

Southern Africa talks reach an impasse



(From left) Manuel Pedro Pacavira, Angola representative to UN; Monica Nashandi, deputy representative to UN for SWAPO; and Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcón.

BY SAM MANUEL

NEW YORK — At an October 11 briefing here Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcón explained that negotiations between Angola, Cuba, the United States, and South Africa, aimed at ending the 13-year-old U.S.- and South African-sponsored war in Angola and achieving independence for Namibia, were stalemated. Alarcón was in New York as part of the Cuban delegation participating in the October 8 weekend talks. No date for resumption of the talks has been scheduled.

"If we were to describe what happened in New York at the talks," explained Alarcón, "it was that the four parties taking part in it could agree only that we failed to reach

an agreement and that we were at an impasse."

Alarcón was joined at the briefing by the Angolan ambassador to the United Nations, Manuel Pedro Pacavira, and Monica Nashandi, deputy representative to the UN of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia. Both Pacavira and Nashandi indicated their agreement with Alarcón's assessment.

Representatives of the four governments have been holding talks since May. At issue, in addition to the war against Angola, is implementation of UN Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia, which South Africa occupies militarily.

At a meeting in Geneva, Switzerland,

the first week of August, the four countries agreed to a cease-fire in Angola. Subsequently SWAPO announced that in order to facilitate a constructive climate for the talks its forces would also observe a cease-fire in Namibia. The South African government also agreed to withdraw its troops from Angola by September 1 and to begin the process for the independence of Namibia by November 1.

Throughout the talks Washington and Pretoria have insisted that the independence of Namibia is dependent on agreement by the four governments on a timetable and procedure for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

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Castro speaks to int'l women's meeting

BY CINDY JAQUITH
AND RONI McCANN

HAVANA, Cuba — "They rob us every day!" Cuban President Fidel Castro told delegates here at the October 7 closing session of the Third Meeting of the Women's Continental Front Against Intervention. Castro was referring to the U.S. and other imperialist banks and corporations exploiting Latin America and the Caribbean, especially through the crushing foreign debt imposed on the working people of the region.

The Cuban leader's speech concluded the Continental Front gathering, which had drawn 1,200 women, mainly from Latin America and the Caribbean. In addition to Castro and other Cuban leaders, Tomás Borge, a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and Nicaragua's minister of the interior, attended the final session.

In his address to the delegates, Castro devoted extensive time to the fight against the foreign debt, which is accelerating hunger, disease, unemployment, and homelessness for millions of working people on the continent. He traced the history of colonial and then imperialist exploitation of Latin America and the Caribbean, going back to the introduction of slavery on the continent, the extermination of many Indian tribes, and the establishment of capitalism on the backs of the peasants and workers.

"They plundered us in the past and they

plunder us today," he said. "They robbed us in colonial times, and they're robbing us even more today." Castro explained that "it's impossible to pay the debt," which in Latin America is now more than \$400 billion, and it should not be paid.

Campaigning for nonpayment of the foreign debt was one of the main proposals that emerged from the three days of conference workshops. Resolutions presented the final day also called for solidarity with the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala, with the independence struggle in Puerto Rico, and with the fight against imperialist intervention in Panama. Solidarity with defense of the Nicaraguan revolution, and with socialist Cuba, the people of Chile, and struggles for self-determination in other parts of the continent made up other resolutions.

A final declaration was adopted that said, "We have found there is a set of issues we all address... with the same urgency." It listed four main points: "Solidarity," "our militant and absolute anti-imperialism," "our ever-more-urgent need for self-determination," and "the awareness of our status as women and our will to combat any form of discrimination that subordinates us and hinders our development."

The conference ended that evening with a reception for all delegates hosted by Castro.

The following day, U.S. delegates had the opportunity to meet with Vilma Espín, a leader of the Continental Front, which is based in Havana, and president of the Fed-

eration of Cuban Women. Among the questions taken up was the importance of U.S. delegates on their return, reaching out to involve more organizations and individuals in action around the political issues that emerged from the Continental Front meeting.

N.Y. rally backs Curtis defense

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW YORK — The international campaign for justice for Mark Curtis was given important new impetus by a support rally held in downtown Manhattan on October 9. Almost 200 people gathered at Mabel Dean Bacon High School to hear prominent labor, antiwar, and rights activists discuss the significance of the fight against Curtis' frame-up and the potential for winning even broader backing.

Speakers included: Yvonne Meléndez, one of the defendants in the Hartford, Connecticut, trial of Puerto Rican independence activists; Kate Kaku, a packing-house worker, treasurer of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee in Des Moines, Iowa, and Curtis' wife; Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born leader of the Socialist Workers Party who recently won his 11-year fight for permanent residence in the United States; Cindy Bennett, a paperworker from Jay, Maine, who was active in the just-concluded strike against Interna-

Chile vote aids fight to end military rule

BY HARRY RING

The voter repudiation of the Pinochet dictatorship marked a new chapter in the struggle of the Chilean people to rid themselves of 15 years of military rule.

A government-sponsored plebiscite October 5 provided for a yes or no vote on whether the rule of Gen. Augusto Pinochet should be extended.

According to the government count, 54.7 percent voted no and 43 percent yes.

In the capital, Santiago, hundreds of thousands of Chileans poured into the streets to celebrate the result and to demand that Pinochet quit without delay.

The plebiscite was designed to dissipate mounting opposition to the military regime. Emergency rule was lifted for the first time in 15 years and the opposition granted some access to television. Several hundred political exiles were permitted to come home.

One of the voting sites was the notorious National Stadium in Santiago where in 1973 the newly installed dictatorship held people by the thousands to be exiled, jailed, or murdered.

But even as the people celebrated the vote, Pinochet made plain he did not intend to bow to popular will.

According to the constitution the junta crafted in 1980, he will remain in office until 1990 despite the no vote and continue as head of the armed forces even longer — assuming, of course, he can get away with it. The opposition is seeking to shorten the schedule for his exit.

The murderous Pinochet dictatorship was fastened on Chile by a military coup aggressively promoted by U.S. business interests and the U.S. government, acting mainly through the CIA.

In the coup, the legally elected president, Salvador Allende, was murdered.

Allende was a leader of the Socialist Party. Under his administration, various capitalist interests, foreign and domestic, were nationalized. These included lucrative U.S. communications and mining operations.

And in defiance of Washington's dictate, Allende established friendly relations

Continued on Page 2

tional Paper Co.; and John Gaige from the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

Bob Livesey and Janice Lynn chaired the rally. Livesey is national coordinator of the Veterans Peace Convoy, which successfully brought 310 tons of humanitarian aid to Nicaragua despite efforts by the U.S. government to stop the convoy.

Lynn is a chemical operator in New Jersey and a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-575. Hundreds of OCAW members and officials have protested the attack on Curtis. Lynn read excerpts from a message from her local executive board to the rally.

The rally had originally been planned to coincide with the opening in Des Moines of the October 10 trial of Curtis on charges of assaulting cops who beat him on March 4, 1988, the night he was arrested. Lynn announced that the prosecution had dropped the charges, an important victory for the

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Brawley advisers' actions deal blow to struggles for justice

The following statement was issued October 10 by James Harris, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from New York.

The operation carried out by Alton Maddox, C. Vernon Mason, and Al Sharpton — acting as representatives of Tawana Brawley and her family — has dealt a severe blow to the struggle against racist and sexist violence and antilabor attacks.

Their actions have undermined the confidence of working people in our ability to fight for justice, and have provided the capitalist rulers with openings to reinforce racist prejudices and deepen divisions among working people.

Maddox, Mason, and Sharpton have enabled the Republican and Democratic politicians and the major media to win some support for the myth that the judicial system seeks truth and dispenses justice.

The grand jury concluded October 6 "that Tawana Brawley was not the victim of a forcible sexual assault . . . over a four-day period."

Whether the conclusions of that jury report are true or false, the capitalist system of so-called justice is stacked against Blacks and all other working people.

Obstructed fight for justice

Maddox, Mason, and Sharpton followed a course that obstructed getting out the truth to working people and alienated the great majority of opponents of racist violence.

Last January, Gov. Mario Cuomo appointed Attorney General Robert Abrams — the top law enforcement official in the state — as special prosecutor to investigate charges that Brawley was the victim of a racist attack.

Cuomo was responding to pressure from people across the state and the country who demanded a thorough investigation and prosecution of anyone shown to have assaulted Brawley.

But soon after that victory, Maddox, Mason, and Sharpton insisted that Abrams be removed as special prosecutor. They called for a new prosecutor, eventually insisting that Maddox be named. They demanded that the grand jury that had been empaneled be dissolved and replaced by another one.

This reflected the illusion that the outcome they sought could be attained by convincing Cuomo to appoint the right special prosecutor or selecting what they called an impartial grand jury.

When these demands were rejected — as was guaranteed to happen — they refused to have anything further to do with the in-

vestigation. They opposed having Tawana Brawley or other family members testify before the grand jury. They staged protests with the announced goal of preventing the grand jury from meeting. They demanded the immediate arrest of an individual as a participant in the attack on Brawley, without presenting a shred of evidence against him. In other words, they permitted state officials to shape the investigation as they saw fit.

The trio's escalating name-calling of Abrams and Cuomo — likening them to Adolf Hitler, Lester Maddox, and George Wallace — ignored political reality. At the time, Democratic politicians like Cuomo and Abrams were under pressure to make concessions to protests against racist violence, because of the successful campaign that had just been waged against the lynching in the Howard Beach section of New York City.

The demagoguery of the Brawley representatives often took on an outright reactionary tone. Sharpton claimed Brawley had been attacked by a racist cult using rituals he attributed to the Irish Republican Army. He presented no evidence for this attempt to smear the Irish freedom struggle.

Eventually, the three advisers were reduced to fulminations against racist justice and "white rape." "We don't need white folks to win," boasted Maddox.

Such abstract denunciations rallied little support from either Blacks or whites. Most people saw them as contributing nothing to making known the concrete facts about the reported racist attack on Tawana Brawley or mobilizing an effective antiracist campaign.

As time went on, Mason, Maddox, and Sharpton lost more and more credibility. Eventually, most working people — Black, white, Latino, and Asian — became convinced they were hiding something.

The actions of the Brawley representatives contrast sharply with what happened after a racist gang killed Michael Griffith and assaulted Cedric Sandiford and Timothy Grimes in Howard Beach in December 1986. The surviving victims and their supporters quickly made the basic facts of the case known to millions of people around the country.

Sizable protests exposed and defeated attempts by cops and local prosecutors to carry out a cover-up, and Cuomo was forced to appoint a special prosecutor. The pressure was kept on, forcing the prosecution and conviction of the attackers. Several of them got stiff sentences.

Future struggles against racist violence in New York and around the country will



Alton Maddox, Al Sharpton, and C. Vernon Mason. Struggles against racist violence will have to regain ground lost by their actions concerning reported racist attack on Tawana Brawley.

be faced with the task of regaining ground that has been lost because of the Maddox-Mason-Sharpton operation.

The course followed by the three Brawley advisers is totally counterposed to what is needed to forge a leadership for the struggle against racist and antiwoman violence and discrimination, union busting, war, and other attacks against working people. This will never be accomplished through abstract denunciations of racist justice or "white rape."

Many working people are well aware of

the racist bias of the cops, courts, and government administration in this country. The question is what to do about it. We need to concretely expose the crimes of the capitalist system, and reach out to all working people in organizing against them.

