.70 an hour to \$6.25. We currently work under a two-tier wage structure. It takes 18 months to reach the top of pay scale — \$8.60 an hour.

Conditions are much like those at other packinghouses around the country. We work long hours at high speeds. Many suffer knife cuts and repetitive motion injuries.

But the workers at Farmstead are combative. In the hog kill here in Albert Lea last year, management arbitrarily eliminated spell-out men (butchers who relieve other workers for brief stints prior to scheduled breaks.) A work slowdown was organized, and the company was forced to restore the spell-out men.

After a worker was almost killed a few months ago

when he slipped and fell on his knife, some workers organized a meeting at the union center. We discussed a work stoppage if the company refused to grant a series of proposals. Many of the changes we demanded were soon met.

The company put the new attendance policy into effect on August 1. Under its provisions, people can be fired for missing or being late for work as few as eight days a year.

This policy was implemented just as the busiest time of the year was approaching. During this period, after putting in continual 50 to 60 hour weeks, exhaustion forces many to take a day off.

A worker at Albert Lea passed out during a wave of 100 degree plus temperatures. Under the new attendance policy, he was given a disciplinary "point" for going home after reviving.

Three Albert Lea workers drew suspensions because of the policy. Another was fired in Cedar Rapids.

We got word of the Cedar Rapids walkout at about 1:30 in the afternoon on August 31. Over the previous week, we had been slaughtering more than 7,000 hogs a day. But this particular day, management insisted that we had to slaughter more than 8,300 hogs. We quickly realized that the bosses were trying to shift some of the hogs normally slaughtered in Cedar Rapids to the plant here.

There was a lot of discussion about stopping work. But after a meeting with union officials, management posted 7,500 as the number of hogs that would be killed that day. This kept people from shutting down production, but there was still sentiment for doing something to support our brothers and sisters in Cedar Rapids.

The next morning production never started in Albert Lea. Management and union officers began talking while the rest of us congregated outside the plant.

At 10:30 a.m. the company announced that all the workers who had been disciplined were being brought back. The attendance policy, they said, was "temporarily suspended." It was reported that the same agreement had also been reached in Cedar Rapids.

With this news, production resumed again in Albert Lea.

But the company did not back down on the policy at the Cedar Rapids packinghouse. So unionists there stayed out that afternoon and the following day as they organized a meeting to discuss what to do next.

At the meeting, union officials sounded the theme that strikes can have bad consequences. Management threatened to close down the Cedar Rapids plant altogether.

Under these pressures, the UFCW members in Cedar Falls returned to their jobs without the attendance policy being scrapped — though it was modified somewhat.

Although the fired worker was not formally recalled, he showed up for work the next day anyway and the company didn't tell him to leave.

This series of events has prompted much discussion. A worker described what happened as a show of strength between the union and the company with our contract due to expire at the end of the year.

Workers in both plants see the need for better communication between the locals in future struggles.

Phil Norris is a member of UFCW Local P-6 at the Farmstead plant in Albert Lea, Minnesota. Also contributing to this article was P-6 member Dean Peoples.

LETTERS

González and Curtis

Break of Dawn, directed by Isaac Arstenstein, is a film based on only a portion of the life of Pedro González. It doesn't go into the most famous part of his life — that of telegraph operator for Pancho Villa during the Mexican revolution.

Yet, in its way, the film tells an equally important story. González became the first Spanish-speaking radio announcer in the United States. As a celebrity in the Mexican community in and around Los Angeles, he used his popularity to help the struggle against racist deportations of Mexicans by the U.S. government.

In 1934 González was framed on a rape charge and sentenced to 50 years in San Quentin. María González, his wife, went on the air for several months to raise funds and organized supporters to collect more than 300,000 signatures on a petition to the California governor demanding González' freedom.

The young woman who had testified against González recanted. He was freed in 1940, only to be immediately deported to Mexico.

Break of Dawn is a film about the necessity and dignity of the struggle against racism. Parallels with the current frame-up of Mark Curtis are obvious. Supporters of Curtis should see this film and bring Mark's story to all other viewers in the form of petitions, fact sheets, and fund-raising efforts.

Allan Grady
San Diego, California

Debt crisis

In the September 16 *Militant* a reader asks whether cancellation of the Third World debt would cause a collapse of the international banking system, leading to tremendous suffering.