What is needed is a course of action aimed at uniting and mobilizing working people by the thousands and eventually millions in struggles. It is along that road that a fighting leadership for the battle of workers and farmers to eliminate the capitalist system of injustice will be forged.

The fight against Chile junta

Continued from front page
with Cuba.

The Pinochet junta has ruled nakedly on behalf of big business. In 1983, in conditions of economic misery, popular opposition to the dictatorship exploded.

In the early months of that year, hundreds of thousands of defiant protesters challenged police rule. A nationwide strike by copper miners set the pace for the mobilization. Students and middle-class people joined in.

The regime responded with a savage round of repression. But that outbreak of opposition was to prove a turning point. Recognition of the erosion of the dictatorship was signaled in 1986 when Washington switched its public stand and criticized the junta's human rights record.

Then came this month's plebiscite in which Pinochet hoped to ram through a new "mandate."

In the plebiscite, the formal leadership of the opposition was in the hands of a coalition of 16 parties functioning under the name "The Command of the No." The Com-

munist Party, which reportedly has a significant following but is legally banned, was not included.

The dominant force in the coalition was the Christian Democratic Party. The Christian Democrats had been the principal electoral rivals to the Allende coalition. Some of them supported the coup.

The Command of the No is now discussing plans for the promised 1989 elections. One leader of the coalition, Sergio Bitar, described by the *Wall Street Journal* as a "moderate socialist," was quoted as saying, "Chile needs a government of the center or center-right for the task of reconciliation."

Meanwhile, it was reported that some in the Pinochet camp see a dim future for his rule and are beginning to jump ship.

An October 10 dispatch to the *New York Times* reported that three right-wing parties have declared their own candidate for the slated elections, a fourth declared Pinochet should not run, and a fifth made public overtures to the opposition.

In Washington, the White House said it welcomed the outcome of the voting.

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Coeditors: MARGARET JAYKO and DOUG JENNESS

Circulation Director: NORTON SANDLER

Nicaragua Bureau Director: LARRY SEIGLE

Business Manager: JIM WHITE

Editorial Staff: Susan Apstein, Fred Feldman, Seth Galinsky (Nicaragua), Arthur Hughes, Cindy Jaquith, Susan LaMont, Sam Manuel, Harry Ring, Judy White (Nicaragua).

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Nebraska limestone miners hear Mickells

BY DIANE SHUR

WEeping WATER, Neb. — Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president, spent the first day of her tour in the Omaha area in this small town about 45 minutes south of the city.

A new member of the Socialist Workers Party grew up in Weeping Water, and knows many of the miners from the limestone quarries that surround the town, as well as workers from the cement plant in nearby Louisville. A number of limestone miners have been reading the *Militant* and circulating petitions in defense of framed-up political activist Mark Curtis. Articles from the *Militant* are often posted on the union bulletin board at the Kerford mine.

A dozen workers from this area came to the town firehouse to hear Mickells speak September 29. Among them were the president of the Cement Workers union local, and the vice-president of the Boilermakers union local that organizes the Kerford mine.

Mickells opened her talk by describing two possible roads for working people — that of the bosses, their politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties, and their government; or the kind of internationalist leadership and solidarity that exists in Cuban society. She described how the narrow, nationalist policies adopted by the U.S. trade unions during and following World War II weakened the unions and cut them off from the majority of oppressed and superexploited workers, both in this country and the rest of the world.

A long discussion followed. One worker asked Mickells, "If you support the idea of canceling the Third World debt, what about farmers here in the United States?"

SWP candidates will be on N.Y. ballot

NEW YORK — "We've received a letter from the New York State Board of Elections stating that the Socialist Workers Party was certified for the New York ballot September 30," said Greg McCartan, who coordinated the SWP's ballot effort here. "This is a big victory for working people throughout the state."

The Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of James Warren and Kathleen Mickells was also recently certified on the Wisconsin and New Mexico ballots. Earlier, the candidates were certified in Alabama, Michigan, Iowa, Rhode Island, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Tennessee, New Jersey, Utah, Vermont, Washington State, and Washington, D.C.

The SWP has been denied a place on the ballot in Ohio, Nebraska, and Louisiana.

They should also get some relief from the banks, he said. Mickells agreed, adding that emergency drought relief, including unemployment benefits, should be made available to family farmers suffering the effects of the drought.

There was a lot of discussion about the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. Mickells had explained in her talk how Cuban, Angolan, and Namibian troops had defeated the South African army at Cuito Cuanavale, Angola, earlier this year, and what an important turning point this was in the struggle against the apartheid government.

How is the anti-apartheid movement led and organized, if Nelson Mandela is in jail and the African National Congress is an illegal organization? asked one woman. Mickells explained that the leadership of the ANC is much broader than just one person. Despite the obstacle of illegality, she said, the mass popular struggle to end apartheid has continued to grow.

After the discussion ended, workers stayed and continued to talk with Mickells informally. One worker said it was very important the SWP campaign was raising the need for the labor movement to fight for the rights of all workers, including the unemployed. He had worked at a feed lot in the



Militant/Linda Marcus

SWP vice-presidential candidate Kathleen Mickells speaking at October 2 campaign forum in Des Moines, Iowa.

past, he explained. Because he and his co-workers were considered "agricultural labor," they were subjected to low wages and brutal working conditions. Their attempt to organize a union was smashed when the employer hired scabs. If the labor movement had the perspective of working-class solidarity that Mickells spoke about,

he said, the workers would have had a better chance of organizing.

One of the Kerford miners has been distributing the SWP's Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis on the job. Others got copies after Mickells' talk. Some \$50 was donated to the socialist campaign at the meeting.

'Justice is illusion under capitalism'

BY JON BIXBY

DES MOINES, Iowa — This is the heart of meat-packing country, and when Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Kathleen Mickells spoke at a meeting here October 2, she talked about the important role that packinghouse workers have played in recent years in resisting the employers' offensive in that industry, and setting an example for other workers.

"More and more, working people are saying, 'Enough is enough,'" Mickells said. At packinghouses across the Midwest, meat-packers were inspired by the 1985-86 strike against Geo. A. Hormel & Co. in Austin, Minnesota. The Hormel workers were the first to try to resist the bosses' demands for speedups, wage cuts, and deterioration of working conditions, she explained.

Big class battles lie ahead, she continued, as the crisis of capitalism deepens and "the bosses will respond by using the cops, courts, and prisons against us. The stakes are high."

The prosecution of union fighter Mark Curtis, she said, "is an example of the kind of attacks working people can expect" as these struggles unfold. "We must get rid of

the illusion of justice" from the capitalist government, which is capable of unleashing the same kind of repression here as it does against working people in the rest of the world, she said. Kate Kaku, who is Curtis' wife and a meat-packer at Oscar Mayer, also spoke at the meeting.

At the Oscar Mayer meat-packing plant in Perry, 40 miles northwest of Des Moines, Mickells and four campaign supporters spent an hour talking to workers at a shift change the following day. The workers at the pork-processing plant are members of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union.

One young worker told Mickells that he had read the SWP's Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis. He liked parts of it, he said, but objected to demands for affirmative action for Blacks and women because it might cost him his job in the future.

Affirmative action, Mickells responded, is not only needed to correct decades of discrimination. It's also needed to overcome divisions in the working class. And if workers don't unite and support each other, no one's future is assured, she said.

A young woman worker stopped to talk to Mickells about the recent dismissal of a male worker for his sexual harassment of women on the job.

Mickells discussed with her the importance of the union taking up the issue of sexual harassment, not only by the company but by male union members. Mickells pointed to the experience of women coal miners who formed the Coal Employment Project 10 years ago. Mickells, a laid-off miner, was active in the CEP, which helps women get and keep jobs in the mines, and also tackle problems of on-the-job sexual harassment and discrimination.

Ten workers bought copies of the Action Program at Mickells' plant-gate visit.

Paperworkers' strike against International Paper Co. ends

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — Strikes waged by 2,300 paperworkers since June 1987 against International Paper Co. in Jay; Lock Haven, Pennsylvania; and De Pere, Wisconsin, were "terminated effective Oct. 9, 1988." This announcement was made in a release issued from United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) headquarters in Nashville, Tennessee, the same day.

The lock-out against more than 1,000 workers at International Paper's (IP) Mobile, Alabama, mill — which began in March 1987 — continues.

In Jay, the news of the strikes' end shocked many workers, who had anticipated support action for their battle against IP's concession demands from union delegates gathered at a council meeting. The gathering was held October 8-9 in Nashville. Despite "the biggest turnout ever" for such a gathering, said UPIU Local 14 President Bill Meserve, there was insufficient backing for nation-wide "concerted action" by other UPIU, locals in the company system. About 12,000 IP workers have been working without contracts, or under company-imposed concession agreements for up to two years. Meserve termed "the fear of being replaced" by scabs as the dominant concern of the 151 union delegates. The Jay, Lock Haven, and De Pere mills have been operated by more than 3,000

scabs since shortly after the strikes began.

Meanwhile, the National Labor Relations Board has yet to rule on scab efforts to have a date set for union decertification elections in Jay and Lock Haven. A decertification election was held in De Pere September 14. Results have not been released.

On October 10 Local 14 Executive Vice-president Felix Jacques informed executives at IP's Androscoggin mill here of the union's declaration of an "unconditional return to work." Such a declaration, according to federal labor statutes, gives Local 14 members preference in hiring as jobs open at the mill. The union is now seeking an "understanding" with the company, Meserve explained, on how such a procedure will be implemented.

The Local 14 headquarters here was jammed with paperworkers and reporters when union leader Jacques made public the announcement of the strike's end on October 10. "The strike, which began June 16, 1987, in Jay, Maine, has come to an end. The war being waged by corporate America against workers continues," Jacques said.

"We have lost this battle, but the war for justice in the workplace is not over. We are proud of the stand we took," said Jacques, as the former strikers began to applaud. "Wherever we go, whatever we do, we will continue this fight."

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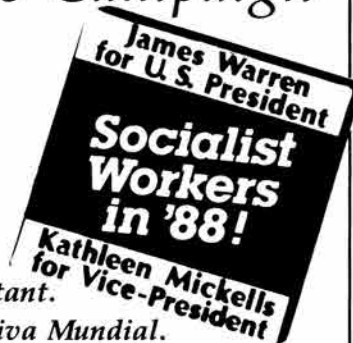
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50 Michigan union officials sign Curtis protest

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is in jail on frame-up charges of rape and burglary. 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.

Nearly 50 state and local trade union officials from the Detroit

Ken Hall, president of General Industrial Employees Local 42 and a supporter of the Curtis defense effort since the frame-up began last March, helped introduce the case to other union officials and delegates.

Hall compared the Curtis fight to that of a young striker at the Mohawk Liquor bottling plant last year who was charged with "sabotage" by the cops. The evidence? During an electrical storm, a power transformer had been hit

for the oppressed Tamil people.

The secretary of the Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign sent a letter of solidarity to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee: "Viraj is under attack because he is black, and, like Mark Curtis, because he is a political activist."

More than 1,300 signatures were collected on Curtis petitions at the Amnesty International rally and concert in Philadelphia on September 19 and 20. Supporters also sold 67 copies of the *Militant* and 18 subscriptions.

Two women from Cardinal Ryan High School came to the defense table and asked how they could help with the case. They went around collecting signatures and want to set up a Mark Curtis defense club at their school. Several people knew about the case from meeting Curtis supporters in other cities.

One vendor outside the Amnesty concert donated \$105 worth of tickets. "Cops beating up people is nothing new," he said. "People

doing something about it is new. I wish you and Mark all the luck."

One-third of the 150 anti-apartheid activists attending workshops at the Free South Africa Regional Conference in New Haven, Connecticut, on September 24 signed Curtis petitions.

The warmest response came from unionists, including members of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees, International Association of Machinists, and National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. Several took petitions to circulate at their workplaces and agreed to urge their locals to pass resolutions protesting this frame-up.

Among the prominent anti-apartheid activists who added their names to Curtis' defense were Eugene "Gus" Newport, former mayor of Berkeley, California, and Ray Davis, leader of the Washington, D.C., Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism.

More than 100 people heard Steve

Penner, executive secretary of the Revolutionary Workers League of Canada, at forums he gave in Montréal and Toronto on the fight against the Curtis frame-up.

Participants at the meetings, which took place September 30 and October 1, included activists from Africa, Haiti, Chile, Central America, and eight Turkish-born workers who had demonstrated earlier this year against Canadian government attempts to deport Turkish immigrants.

Dozens of prominent trade unionists and political activists in Canada have endorsed the fight for justice for Curtis, and thousands have signed defense committee petitions.

Some \$650 was collected at the two meetings for the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, as well as a \$10-a-month pledge for every month Curtis remains in jail.

Halket Allen, Jim Collins, Mark Friedman, Marea Himelgrin, and Rena Sitrin contributed to this column.

DEFEND MARK CURTIS!

metro area signed petitions circulated by Curtis supporters at the September 29-30 AFL-CIO convention. In addition, engagements were set up for Curtis defense committee representatives to give presentations at 13 different union executive board and membership meetings during the next month.

More than 400 delegates attended the convention, only a few of whom had previously heard about the case.

and power to the plant cut off. It took a concerted effort by the union over several months to finally get the charges against this young Chicano unionist dropped.

The British government is trying to deport Viraj Mendis back to Sri Lanka. The Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign argues that he faces death if returned to his homeland because of his support

200 rally in New York to back frame-up victim

Continued from front page defense effort.

Curtis is currently in the Marion County Jail in Knoxville, Iowa, waiting to be sentenced. He was convicted September 14 of third-degree sexual abuse and first-degree burglary.

Defense committee leader John Gaige gave the major presentation at the rally.

He began by quoting one of Curtis' supporters in Des Moines: "This case is not about rape. It's about the fact that Mark Curtis is a dangerous man." Curtis, Gaige explained, is not unique. He's like thousands of young packinghouse and other workers who have begun fighting back against the employers' offensive.

"He's one of the dangerous men and women who are on the front lines in this country and around the world," said Gaige. "Mark's one of the workers who doesn't go along with the way things are coming down in this country. He speaks up against it, tries to organize against it, talks politics with other workers regardless of their nationality, birthplace, age, or sex."

Working at Swift, Curtis was in the middle of the "new work force being forged in this country — millions upon millions of Spanish-speaking workers and workers from Asia and elsewhere in the world," said Gaige.

Force for unity

The bosses utilize differences among working people to deepen conflicts that prevent workers and farmers from uniting to fight the employers and government, said Gaige. "But workers get forced together as a result of experiences and there can develop a trend for unity." Curtis tried to politically organize workers through their union to be united against the bosses. "And he was effective," said Gaige.

That's why the Des Moines cops, FBI, immigration police, and employers "bump into Mark and other workers like him. And some of them they frame up — like they're doing to Mark."

"We don't get to pick our defendants," said Gaige. "They pick them for us. Then we defend them, regardless of who they are."

Criminal, not political, charges, were used to go after Curtis. "The purpose of using criminal charges," Gaige said, "is to limit your ability to politically operate, to narrow the amount of political space you have to function in, to make it harder to use the rights that have been fought for and won." Using criminal charges is standard operating procedure for political frame-ups, he noted.

The attack on Curtis is supposed to intimidate and silence others who speak out or are thinking about speaking out, Gaige explained.

"The fact that Curtis was beaten by racist cops is also not uncommon," he continued. It happens to working people every weekend, all over the world.

Trial

Gaige discussed Curtis' trial. The key testimony that convicted Curtis, he said, was that of the arresting officer, Joseph Gonzalez. He swore that when he and his partner arrived at the house where Curtis was arrested, Curtis' pants were down. Curtis testified that Gonzalez was lying, that it was Gonzalez who pulled his pants down.

"Fabricating evidence," said Gaige, is "routine to cops. And they assume that the judge and jury will believe them." Once you're grabbed by the cops, said Gaige, the presumption of the criminal justice system is that you're guilty, even though legally, you're supposed to be presumed innocent.

"Mark Curtis didn't get a fair trial. It's impossible for any working person to get a fair trial in a society run by the employing class," said Gaige. He described all the key evidence that the judge wouldn't allow into the trial.

The judge's stance, said Gaige, was that this was not a political case, and that's why evidence about FBI spying on Curtis as part of the government operation against the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) was excluded. But the degree of police involvement, from

the federal to the local level, is indeed relevant to what happened to Curtis, contended Gaige.

"Curtis is going to serve some time," said Gaige. There are no legal moves that will spring him immediately. "The key is to build the broadest, most effective political defense campaign among workers, farmers, and youth around the world," he stressed. "That's our road to justice."

Framing up Curtis was not a mistake, said Gaige. As class conflicts intensify, the employers and their government will concoct more such frame-ups. What they miscalculated, however, was the degree to which workers who are Black, workers who are female, other workers, working farmers, and young people all over the world would see past the criminal charges, recognize the political attack, and come to Curtis' defense.

Marroquín, Curtis: same fight

Marroquín told the rally that the victory in his struggle for permanent residence is a result of the changed political climate from when his fight began 11 years ago. There is more of a willingness among working people today to stand up for the rights of undocumented workers — and there are millions more immigrants in this country.

"That's why," said Marroquín, "my fight is totally linked to the fight against the frame-up of Curtis." When the cops called Curtis a "Mexican-lover" as they beat him,

"my fight and his fight became one and the same," said Marroquín.

He pledged to put to use the inspiration and confidence generated around the victory in his case in the campaign for justice for Curtis. Marroquín reported that he has begun talking to members of Congress, church officials, and other supporters of his fight about the need to stand behind Curtis. He also brought greetings to the rally from Angela Sanbrano, national leader of CISPES.

In response to a fund pitch by Marroquín, participants donated almost \$3,000 toward the \$60,000 that the defense committee must raise by December 31.

Messages

Messages protesting the frame-up were read at the rally from New York State Assemblyman Roger Green, American Federation of Teachers Local 3882 President Margarita Aguilar, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 23-25 leader Kathy Andrade, and National Emergency Civil Liberties Director Edith Tiger. Messages were also read from International Association of Machinists Local Lodge 1018 President A. J. Gaetaniello, El Salvador Information Office, Essex County National Organization for Women President Connie Gilbert-Neiss, *Haiti Progrès*, Irish prisoner Joe Doherty, and OCAW Local 8-149 President Mark Dudzic and member Anthony Mazzocchi.

Assault charges against Curtis dropped

BY STEVEN FUCHS

DES MOINES, Iowa — "Yesterday, Polk County Attorney James Smith dropped the assault charge against Mark Curtis that was set for trial Monday, October 10." The announcement was made by Kate Kaku, Curtis' wife and treasurer of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. She was speaking at an October 8 news conference held the morning after Judge Anthony Critelli signed papers accepting the prosecution's motion that charges against Curtis of assaulting the cops who beat him be dropped.

Curtis was convicted on September 14, on frame-up charges of attempted rape and burglary. A packinghouse worker at Swift/Montfort, Curtis was arrested on March 4, 1988, soon after leaving a meeting called to protest the in-plant arrest at Swift of 17 Latino coworkers by immigration agents. Curtis is now in the Marion County Jail in Knoxville, Iowa, awaiting sentencing.

Kaku explained that "the assault charge was invented to cover up" the beating of Curtis in the city jail by Des Moines police officers Charles Wolf and Daniel Dusenberry.

Kaku described how they grabbed Curtis

in a chokehold and beat him with a club. "They shattered his cheekbone and inflicted deep cuts above and below his left eye that required 15 stitches to close," she said.

Kaku said that Wolf and Dusenberry have been involved in other attacks on prisoners.

They knew about Curtis' political and union activities, she said. "They told him his real crime while they beat him: 'You're one of those Mexican-lovers, aren't you? Just like you love those coloreds.'"

Literature protesting the immigration raid was among the political literature in Curtis' car when he was arrested.

In a telephone interview Assistant Polk County Attorney Catherine Thune said she "just followed our office policy in this case" in explaining why the prosecution decided to drop the charges. Thune signed the application to dismiss. "Normally when we convict a person of a major crime," Thune said, "we dismiss the lesser charge, especially if it's a misdemeanor."

Sgt. Thomas Van Baale, spokesperson for the Des Moines Police Department, refused to comment on the dismissal.

"The county attorney dropped the assault charge under pressure of the international defense campaign for Mark Curtis," said Kaku. "The evidence of the beating," she said, pointing to a large color photo of Curtis after his release from jail on March 5, "is captured in the photograph seen by tens of thousands of people throughout the world. This second trial, focused on the police, could have begun to unravel the frame-up." The jury in the September trial was barred from hearing any mention of the police beating.

Kaku read from a statement by Curtis. "The defeat of the state of Iowa's charge of assaulting a police officer is a victory for my supporters and anyone who has ever been beaten by the police."

"We can continue the fight to overturn the other charges and win my freedom with even more confidence in our final victory."

Curtis was scheduled to be sentenced on October 21, but that has been postponed to November 18. In addition, the deadline on a motion for a new trial, which originally had to be filed by October 14, has been extended to November 10.



Militant/Yvonne Hayes

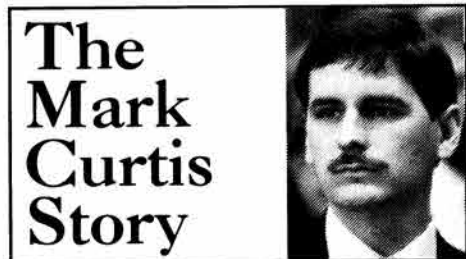
Swift worker Brian Willey testifies at Curtis trial about walkout over raid

Meetings, walkout protested raid by immigration cops

BY MARGARET JAYKO
(Third of a series)

DES MOINES, Iowa — Mark Curtis was one of dozens of workers at the Swift meat-packing plant in Des Moines, Iowa, who was looking forward to the meeting set for 2:00 p.m., on March 4, 1988, at the United Mexican American Cultural Center. Curtis had talked up the meeting with his coworkers, Latino and Anglo, encouraging everyone to go.

The meeting was scheduled by Mexican-American community activists. It was a



chance to discuss the Immigration and Naturalization Service raid at Swift three days earlier. Seventeen Swift workers had been arrested when INS agents and federal marshals invaded the plant that Tuesday morning. One worker from El Salvador and 16 from Mexico were arrested, charged with felonies because they had falsified social security numbers and other documents, and thrown into jail.

Seven of those arrested had previously applied for legalization under the federal amnesty program. The raid spurred fears that confidential information on amnesty applications was being turned over to *la migra* — immigration cops — in order to ferret out undocumented workers and prosecute them.