Doug Jenness replies in the same issue that this may be so, but that the debt crisis itself is so disastrous that we have to call for cancellation.

This leaves out Fidel Castro's answer to the same question. In a 1985 interview Castro states, "It has been said that failure to pay the debt would destabilize and sink the international financial system. This isn't necessarily so. I suggest that the industrialized creditor countries can and should make themselves responsible for the debts to their own banks." He

points out that the governments of the advanced capitalist countries could cover the whole debt with even only a modest reduction in military spending.

I think this should be seen not as a condition or qualification on our demand for cancellation of the debt, but as a further demand to defend working people from the effects of the capitalist crisis.

Tom Campion
Hammond, Indiana

Leonard Peltier

Thank you for the excellent article-interview with Leonard Peltier. It is now posted on the bulletin board of the Southwest Missouri Indian Center here.

I do not presume to imply that my political views are representative of the majority of the members of its board of directors, or others associated with the Indian center. However, pieces such as this one on Peltier help stimulate the kind of thought and debate that is good. After all, no one here can deny that — like it or not — Leonard is our brother and we must care what happens to him.

Jack Bresée
member, Board of Directors
Southwest Missouri Indian Center
Springfield, Missouri

Political prisoners

My name is Susan Rosenberg. I am a political prisoner. I have been in prison for weapons possession since November 1984. Your paper covered our trial in Newark, New Jersey.

Since then my codefendant Tim Blunk and I have had all our sentence appeals denied. Tim has spent the last two years in Marion federal prison, and for the last 35 months I have been in either solitary confinement or small group isolation.

I spent the last 20 months in the High Security Unit at the Lexington, Kentucky, federal prison. The unit was condemned by Amnesty International as a violation of Article 5 of the United Nations Human Rights Charter in a special report issued this month.

We won a civil lawsuit against the Bureau of Prisons on the basis of violations of our First Amendment rights. Judge Barrington Parker ruled that I and other women political prisoners were placed there because of our political beliefs. It was an important decision for the First Amendment,



Chip Bok

for prisoners, and most specifically for political prisoners in that Judge Parker recognized us as political women.

After three and a half years in prison I, along with five other political prisoners, was indicted by the government in a political bombing conspiracy case in Washington. We are charged with bombing the Capitol in 1983 after the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

Our conditions in the D.C. jail are extremely repressive. The government is doing everything it can under the rubric of "security" to obstruct our defense. The current attacks on us are grave human rights violations.

We hope that your paper will investigate and cover our trial and our situation. You can obtain information from the Emergency Committee to Defend the Human and Legal Rights of Political Prisoners at 220 Fifth Ave., 16th Floor, New York, N.Y. or P.O. Box 28101, Washington D.C. 20038.

Susan Rosenberg
Washington, D.C.

Abortion

A right-to-life organization sent my mother, Barbara Cox, some antiabortion literature explaining how her contribution was urgently needed to help finance the over-

turn of a woman's constitutional right to safe, legal abortion.

My mother wrote a letter in response to the solicitation and in support of abortion. I would like to share part of what she wrote with the thousands of *Militant* readers who, like my mother and I, stand up in defense of abortion because it is a woman's right to choose.

Stephanie Collins
Doraville, Georgia

National Right to Life
Committee, Inc.

Dear John C. Willke:

I feel it is a woman's right to choose if she wants to have an abortion or not. It is not up to you or any organization to choose for her.

Women have been having abortions for a long time, and they will continue to do so. I am just glad they have access to safe and legal abortions, instead of being butchered in the back room of some unsanitary shack.

President Reagan supports the South African government. That government, with the help of the Reagan administration, kills unborn babies as well as children every day. Thousands of black youth are gunned down in the streets of South Africa for stand-

ing up for basic human rights.

The president of the United States gave U.S.-made weapons to the Israelis, who used them against defenseless Palestinian women who were pregnant. This attack caused countless unwanted abortions.

Mr. Willke, instead of fighting for something that is none of your business — because abortion is a woman's constitutional right and a matter between her and her God — you should direct your energy to the fight against apartheid in South Africa. You should join the fight for the right of the Palestinian people to regain their land. You should fight against wife abuse in this country, homelessness, hunger, and racism.

All these issues are social issues that need your involvement, not abortion, which is a private matter.

Barbara Cox
Doraville, Georgia

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.