An unusual event

Swift management had indicated that workers on the kill-floor (where the cattle are slaughtered) would be able to take off early enough to go to the meeting. Most of those arrested were from the kill-floor. That's where Mark Curtis worked, on the gut table pulling cow paunches.

Around noon, however, Swift reneged and said people would have to keep working. Several Mexican workers then walked off the line in protest, stopping production.

Brian Willey was also working on the kill-floor that day. He was a witness for the defense at Curtis' September trial on trumped-up charges of rape and burglary. Willey testified that stopping production at Swift was an unusual event. When the line

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. His sentencing has been postponed from October 21 and is now scheduled for November 18.

Unionists, farmers, and youth around the world recognize that Curtis is one of 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 describes 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.

is down, he said, the company loses thousands of dollars per minute. That day, it was down for 5 to 10 minutes, he recalled.

Foremen went running after the workers who had walked off, trying to get them to come back. The workers returned only after Swift arranged with organizers of the first meeting to have a second meeting later in the day. It was set for 5:00 p.m.

Swift worker Marian Carr learned about the walkout when she got to the lunchroom that afternoon. Everyone was saying, "The Mexicans have walked off." Her response was, "Why don't we all walk off?" She didn't think it was just an issue for Mexican workers; rather it affected the whole work force.

"But people laughed at that suggestion. A lot of workers thought what the Mexicans had done was good, but they didn't think it had much to do with them," Carr said. More than half the workers at Swift are U.S.-born. But there are a large number of Asians, mostly from countries in Southeast Asia, as well as Mexicans.

Curtis, testifying at his trial, said that the walkout "really electrified" the plant. Nothing like it had ever happened before that anyone could remember.

'National precedent'

Following the raid, a lot of public discussion took place about its purpose and meaning.

"The U.S. attorney's office saw this as a golden opportunity to set a national precedent," said Jeff Trevino, a lawyer with the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund in Chicago. MALDEF worked with the Des Moines lawyers representing the men who were arrested.

"Basically, what they're saying is, 'We don't care if they are illegal aliens or undocumented aliens, all we care about is that they used falsified documents,'" Trevino noted. "If they are allowed to keep this narrow focus, it will work to the detriment of everyone."

"It's an example of why Hispanics did not run to apply for amnesty," said Ila Plasencia, national Midwest vice-president

of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC). "My feeling is that this is a little premature." The deadline for applying for amnesty was May 4 — two months away.

"Immigration would have been on a stronger moral ground if they had waited until May 5," said Don Nickerson, lawyer for five of the arrested workers. "I've had several phone calls today from legal people all over, many from Texas, and frankly they were shocked that this happened."

"These indictments should be a message" to those workers using falsified documents, James Cole, district director of the INS office for Iowa and Nebraska, was quoted as saying in the March 3 *Des Moines Register*. "They should all rush down and apply for amnesty tomorrow. I'm going to protect the rights of those who have applied for legalization. It's a good program, it's safe and it works."

More than 100 family members and supporters of the Swift workers, as well as community activists, attended the 2:00 p.m. meeting. A lot of former Swift workers also showed up. The INS and federal attorney's office had asked to be able to speak at the meeting. This was agreed to by the organizers. INS official Cole, Assistant U.S. Attorney Lester Paff, and Swift officials, were all on hand. No officers from United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431, which many Swift workers are members of, attended the meeting.

Much of the discussion reflected fear that this raid was only the first and that there could be more. "Are they going to come for me next?" was a common question as workers tried to figure out how the 17 who were arrested were singled out.

Workers were also angry that foremen hadn't warned them about the raid, which had been done before previous INS operations.

As the meeting wore on, supporters of the arrested workers got more and more outraged as INS officials tried to defend the raid and the amnesty program. The exchanges were sharp and heated.

"Quite frankly, I don't feel we've gotten any answers," said Elizabeth Balli, director of the Iowa chapter of LULAC.

How you can help

- **Raise money.** Kate Kaku, treasurer of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee in Des Moines, Iowa, reported at the committee's meeting on October 5 that \$60,000 needs to be raised by December 31 in order to cover the expenses of the defense effort. Approximately half of that sum is needed to cover legal expenses for the next stages of the fight in the courts.

The rest of the funds are needed to finance such efforts as the 3,000-piece mailing the committee is sending to Curtis supporters around the world.

In addition, Kaku reported to committee activists, \$50 a week needs to be budgeted for Curtis' expenses in prison. At first Curtis thought the figure of \$50 was on the high side. But it quickly became apparent that this wasn't true when the costs were calculated of just the envelopes and stamps necessary for him to answer some of the dozens of letters he receives every week.

Contributions should be sent to the Des Moines defense committee. Checks for large tax-deductible contributions may be

made out to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Inc.

- **Get out the truth.** The defense committee is preparing new literature, which will be available soon. As a temporary measure, new petitions with the facts about Curtis' fight, as well as excerpts from messages protesting his conviction on sexual abuse and burglary charges, are available.

Buttons that read, "Justice for Mark Curtis! An injury to one is an injury to all!" can be obtained from the committee for \$1 each.

Representatives of the defense committee are available to speak at meetings.

- **Endorse the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.** Send your name and how you'd like to be identified to the committee.

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

Contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee at Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.

Mike Murillo, chairperson of the Polk County Affirmative Action Committee, said to the federal representatives: "We know and you know that in order to come to this country and live and work they had to lie and falsify the documents. So why all the double talk?"

"Amnesty is for illegal aliens, not protection from prosecution for felony crimes," INS official Cole told the meeting. "The only ones who will be prosecuted are those who are caught," he added.

"The INS was giving us garbage as far as I was concerned," said Alfredo Alvarez, chairperson of the Des Moines Human Rights Commission. "Anybody who had come to this country as an 'illegal alien' would have to have false documents, and now they were being prosecuted for felonies because of this."

"We were afraid this could be a precedent-setting case," he said.

Ellen Whitt was one of the few Anglo Swift workers who attended the meeting. She worked at the time as a bagger, packing meat after it was cut. She was also a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431.

Whitt spoke at the meeting, arguing that it was necessary to defend all 17 workers arrested, not just the ones who had applied for amnesty. And the problem wasn't just the INS — it was also Swift, which had collaborated with the INS and allowed its agents to come into the plant.

The union should help defend these workers, said Whitt.

Alvarez and others proposed that a protest march be called. The date of March 12 was chosen.

Meeting participants had heard more Swift workers would be coming later, so some of them hung around and waited. They ended up attending the 5:00 p.m. meeting as well.

5:00 p.m. meeting

About two dozen Swift workers showed up for the later meeting, including Curtis. It was conducted entirely in Spanish. Federal officials Cole and Paff didn't attend.

"It was mostly guys from the kill-floor. Company representatives were there as well," Curtis explained in an interview that appeared in the September 9 *Militant*. "Speaking in Spanish, I said, 'We need to get the union involved. It's not just an issue for the workers arrested, it's an attack on everybody in the plant.' I volunteered to begin to reach out to the rest of the workers at Swift."

In a speech he gave last April, Curtis described what happened afterward: "After the meeting I went with my coworkers to a nearby bar, Los Compadres, to have more discussion. There were some other white workers there, too, and they were inspired by the militancy of the Mexican workers in the walkout that day."

"That's the way we should do it every time the foremen mess with us," one said.

What happened that day, said Curtis, showed that "immigrant workers, fighting for their rights, will play a leading part in transforming the unions into tools we can really fight with."

Curtis left the bar at about 8:30 p.m. Later that night, he ended up in jail, beaten by the cops, who called him a "Mexican-lover," just like "you love those coloreds."

Curtis was at the March 12 protest the next week, bruised, handing out a leaflet calling on Swift workers and others to support his fight against a frame-up effort.

(To be continued)

Nine-day campaign blitz begins Oct. 28

BY NORTON SANDLER

Supporters of the 43 Socialist Workers Party candidates across the United States are making plans for a special October 28–November 5 campaign mobilization.

James Warren and Kathleen Mickells are the SWP candidates for president and vice-president. In addition, the party is fielding 41 candidates for Senate, House of Representatives and other offices in 21 states in the November 8 election.

The mobilization will focus on big sales of the *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*, a Pathfinder pamphlet available in English and Spanish that contains proposals put forward by the SWP. Supporters will also focus on introducing new readers to the *Militant*, the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazines *New International* and the French-language *Nouvelle Internationale*.

Militant distributors, from New Zealand to Canada to Britain, are also taking advantage of the nine-day target period for expanded circulation efforts.

Involving all supporters

SWP campaign organizers are reaching out broadly in local areas to involve as many people as possible in this effort. This includes all campaign supporters and readers of the *Militant* and *PM*, including many who have written in for information on the campaign.

"We have been publicizing the ideas of the Warren-Mickells campaign on campuses around the country," noted Greg McCartan, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance. "Our members are going to throw themselves into this final campaign push in a big way," he said. "We will be going all out to sell the Action Program and subscriptions to the *Militant* and *PM* on campus, in the factories, and every place we go," emphasized McCartan.

Warren, Mickells, and the other SWP candidates are explaining that the stock market crash a year ago announced a world depression is in the offing that will have devastating consequences for working people. They are putting forward proposals on how we can unify and protect ourselves from the ravages of that crisis.

This is the perspective explained in the

Action Program. The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* accurately report on how the developing crisis affects workers and farmers around the world and cover the SWP candidates' proposals for resolving it.

The issue of the *Militant* that comes off the press October 27, in time for the target days, will give expanded coverage to the socialist campaign. Included will be a list of all the local candidates.

We will also run a review of *Thomas Sankara Speaks*, a new Pathfinder book, as well as other special features.

The mobilization can help build wind-up rallies for the candidates. Warren will be speaking in New York November 6 and in Newark, New Jersey, November 7. Mickells will speak in Los Angeles November 5.

Supporters in other cities can take advantage of the mobilization to help build their own wind-up campaign events or other important political meetings, including rallies for the \$250,000 Pathfinder Fund.

Distributors of the *Militant* view these campaign target days as crucial to their fight to make the international circulation drive goals.

As the scoreboards below and on the facing page indicate, the drive to sell 21,615 copies of the Action Program and to win 10,400 new readers to the *Militant*, *PM*, *New International*, and *Nouvelle Internationale* is running behind schedule.

As the drive reaches the halfway mark, it is important to review steps that are necessary to make the goals by the November 19 deadline.

Immediate steps to catch up

Distributors who are behind schedule are not waiting for the target week to catch up. They are taking immediate steps to pick up the pace of their efforts.

Warren-Mickells supporters in New York are going to mobilize for a big effort beginning October 15.

They are going to field several-day-teams that will visit campuses, plant gates, and working-class communities in outlying areas.

Many supporters have already had success visiting areas outside the cities where they live. Charleston, West Virginia, supporters have had campaign teams on the road that have sold subscriptions and Action Programs to coal miners and other workers in Williamson, West Virginia, and

to students and workers in Blacksburg, Virginia.

Supporters who are having the most success are putting sales of the Action Program at the center of their efforts.

Laura Garza in Philadelphia reports that campaigners there begin discussions with workers, farmers, and young people by talking about the implications of the October 1987 stock market crash and about the proposals contained in the Action Program. This has been the case at plant gates, on campus at Temple University where many subscriptions have been sold, and in working-class communities.

Distributors who work in industry are also using Action Program sales as a key part of their discussions with coworkers. Thirty copies were sold at a recent meeting of a United Auto Workers local at the Chrysler plant in St. Louis.

Before beginning their campaign mobilization on October 8, Los Angeles, supporters discussed the importance of the propos-

als contained in the Action Program. They ended the day with 95 copies sold.

Sales of 'New International'

Many distributors are also effectively integrating sales of *New International* and *Nouvelle Internationale* into the drive.

In Newark, New Jersey, where more than 60 copies of the magazines have been sold, supporters make a point of explaining to workers and students that these publications go into more depth than the *Militant* on topics of importance to working-class fighters the world over.

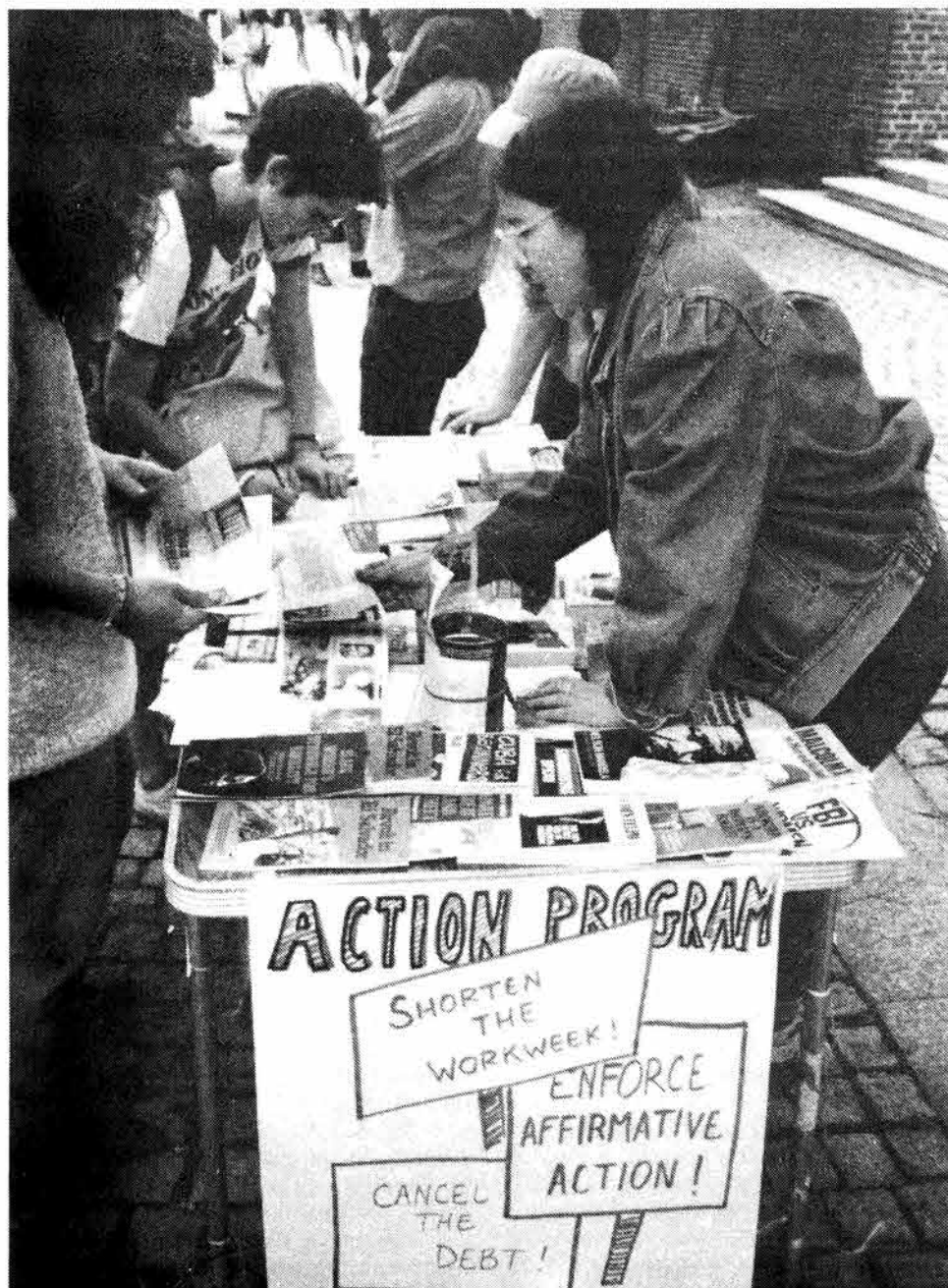
Supporters in that city have also put considerable effort into encouraging readers who subscribed earlier to renew their subscriptions. They phone or visit these readers and have political discussions with them about what's covered in the periodicals.

If you want to participate in the campaign target week, look us up in the directory on page 12 or contact our business office at (212) 929-3486.

Sales drive scoreboard

Area	Drive Goals			Militant subscriptions		New International* single copies		Perspectiva Mundial subscriptions	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
UNITED STATES									
Cleveland	145	99	68	110	65	20	23	15	11
Portland, Ore.	140	82	59	100	59	25	19	15	4
Salt Lake City	125	66	53	90	51	20	9	15	6
Philadelphia	240	125	52	160	93	30	19	50	13
Seattle	275	134	49	200	103	25	8	50	23
Newark	500	239	48	275	126	110	61	115	52
Greensboro, NC	145	67	46	110	51	20	15	15	1
St. Louis	220	101	46	170	74	40	23	10	4
Los Angeles	700	311	44	375	154	125	34	200	123
Oakland, Calif.	215	93	43	120	72	45	2	50	19
Morgantown, WV	175	73	42	135	58	30	14	10	1
Boston	350	144	41	230	101	50	12	70	31
Des Moines	210	86	41	150	70	40	10	20	6
Charleston, WV	105	42	40	85	37	15	4	5	1
Atlanta	220	86	39	160	70	40	4	20	12
Kansas City	120	46	38	75	33	20	4	25	9
Miami	300	107	36	185	61	55	26	60	20
Pittsburgh	250	89	36	185	71	45	14	20	4
Birmingham	185	65	35	145	54	30	11	10	0
Omaha	135	47	35	90	33	25	4	20	10
Austin, Minn.	110	37	34	85	28	15	1	10	8
New York	1,200	403	34	600	244	300	77	300	82
Twin Cities	350	112	32	270	93	50	10	30	9
Chicago	460	142	31	300	100	60	17	100	25
Houston	215	66	31	140	40	30	15	45	11
Phoenix	160	47	29	80	29	25	0	55	18
San Francisco	350	102	29	200	70	75	13	75	19
Detroit	265	76	29	200	66	40	7	25	3
Price, Utah	70	19	27	50	13	10	3	10	3
Milwaukee	170	46	27	110	33	35	5	25	8
Washington, DC	250	55	22	150	37	50	10	50	8
Baltimore	215	36	17	175	33	30	0	10	3
National teams	200	57	—	130	53	20	0	50	4
Columbus	25	0	0	25	0	0	0	0	0
Louisville	5	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
Other U.S.	—	31	—	—	19	—	12	—	—
U.S. totals	8,800	3,331	38	5,670	2,294	1,550	486	1,580	551
AUSTRALIA									
London	50	21	42	35	19	5	2	10	0
BRITAIN									
London	145	68	47	75	45	30	7	40	16
Nottingham	61	25	41	35	22	20	2	6	1
Manchester	70	16	23	50	13	5	3	15	0
South Wales	80	17	21	40	13	30	1	10	3
South Yorks	90	14	16	50	10	20	2	20	2
Other Britain	54	46	—	25	36	20	9	9	1
Britain totals	500	186	37	275	139	125	24	100	23
CANADA									
Vancouver	45	19	42	30	16	5	0	10	3
Montréal	275	99	36	125	41	75	38	75	20
Toronto	400	140	35	250	97	75	24	75	19
National team	—	16	—	—	16	—	0	—	0
Other Canada	—	4	—	—	4	—	0	—	0
Canada totals	720	278	39	405	174	155	62	160	42
ICELAND									
32	16	50	25	12	5	4	2	0	0
NEW ZEALAND									
Auckland	100	63	63	84	54	12	2	4	7
Christchurch	70	35	50	60	35	8	0	2	0
Wellington	80	28	35	68	28	10	0	2	0
New Zealand totals	250	126	50	212	117	30	2	8	7
PUERTO RICO									
30	7	23	5	5	2	0	23	2	2
SWEDEN									
50	40	80	30	20	10	3	10	17	17
Other International	—	44	—	—	28	—	3	—	13
Totals	10,432	4,049	39%	6,657	2,808	1,882	586	1,893	655
Drive Goals	10,400			6,630		1,895		1,875	
Should be		4,263	41%		2,719		770		773

*Includes *Nouvelle Internationale*



Philadelphia campaign table. Wide distribution of Action Program is key to drive.

Philadelphia garment workers back frame-up victim

BY HALKET ALLEN

PHILADELPHIA — The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* sales team that goes to Good Lad garment shop here every week has been emphasizing the importance of Mark Curtis' fight for justice.

Curtis is a 29-year-old Des

Moines, Iowa, meat-packer. He was convicted September 14 on frame-up rape and burglary charges and is now in jail.

Our team has been selling at this plant, which is organized by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, for about a year. There is a high turnover so we often run into new people.

We take a banner with us that fits in front of the literature table.

PM, we have also been distributing fact sheets on the case and circulating petitions in support of Curtis. Sixty workers have signed.

We encourage them to drop contributions for the defense effort into a coffee can decorated with Curtis' picture. A modest amount has been collected so far.

Many tell us about their own or their relatives direct experiences with the cops and prisons. Because of that, they support Curtis.

One man said he'd "done four years' time for being Black and being in the wrong place at the wrong time. When the cops need someone for something," he em-

phasized, "it's a Black man who gets it 900 percent of the time."

Warren, a presser in the plant, said, "People support the case because they see themselves in Curtis — that's why he gets so much support."

When we brought the *Militant* that reported on Mark's conviction, workers were dismayed, but not shocked. "I am not surprised, that is how they do us poor," Helen said.

Olivia, a retired garment worker who is part of the team each week, related that she has been sending the *Militant* to a friend in Graterford Prison.

He and his cell mates have been following the case. He told Olivia, "It's a shame that Mark lost but me and the other prisoners in my cell understand what happened. Many of the people here were jailed on drummed-up charges."

Militant and *PM* distributors also work at Good Lad. By combining their efforts with the sales team, six subscriptions and 15 single copies of the *Militant* and *PM*, nine copies of the Pathfinder pamphlet *An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*, and an issue of the Marxist magazine *New International* have been sold recently.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

It tells the story of Curtis' case in *Militant* headlines and pictures glued to poster board.

While selling the *Militant* and

Portraits of U.S. communist leaders added to N.Y. mural

BY FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK — One of the pages shown rolling off the press in the mural going up on the wall of the Pathfinder Building here bears portraits of Farrell Dobbs and James P. Cannon.

"I saw this as an opportunity to portray in the mural the example and significance of Teamsters Local 574 in Minneapolis in the 1930s, of revolutionary communist strategy and leadership in the trade union movement," said Bob Allen, the former coal miner who painted the portraits.

Dobbs became a central leader of the 1934 strikes in Minneapolis that forged Local 574 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and later organized a successful drive to unionize truck drivers throughout the Midwest.

Cannon was a key leader of the Com-

munist League of America, to which Dobbs and a number of other prominent leaders of these union battles belonged. The Communist League of America was a predecessor organization of the Socialist Workers Party, of which Cannon was the first national secretary. Dobbs succeeded Cannon in this post in 1953.