'Drop charges against Hartford 15'

1,500 march to protest frame-up of Puerto Rican activists

BY SUSAN APSTEIN

HARTFORD, Conn. — Nearly 1,500 demonstrators, mostly from New England and New York, marched through the streets of this city September 24 in support of the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15.

Chanting "U.S. justice is a lie," they stopped in front of the federal courthouse to express outrage at the way jury selection is being loaded against five of the defendants whose trial began two and a half weeks ago. The protesters demanded that all charges against the 15 be dropped.

The case began Aug. 30, 1985, when hundreds of FBI agents invaded the homes of independence supporters in Puerto Rico, arresting them on charges of conspiracy in a 1983 Wells Fargo robbery here in Hartford. Brought to the United States to stand trial, most of defendants were refused bail for more than a year, despite the fact that they had been convicted of nothing. Two defendants were kept locked up for more than two and a half years.

"Because of the years of publicity against the defendants as 'terrorists,' — and the location — it's impossible to have a fair trial here," a woman from the Association of Latino Attorneys explained.

She marched alongside a contingent of students from Yale University law school. One added, "As law students we're taught we should defend our system, but look what we're being taught here. This is a total abuse of the defendants' human and civil rights — rights supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution."

Marching under a banner that read, "Puerto Rico no esta solo, su lucha es nuestra lucha," (Puerto Rico is not alone, their fight is our fight), a woman from the Dominican Women's Collective explained, "We are also a Caribbean people and suffer the same conditions of poverty because of U.S. domination. We support the fight for Puerto Rican independence."

An organizer for the Dominican Workers Party said many of the marchers in the Dominican contingent — 100 strong — came to Hartford after hearing about the case from a member of the Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression who was invited to speak at a church in the Dominican community in New York.

"People were angry about the way the jury is being picked here. It reflects the racism that's part of U.S. justice," he said. "The purpose of the so-called anonymous jury — where the names and addresses of the jurors is kept secret — is to create an image of the Puerto Ricans as a group of people you should be afraid of and therefore a group of people who should be found guilty and kept in jail."

Greeted in Puerto Rican neighborhood

Marching in contingents of the Palestine Solidarity Committee, National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, Comité Hondureño Francisco Morazán, Puerto Rican Student Union at Rutgers State University, the Brooklyn youth group El Puente, and others — the protesters were cheered as they wound their way through the Puerto Rican neighborhood here.

As the march reached the site for the rally in Betances Park, Juan Ramón Acevedo, one of the lawyers in the case, explained, "The jurors know nothing of the traditions, culture, or politics of Puerto Rico — which is the only place the defendants can be tried by a jury of their peers. Will we even be allowed to present the real political issues in this case?"

The rally opened with a presentation from the 15 and a message of support sent by Hartford Mayor Carrie Saxon Perry. The keynote speaker, from Puerto Rico, was Rev. Eunice Santana, coordinator of the National Ecumenical Movement.

Also speaking to the protesters were Rita Córdova of the National Committee for



Militant/Don Gurewitz

"Free all political prisoners! Down with colonialism!"

Freedom for Prisoners of War; Rabab Habib from the national executive committee of the Palestine Solidarity Committee; a representative from the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee; and Boston civil rights activist Mel King. Chants of "Free Nelson Mandela!" greeted a performance by the Sechaba Singers from South Africa.

Ojeda Ríos

A message was read from defendant Filiberto Ojeda Ríos, who was rearrested this August after being denied the right to

be released on bail for two and a half years.

"Rearresting Ojeda Ríos and chaining him to a hospital bed at the military base in Puerto Rico is part of the government's 'antiterrorist' campaign," defendant Elías Castro Ramos told the *Militant*. "We'd been out of jail for almost a year and a half. We were in Hartford, citizens like any other citizens. People saw us on the street and knew we weren't terrorists."

"The government has also prepared a list of 400 witnesses," Castro Ramos explained. "This is a smoke screen to dis-

guise that they have no case — no evidence — against us. The list includes the defendants themselves, their families, people here and in Puerto Rico who support us, journalists — two reporters from the *Hartford Courant* — and others.

"They're trying to create the impression they've got a lot of evidence and a lot of witnesses," he continued. "But these witnesses aren't willing to testify against any of us." (Since the demonstration, the government has reduced the list to less than 200, removing the names of some independence supporters.)

Trial of North Carolina Indians opens

BY SHERRIE LOVE

RALEIGH, N.C. — "The court is ready to proceed and will proceed with this trial. Mr. Hatcher has chosen to defend himself," declared U.S. District Judge Terrence Boyle September 26.

"No, your honor," responded Richard Hatcher, who, along with Timothy Jacobs, is on trial in Boyle's courtroom for a protest earlier this year against racist discrimination in Robeson County, North Carolina.

"I have had that decision forced on me against my constitutional rights."

The exchange stemmed from Boyle's refusal to grant a continuance of the trial. This effectively barred Hatcher from being represented in court by his attorney, William Kunstler. Kunstler was trying a case in New York City. The judge in that case had informed Boyle that Kunstler could not be released to appear in the North Carolina courtroom on the date Boyle had set.

Boyle pressured Hatcher to accept Barry Nakell, a professor of law at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, as his attorney. Nakell agreed to advise Hatcher but not to serve as his trial lawyer. Boyle rejected Nakell's offer.

Hatcher, meanwhile, continued to insist: "Bill Kunstler is my attorney."

When Nakell appeared to question Boyle's rush to begin the trial, the judge snapped, "Are you in or out? I thought you had a class to go to. Go to class."

Boyle then asked Hatcher if he would accept Stephanie Moore, an assistant to Kunstler, as his lawyer. Hatcher continued to insist on the counsel of his choice.

Judge Boyle then ruled that Hatcher would represent himself and opened the process of selecting a trial jury from a panel of 28 persons. "Your honor," Hatcher said, "I am not allowed to have my chosen counsel present so I do not have anything to say to the jurors."

It was in this atmosphere that the trial of Hatcher and Jacobs began.

On February 1, the two Tuscarora Indians occupied a Robeson County newspaper office to protest racist practices and alleged drug trafficking of county officials. They are charged with hostage-taking and possession of illegal firearms, and face life imprisonment if convicted on all charges.

Hatcher, 31, and Jacobs, 20, have been labeled "dangerous to the community" and denied bail under the 1984 Bail Reform Act. They are seated in the courtroom within arm's length of marshals.

In the jury selection process, Assistant U.S. Attorney John Bruce eliminated the only Native American panel member, another person with a Native American grandfather, and four Blacks.

Jacob's defense attorney cited this as a "pattern of discrimination." Bruce countered by accusing the defense of "reverse discrimination" because they rejected some potential jurors who were white.

U.S. customs seizes Nicaragua aid

BY SETH GALINSKY

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — On September 12, U.S. Customs Service officials seized a shipment of tools, medical supplies, and building equipment due to go from Canada to Nicaragua. The shipment, which originated in Los Angeles, also included used clothing, musical instruments, books and magazines, and Nicaraguan paintings that had been on tour in the United States.

The shipment was being sent by Architects and Planners in Support of Nicaragua (Apsnica). Apsnica, based in Topanga, California, has organized construction projects in Nicaragua with volunteers from across the United States. The volunteers also train Nicaraguans in carpentry and other skills.

At a September 19 press conference here, Apsnica spokesperson Anne Larson denounced the seizure of the shipment. Larson said most of the tools and construction hardware were headed for Matiguas and Muy Muy, two towns in the mountains of central Nicaragua. Apsnica volunteers have built 85 houses in these areas in the last three years.

According to Larson, the shipment had received U.S. clearance a month earlier when it was brought into Canada. U.S. customs officials were informed that the ul-

timate destination of the shipment was Nicaragua.

However, Larson said, 24 hours before the ship carrying the supplies was set to leave Vancouver on Canada's West Coast, U.S. customs officials intervened and got the shipment stopped.

Larson said the customs officials claim the shipment was in violation of the U.S. embargo of Nicaragua, which prohibits most trade between the United States and Nicaragua. Humanitarian aid is exempted, however.

Customs officials told Apsnica they would allow the portion of the shipment consisting of medical supplies to be sent if Apsnica would send someone to separate the medical boxes from the rest of the shipment.

Larson said, "We are not going to do that. Everything in the shipment is humanitarian aid or otherwise exempt from the embargo." She believes that U.S. customs wants to harass Apsnica and "discourage solidarity, but it's not going to work."

Apsnica is working with the Center for Constitutional Rights to contest the confiscation. "We are demanding the return of the entire shipment," Larson declared.

She appealed for donations so that replacement supplies can be bought in Canada. Donations can be sent to Apsnica, P.O. Box 1151, Topanga, Calif. 90290.