Both are the authors of books published or distributed by Pathfinder, a publishing house with offices in the Pathfinder Building.

Dobbs' writings include a four-volume history of the strike battles and organizing drives that he helped lead in the 1930s, *Teamster Rebellion*, *Teamster Power*, *Teamster Politics*, and *Teamster Bureaucracy*; and the two-volume *Revolutionary Continuity: Marxist Leadership in the U.S.*, which describes the struggle to forge a

Marxist workers party in the United States.

Cannon's many writings include *The First Ten Years of American Communism*, *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, and *Socialism on Trial*, which are published by Pathfinder.

The latter is the transcript of his testimony at the 1941 trial of 28 leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis Teamsters union. It has long been used subsequently as a introduction to the basic ideas of the communist movement.

Dobbs, Cannon, and 16 other SWP leaders were convicted and served prison terms on frame-up charges, including allegedly advocating the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. The real reason the government prosecuted the 18 was their opposition to the war between the imperialist powers in World War II, and their efforts to advance class-struggle policies in the unions.

Allen also painted, as background to the Dobbs and Cannon portraits, a picture of a May 1934 confrontation in Minneapolis. An army of cops and deputized company

goons, organized to physically smash strike picket lines and bring in scab trucks, was driven from the main city market area by strikers.

Bob Allen joined the Socialist Workers Party in St. Louis in 1977. "Since then," he said, "I worked in a foundry organized by the Steelworkers for three years and as a coal miner and member of the United Mine Workers of America for eight years."

Allen studied art for a time at Washington University in St. Louis. "I worked in what is called 'conceptual art,' which is not confined to traditional means of making art." He has done illustrations, paintings, photography, and sculpture. "I never learned the discipline of painting, although I took some classes in it. I learned more about painting while working on the mural than I ever did in class."

An illustration by Allen portraying a group of miners emerging from a shaft, won a prize from the Illinois Department of Natural Resources in 1984 and appeared as the cover of the *United Mine Workers Journal* in December 1984.



Militant/Alicia Merel

Completed portraits of James P. Cannon (left) and Farrell Dobbs.

Pathfinder supporter increases pledge to fund fourfold

BY CINDY JAQUITH

"Enclosed is a check of \$1,000 to the Pathfinder Fund, raising my \$200 pledge. Keep up the good work."

This note came in from an East Lansing, Michigan, reader of Pathfinder books and pamphlets. His decision to increase his donation to the Pathfinder Fund *fourfold* is important because what inspires him to help Pathfinder "keep up the good work" inspires other contributors as well.

In recent weeks we've reported some of the successes Pathfinder has had in promoting its books around the world, such titles as *Thomas Sankara Speaks*. The \$250,000 being raised by the Pathfinder Fund is needed to take maximum advantage of the potential to step up this promotional work.

But the money is also urgently needed to bring out the new books Pathfinder plans to publish in the coming months: *One People*, *One Destiny*, a collection of speeches and documents from the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America; and a new anthology of previously unpublished speeches by Malcolm X.

Funds are needed to expand the sales and promotion of upcoming titles to be published by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia: *The Economic Thought of Ernesto Che Guevara* by Carlos Tablada; *Fidel Castro Speaks About Che Guevara*, and *The Fertile Prison*, the first in a multivolume series by Mario Menéndez on the July 26th Movement in Cuba.

The Pathfinder Fund drive, launched last August, ends December 1. The graph on this page shows how far along the fund drive is now: \$45,964 has been collected, and \$198,030 has been pledged.

The East Lansing letter proves that many who have already pledged donations may be enthusiastic about increasing them. And it suggests many people are eager to keep Pathfinder books and pamphlets rolling off the presses.

In the United States many of these read-

ers will be able to attend one of the public meetings being held to celebrate Pathfinder and raise money toward the \$250,000 fund. Thus far, meetings are scheduled in more than two dozen cities in the United States. In London a big celebration of Pathfinder and the opening of the Pathfinder Bookshop will take place October 22.

Action Program scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold	% Sold	Area	Goal	Sold	% Sold
UNITED STATES							
Price, Utah	125	89	71	Washington, DC	575	83	14
Charleston, WV	300	166	55	Kansas City	275	36	13
Seattle	425	192	45	National teams	500	400	80
Chicago	700	305	44	Columbus	50	0	0
Salt Lake City	225	95	42	U.S. totals	18,105	5,670	31
Milwaukee	325	135	42	AUSTRALIA	50	0	0
Greensboro, NC	250	102	41	BRITAIN			
Philadelphia	475	192	40	Manchester	100	62	62
St. Louis	500	199	40	Nottingham	100	53	53
Baltimore	375	147	39	London	200	55	28
San Francisco	700	270	39	South Wales	100	22	22
Miami	500	191	38	South Yorks	200	34	17
Cleveland	350	132	38	Other Britain	100	5	5
Morgantown, WV	400	150	38	Britain totals	800	231	29
Atlanta	450	162	36	CANADA			
Portland, Ore.	275	99	36	Toronto	700	170	24
Detroit	525	187	36	Montréal	250	56	22
Oakland	575	182	32	Vancouver	45	0	0
Twin Cities, Minn.	700	221	32	National team	-	10	-
Los Angeles	1,100	334	30	Canada totals	995	236	24
Boston	575	163	28	ICELAND	10	0	0
Newark	1,000	264	26	NEW ZEALAND			
Austin, Minn.	200	51	26	Auckland	200	113	57
Des Moines	350	87	25	Christchurch	150	70	47
Pittsburgh	400	92	23	Wellington	150	39	26
New York	3,500	702	20	New Zealand totals	500	222	44
Houston	450	88	20	PUERTO RICO	30	0	0
Phoenix	230	43	19	SWEDEN	50	25	50
Birmingham	325	51	16	Totals	20,540	6,384	31%
Omaha	400	60	15	Drive goals	20,540		
				Should be		8,391	41%

\$250,000

Pathfinder Fund

Deadline: Dec. 1

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Sandinista leader talks to party militants on tasks facing them and revolution

On August 27 Tomás Borge, Nicaraguan minister of the interior and member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), addressed an assembly of 5,000 FSLN members from the Fourth Region, which encompasses the southwestern part of Nicaragua. The meeting was held in the town of Jinotepe. The following excerpts from the speech have been translated by the Militant.

In this region alone, we have brought together 5,000 people. This does not include the tens of thousands, the hundreds of thousands, the millions of Sandinistas who, with or without a membership card, are prepared to fight, to work, to die, to live, in this struggle. They are ready to participate with vitality, enthusiasm, joy, and excitement in this revolution, which in the final analysis is the only road possible to open the way to the magnificent task of constructing a new society.

At one time we were a handful of men and women. Now it is the whole people

“The next stage will turn this political revolution into a social revolution . . .”

who in the final analysis are the real and only makers and owners of this revolution.

Nicaragua has been built by our people. Our people have made it possible for Nicaragua to be at the center of world politics. Why, since the triumph of the revolution, have we become a country that is the object of such detailed study? They study us not only in the United States, but in all of Latin America and Europe. That is why all of us, and particularly the members of the Sandinista Front, are interested in knowing about international politics, and U.S. politics in particular, since that is where our main enemies are. U.S. politics has become a factor with repercussions in Nicaraguan politics.

The triumph of the Sandinista revolution signified an irreversible, qualitative change in the geopolitics of Latin America. When Reagan became president of the United States in January 1981, he found a panorama that worried him. It was alarming to them. In their own backyard a revolutionary process had triumphed. And the Salvadoran guerrillas were acquiring an exceptional dynamism.

Reagan's eight years

Reagan began to implement his doctrine of rolling back communism, with the results that everybody knows. What is important to point out is that after eight years of the Reagan administration and all that it has meant — war, death, blockade, hunger, economic crisis — it has not been able to defeat us. However, it should also be said that we have not been able to advance in the way we had anticipated. We

have had to adapt our policies to the situation imposed by the United States.

Reagan failed. He could not reverse the natural process of revolution in the world. He could not reverse the natural process of revolution in Latin America, although he brags about the great feat of killing death in the case of Grenada.

The triumph of the Sandinista revolution was the culmination of a stage. That is to say, we succeeded in making the political revolution. We overthrew the dictatorship. We regained our national sovereignty, our national dignity. This means that upon completing this stage there are then new stages. And the next stage will be to turn this political revolution into a social revolution.

You can say that the Reagan doctrine has had some success, in that he succeeded in slowing down the normal development of the revolutionary process. Of course, we had foreseen this because we study the laws of historical development. What could not have been foreseen is with how much cruelty and stubbornness the Yankee administration would advance against Nicaragua. But, in the final analysis, it is an enormous defeat for the Reagan doctrine. His policy of force has been a failure.

They say we do not want peace, although they always accuse us with the logic of antilogic. We have always been willing to talk even with the Yankees themselves. They could not defeat us by force, and they have had to revive the cadaver of the FDN [Nicaraguan Democratic Forces], of the counterrevolution, several times with massive transfusions of dollars.

But this cadaver is now full of worms. Nonetheless, they continue maintaining a kind of historical morgue, which is useful to them for sowing death and destruction even though there is no possibility, none whatsoever, of them winning even a relatively important victory.

Republicans and Democrats

It's good to know and to talk about these topics in order to learn some things. The Republicans and Democrats share an overall policy and a geopolitical concept aimed at permanently maintaining their domina-

“Our obligation is to reconquer economic and social plans postponed because of contra war . . .”

tion of this continent. The Republican policy is oriented to rebuilding U.S. power, which means the defeat of the Nicaraguan revolution by force and a policy of force everywhere.

The outcome of the U.S. elections will undoubtedly affect our situation, although not in a decisive way because ultimately it is we Nicaraguans who determine what is decisive. That is why we are watching the political programs and platforms of the Republicans and Democrats.

But it is not enough to point out the principal contradictions that we have with the Yankee empire. We also have to differentiate between the positions of Bush, the Republican candidate, and of Dukakis, the Democratic candidate, in relation to the Nicaraguan revolution, without losing sight of the fact that both represent interests with differences of nuance and common denominators.

The means of confrontation chosen are different. Reagan fundamentally has chosen the military option, and the Democrats fundamentally the political option. Contradictions between the Democrats and Republicans exist.

The Democratic strategy is more subtle and more complex. It would create a space that could be positive, above all because the Democratic Party today is more liberal than in the past. Its past is a dark history of interventions around the world. But now it is more liberal than in the past because of

the influence of the sector led by Jesse Jackson, a Black American.

We also have to analyze the fact that even when the strategy of force and the use of the mercenary forces is defeated, the Democrats are determined to open more space [in Nicaragua] for the internal political forces, the internal political parties. The right-wing sectors of the Democratic Party of the United States, especially, will try to bring about the gradual weakening of the Nicaraguan revolution by other means, and to create better internal conditions for the forces opposing the revolution.

The transformations to the right carried out by Reagan are deep and have sunk roots. We cannot lose sight of this political leadership, and we know that Dukakis is closer to some of our friends in tactical terms. If Bush wins, we will have suffered a defeat. If Dukakis wins we will not necessarily have obtained a victory. This depends on deeds and not words. Even if Bush wins we shouldn't give in to pessimism because maybe even with George Bush negotiations are possible.

Reconquer postponed plans

We have an obligation to the future generations. What is this obligation? To start on the long and difficult road of national construction, and to reconquer the economic and social plans that were postponed because of the war.

The taking of power was simpler than the stage we are living through and this stage is not as difficult as the one that is awaiting us. The propaganda war, the disinformation war, causes ideological casualties and it causes deviations among those who are weak.

We are living through an economic crisis that affects our whole society. And we must face the hardship of scarcity and untold difficulties for some years more. We know that we will be victorious and that this revolution is irreversible, but we must be calm in order to face the ideological battle, the battle of the communications media, and prepare ourselves to explain to our people what is happening in an imaginative, convincing, and irrefutable way. We Sandinistas must set the example.

There are some traitors, some deserters, and some politicians who are promoting the idea that it is possible to follow the revolutionary path without the Sandinista Front. They say that the Front no longer plays the role of the vanguard, and that it is no longer capable of interpreting the aspirations of the masses. Now they talk about a “Third Road.” That is, they are against returning to Somozaism, and they are for recovering revolutionary values, but without the Sandinista Front. They speak of a “Sandinista” Third Road, from reactionary positions or with anticommunism on their lips and with hate for the people in their hearts.

Does the Third Road aspire to recruit Nicaraguans? No. This possibility is impossible. However, it could easily come about, if we were to put forward sectarian positions and fail to understand that there can be revolutionaries who, although they do not have a membership card like us, identify in their heart with our ideals. They made the triumph possible.

Sometimes we have said that there are card-carrying members and members of the heart, a phrase which has been the basis for commentaries, some of which reflect serious ideological weakness and political deviations. Card-carrying members are also members of the heart. What is more, the card-carrying members are the most heartfelt militants who could exist, and I would say they are also members of con-

“We must explain to our people what is happening in an imaginative, convincing, and irrefutable way. Persuasion is irreplaceable . . .”

science. There is a correspondence that is not accidental. Their personal conduct, their devotion to their work, their modesty in the daily activities in state institutions — the conduct of those who have joined our ranks is far superior.

But this must not lead us to underestimate hundreds of thousands of men and women, many of them exemplary, who still do not have their card and perhaps never have one. We, however, feel proud and honored to be card-carrying members and proud of our combative, heroic, and exemplary members who are committed to work, to study, to live, and to give their lives for a powerful party of Carlos Fonseca [A founder and central leader of the FSLN who was killed in 1976].

Not everyone understands the reasons

How Nobel

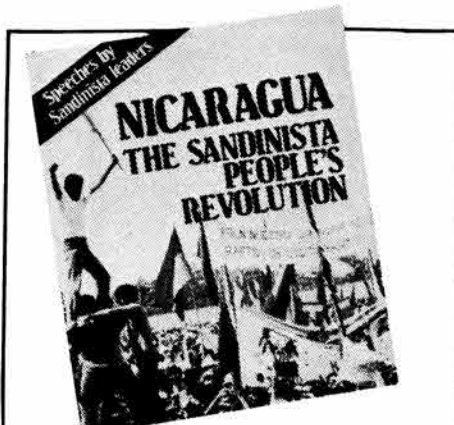
BY FRED FELDMAN

The 1988 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to United Nations military forces that, since 1948, have been sent to various hot spots in the class struggle in the colonial world. “The peacekeeping forces,” claimed the Nobel Committee, “represent the manifest will of the community of nations to achieve peace through negotiations.”

Currently, UN forces are stationed or headquartered in Cyprus, Lebanon, Egypt, Israel, Syria, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, India, and Pakistan. UN military units are set up and controlled by the Security Council, where imperialist powers — Britain, France, and the United States — carry more decisive weight than they do in the General Assembly.

The Nobel prize was established by a grant in the will of Alfred Nobel. Nobel was a Swedish arms manufacturer, regarded as the inventor of dynamite, who died in 1896.

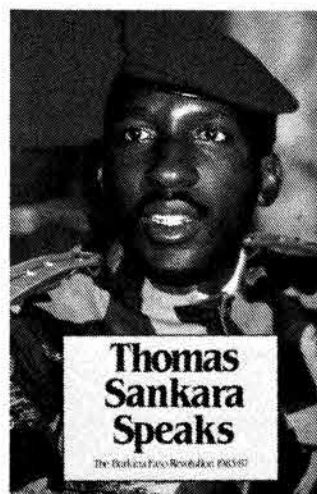
The winner is determined by a committee of the Norwegian Parliament. A list of



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that have impeded us from moving forward with our historic program. The force of the aggression and the economic and political blockade are major factors that not everyone sees with the same clarity that you do.

The enemies have contributed to forging this image. Their speeches point to the Sandinistas' inability to lead as the factor that has brought the country to such a catastrophic situation. Some backward sectors have taken the speeches of our adversaries for good coin, in part because of their skillful combining of objective and subjective factors.

The character of the war causes economic deterioration, which forces the reallocation of resources and impedes development. We have been forced to adopt necessary measures that postpone the crystallization of the society we want to build. These are the objective conditions.

Add to them our faults and you will find the perfect setting for an ideological and political offensive aimed at discrediting the revolutionary government and the Sandinista National Liberation Front, an offensive full of falsehoods, half-truths, and their dirty tricks of propaganda and disinformation.

Political persuasion

It is also necessary to insist that Sandinistas, both those who are members and

“The power of example is more valuable than 10 speeches . . .”

under party discipline and those who identify with the moral and political principles of [Augusto César] Sandino, must respond at every moment with flexibility, lack of sectarianism, and political creativity. You



Tomás Borge, Nicaragua's minister of the interior.

Militant/Cindy Jaquith

cannot resolve with coercive methods what can only be achieved with political persuasion. Just as you should not hesitate in using the force of the masses and of the revolutionary institutions when circumstances demand it.

The defense of the revolution demands implacable methods. But the defense of the revolution also demands impeccable methods, that is, revolutionary methods. Persuasion is irreplaceable, as is coercion, depending on the circumstances. You must use persuasion when it is necessary to use persuasion, and coercion when it is necessary to use coercion. In labor and student discussions for example, the requirements of persuasion predominate: political work, patience, day-to-day work.

If there are violations of the rules or the law, if the order of a factory or street is violently disrupted, no member is obliged to stand with folded arms. On the contrary. They must support the institutions of public order, which, in the final analysis, answer to the interests of the working people. The defense of the principles and policies of the revolution should be implacable when necessary, but always clean and impeccable.

Today more than ever we must act. Throughout the history of the Sandinista Liberation Front we have always been capable of finding the necessary strength in the most unfavorable and difficult moments. Sometimes, we have said, the power of example is more valuable than 10 speeches. The Sandinista mystique should be not a

memory, but the permanent guide to every one of our actions.

When the people stop imitating their leaders at all levels — and all the members of the Sandinista National Liberation Front are, to some degree and in certain ways, leaders — when their leaders do not lead the way the people expect, then we find ourselves in a difficult, complex, and dangerous situation. If our conduct does not fit our speeches, then we are demagogues. And demagogues lack credibility.

They could not defeat us when we were reduced to a dozen. Who can defeat us now that we are thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions of men, women, and children ready to fight without fear, convinced to the marrow of our bones that we are marching in the right direction indicated by the hands of this old and new clock, which point out the laws of historical development?

All of you, members of the Sandinista Front, are leaders of detachments. All leaders of detachments are required to see the hearts of their brothers. They must at one and the same time orient and obey the commands of the masses. They must renounce arrogance, authoritarianism, self-indulgent methods, and the belief that they are the owners of absolute truth.

They clarify the causes of the problems in the economic situation, the requirements involved in defense of the homeland, the necessity of sacrifices. They explain that there were men and women who, like Sandino, did not ask even for a piece of land in which to be buried, who did not ask for any comforts.

Many of them gave it all up. Because revolutionaries love life, but they are willing to give it up for their homeland. They love life, but they are willing to give it up for their revolution. They love life more than anybody, but they are willing to give it up for their brothers.

prize-winning UN 'peacekeepers' keep peace

Several past recipients gives a feel for who this body considers to be peacemakers. Among the winners are U.S. presidents Theodore Roosevelt (1906) and Woodrow Wilson (1919), former U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger (1973), and former Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin (1978).

While they are often called "peacekeeping forces," the UN forces stationed in various parts of the world neither establish nor keep the peace.

The first UN police unit to be formed was sent to the Middle East in June 1948 as the newly formed state of Israel was conquering most of Palestine. These units did not end that war, nor have they obstructed subsequent Israeli wars of conquest.

UN forces arrived in the southern part of Lebanon in 1978 after an Israeli invasion. They replaced the Israeli occupiers and sought to restrict the operations of Palestinian fighters in Lebanon, but were no obstacle to the Israeli invasion of 1982.

Another UN force arrived at the Afghanistan-Pakistan border in April 1988 to monitor the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The UN presence has not halted the civil war in Afghanistan or the U.S. shipment of arms to rightist forces there.

Currently, a UN military observer team is operating on former battlefronts of the war between Iran and Iraq. The observer team was sent after both governments agreed to stop fighting, after backing from a U.S.-led armada in the Persian Gulf enabled the Iraqi government to push back Iranian forces.

The UN's "peacekeepers" actually operate as imperialist-dominated police units to uphold the status quo in places where conflicts have taken place. They provide a cover for placing troops, often from smaller imperialist countries, in trouble spots, where their presence can provide a pretext for sending more forces if revolts or other conflicts threaten imperialist interests.

The Lebanon unit, for instance, includes troops from the United States, France, Italy, Sweden, Norway, and Finland — all imperialist countries — as well as from Ireland, Fiji, and Ghana. Troops from weaker imperialist powers such as Sweden and Finland are given a high-visibility role in these operations because of their posture of neutrality.

When the balance of forces allows, UN military forces have moved beyond acting as watchdogs and listening posts for imperialism. They have taken direct action against forces opposing imperialist domination.

In 1950 troops from the United States and its allies poured into Korea under the UN flag. In this "police action," as it was called, they attempted to overturn the North Korean government and threatened to attack China, before being forced by a massive mobilization of Chinese troops to retreat south, to the current border of South Korea.

In 1960 Patrice Lumumba — president of the newly independent Congo (now Zaire) — asked for UN military help to counter the secession of Katanga Province. The secession had been engineered by the Belgian imperialists, who had formerly ruled the Congo and still had thousands of troops in Katanga.

The UN Security Council ordered a military force to the scene. But, far from collaborating with Lumumba, who had led the revolution against Belgian colonial rule, the UN operation sabotaged him.

UN forces, sent to replace Belgian forces in Katanga, were ordered to adopt a "neutral" stance toward the Belgian-backed secession and to provide no protection to those backing the central government. Lumumba charged that this amounted to collusion with the secessionists. The UN contingent was spearheaded by Swedish troops.

When the Soviet Union offered to send planes to help transport Lumumba's troops to fight the secessionists, UN forces seized the airfields in the capital to block this. But

tons of Belgian arms were flown to Katanga without UN interference.

When U.S.- and Belgian-backed rightists launched attempted coups against Lumumba, UN forces barred him from appealing for support from the capital's radio

station. Lumumba was ousted in October 1960. He was imprisoned and then assassinated in February 1961 in Katanga, a victim of one of the imperialist operations in which the UN's Nobel prize-winning "peace-keeping" forces played a key part.



Militant/Alicia Merel

Portrait of Congo's Patrice Lumumba, who was assassinated in 1961 by imperialist-controlled Congolese secessionists. UN forces acted as cover for carrying out murder. Painting appears on Pathfinder mural in New York City and was done by mural project director Sam Manuel.

Behind change in political attitudes of Cubans in Miami

BY PETE SEIDMAN

(Last of three parts)

MIAMI — The previous two articles in this series took up major shifts that are taking place in the political attitudes of many Cubans living in this city and the growing isolation of right-wing terrorist groups.

There are several factors behind these changes.

First, is the growing strength and international prestige of the Cuban revolution itself. The military force put together 28 years ago to invade Cuba at the Bay of Pigs is a broken-down force. Elements of the defeated army have been used from time to time by Washington for covert operations in Central America. But as a policy option towards Cuba, a Miami-based army-in-waiting is dead.

The immigration pact negotiated between Cuba and the United States shows the Cuban government's willingness to allow anyone who wants to emigrate to do so. This, as well as its opposition to forced deportations of U.S.-held Cuban detainees, coincides with the feelings of many Miami Cubans. They oppose President Reagan's efforts to deport some of the Cuban prisoners who have been held in U.S. prisons since the 1980 Mariel exodus from Cuba.

Cuba's social advances are known

Despite the avalanche of anti-Cuban propaganda in the Spanish-language media here, the truth about Cuba's social achievements finds ways to get through.

Besides numerous family visits, there are some 1.35 million phone calls to Cuba made from the Miami area every year. These completely fill the 90 circuits now available.

The phone company plans to add 48 more circuits by 1990. But some estimates say it would take 500 circuits overall to meet the demand.

Several Cuban AM radio stations can be heard in southern Florida. Miami listeners could hear the live broadcast of Castro's July 26 speech this year, for example.

Contemporary Cuban films are readily available in video rental stores in the Cuban neighborhoods.

And the Antonio Maceo Brigade, based in Miami, regularly organizes trips to the

island for Cuban youths who want to see with their own eyes the country where they or their parents were born.

So, despite government and right-wing slander campaigns, many of the Cuban revolution's gains in health care, education, culture, sports, and social justice are known — if not openly admitted by Miami-area exiles.

In discussions with Cuban workers here, many repeat the most outrageous lies about life in Cuba ("There is no food!"). But others proudly report on the achievements of the revolution.

Many have concluded that the right-wing goal they may have shared at one time of overturning the revolution with help from the U.S. government is now an unrealizable pipe dream. As one worker put it, "Cuba today is like Russia; communism is there to stay." In this context, there is a growing desire for normalization of diplomatic and trade relations, family visits, and cultural exchange.

The accomplishments of the revolution in their homeland stand in sharp contrast to the difficult situation endured by many Cubans who thought they were fleeing to a new land of unlimited economic opportunity.

The working majority

It is common to see statistics arguing that while Cubans may not live as well as Anglos, they do live better than Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and other Hispanic immigrants.

But these figures are misleading. Cuban families do enjoy higher incomes than other Hispanic families. But this is because they are larger, with more family members — especially women — working, than other Hispanic families.

Per capita wages paid to Cubans are actually lower than those paid to Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. The Bureau of the Census gives the most recent figures for annual per capita income (1982) as: Cubans (\$8,561), Mexicans (\$10,397), and Puerto Ricans (\$9,206).

Jorge Salazar, head of the Economics Department at Florida International University of Miami, puts it this way: "Statistics show that the notion, propagated around the country, that most Cuban exiles



Cuban youths in Florida waiting for home. Many Cubans who thought they were fleeing to land of economic opportunity encounter hardships instead. Little Havana in Miami has been officially designated a "poverty area."

are wealthy is a myth. . . . Sure, there are a few millionaires, but most of the 600,000 Cubans here are salaried workers and employees. The sad fact is that the much-touted Cuban barrio of Miami, the little Havana, has been officially designated as a poverty area."

For many Cubans who thought they were stepping into a new life of prosperity when they came here, their second step took them into Miami's sweatshops. This is especially true for Cuban exile women. Between 1970 and 1980 there was a 133 percent increase in their numbers in industry. By 1985 slightly more than 50 percent of them had become workers.

Despite some recent improvements, these women remain heavily concentrated in Miami's low-paying, mainly nonunion factories.

The bottom line is that in 1979 the lowest-paid 20 percent of Cuban families earned only 4.3 percent of total Cuban family income, down from 5 percent 10 years earlier.

All this means that the exiles' anti-communist, reactionary, and often times racist views come into increasing contradiction with new kinds of thinking based on the need to defend their interests under new conditions as part of the North American working class.

Wealthy Cubans

At the same time, a minority of Cubans here have become quite wealthy — or have remained so. The top 20 percent of Cuban families take in nearly 50 percent of total Cuban family income. Among the wealthy Cubans who came here in 1959, there are today in Miami more than 20 bank presidents, 220 bank vice-presidents, and 19,000 business owners with combined assets of billions of dollars.

Five of these wealthy Cubans have become prominent members of Miami's elite ruling circle, called the "Non-Group" in the local media.

To the extent this happens, however, these wealthy Cubans tend to abandon their extreme right-wing exile mentality against Cuba. They are forced — as bankers with heavy investments throughout the Caribbean and Latin America — to adopt the broader, long-term stance of the U.S. ruling class as a whole.

The sharpening class differentiation affecting the thinking of Cuban exiles is matched by an equally important age differentiation.

A new generation of Cuban youth simply do not accept any longer the reactionary political frame-work of their parents. Their political attitudes mirror more those of their generation as a whole in this country. For example:

- A Gallup poll conducted earlier this year revealed that young Cuban-Americans in Miami and New Jersey are almost evenly divided over resuming diplomatic relations with Cuba.

- Forty-one percent supported normalization compared to 51 percent among the population as a whole.

- A 1987 survey of 500 Dade County Cubans made for the Miami-based *Areíto* magazine on attitudes towards the Iran-con-

tra arms scandal revealed similar results.

Recent studies also show that while as recently as 1980, non-Cubans were only one in five of Dade County's Hispanic population, today non-Cubans are one of each three Hispanics who live here. "If . . . this trend continues, in less than 10 years non-Cuban Latins will become the leading segment of our community," says Florida International University's Salazar.

Many of these non-Cuban Hispanics have fled from U.S.-backed dictatorships in El Salvador and Honduras — or are economic refugees from Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic.

Their experiences in countries suffering from sharpening imperialist exploitation lead them to reject the extreme right-wing views that previously held sway within the Hispanic community here.

This is coupled with the failure of Reagan's policies in Nicaragua, which has made it impossible to use the estimated 80,000 Nicaraguan exiles here as a breeding ground for the kind of terrorist force that dominated the Cuban community in the 1960s and '70s.

In addition, an estimated 40,000 Haitians now live in Dade County. Little Haiti here is the scene of frequent protests against U.S. support for dictatorships in Haiti. Veye-Yo, a prominent Haitian organization, frequently opens its doors to opponents of U.S. policy in Central America, the Caribbean, and southern Africa.

These Haitian immigrants to Miami have become overwhelmingly part of the work force, and greatly enhance the possibilities for discussing progressive ideas in the labor movement here.

A similar process occurs as a result of the presence of thousands of immigrants from Jamaica, Grenada, and elsewhere in the English-speaking Caribbean.

The changing political situation among Miami Cubans therefore is not accidental or superficial. It has its roots in Cuba's continuing political and military victories over imperialism. It is the inevitable outcome of the harsh reality that capitalism has created for those who left Cuba believing the streets of Miami were paved with gold.

While right-wing terror and intimidation here have not disappeared, it is on a vastly reduced scale and increasingly isolated even within the Cuban community itself.

This Caribbean crossroads is not only the home of counterrevolutionary forces fleeing revolutionary struggles in the region. It is also a magnet for superexploited workers and peasants who flee here from the crushing economic and social crises that imperialism is imposing on Central America and the Caribbean.

Miami is therefore an important political battleground where the revolutionary alternative represented by Cuba is discussed among workers.

The greater openings here for public campaigns in defense of the Cuban revolution come at an important time. For the lessons of the Cuban revolution can greatly enrich the discussion among all working people on what we need to do to defend our class as the economic crisis deepens here in the United States as well as internationally.

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Héctor Marroquín explains that his victory gives all immigrants more opportunities for winning fights against the INS and strengthens political rights. He's using his newly won status as a permanent resident to defend Mark Curtis, the victim of a frame-up. Curtis' case is also featured in this issue.

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What's wrong with 'industrialization by invitation'

In recent years U.S. and other foreign direct investment in light manufacturing has been rising steadily in the Caribbean. It has been encouraged by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), as well as by the spread of unregulated industrial "free trade" zones around the Caribbean in the 1980s.

Foreign investment in other sectors of the regional economy, however, has been sluggish. Overall, in fact,



CARIB NOTES

Don Rojas

there has been net disinvestment in the Caribbean.

Furthermore, indigenous private capital has been undermined by formidable competition from U.S.-owned and other giant corporations, with superior technology and financial resources.

Despite these facts, regional Caribbean politicians and technocrats continue to trumpet more private foreign investment as a panacea for the Caribbean's economic woes. They offer slavish packages of incentives: the right to repatriate profits to home offices; 10-to-15 year tax holidays; waivers on import duties; government-built factory shells and industrial parks; state-guaranteed low wages; repression of trade union rights.

All this is capsulized in the current euphemism for exploitation: "an attractive investment climate."

The development strategy of the Caribbean's current political leadership has stressed a combination of import substitution and "industrialization by invitation." Little or no emphasis has been placed on agricultural develop-

ment to satisfy regional food needs, or promotion of agro-industries producing for both local and export markets.

Import substitution — i.e., producing goods locally that were formerly imported — seemed to make sense on the surface. It promised to minimize dependence on imports, save foreign exchange, and encourage local manufacturing. In practice, however, this strategy has only profited inefficient and uncompetitive local manufacturers. These domestic industries, furthermore, rely on a high percentage of imported materials, equipment, and machinery.

The "industrialization by invitation" strategy — modeled on Puerto Rico's "Operation Bootstrap" — calls on foreign capital to establish assembly plants manufacturing for export to the U.S. market. Garments, toys, furniture, and electronic products are the most common items assembled by U.S. and other investors and their Caribbean subcontractors.

This strategy is supposed to generate jobs and eventually benefit the local economy. Foreign investors' essential precondition, however, is that Caribbean trade unions be put "under heavy manners."

Most export-oriented assembly plants use only one local input: the cheap labor of Caribbean workers. The overwhelming majority are women. Wages are low, hours long, and job conditions poor. Workers are denied union rights, job security, and protection against injury and physical or sexual abuse at the work site.

"Industrialization by invitation" has not been a solution to joblessness, which remains high throughout the region. Instead, it has benefited giant foreign-owned corporations, which are interested in reducing assembly costs in the face of intensified interimperialist rivalries.

These assembly manufacturing schemes directly undermine import substitution as well. The majority of locally assembled goods are exported, mostly to North America. Far from reducing imports or increasing intra-

regional trade, these schemes aggravate trade deficits and contract regional trade flows. Hence, the steady decline of trade in the 1980s among the countries of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM).

A minority segment of the local business elite, which benefits from increased foreign capital, does so by establishing subcontracting operations and other forms of dependent business. The trickle-down effect that is supposed to benefit the masses in the form of jobs and higher income has largely not materialized. While this strategy brought some economic growth in the 1960s and '70s, it also brought greater income inequalities and increased attacks on union and political rights.

Since little or no taxation is levied on assembly manufacturing by foreign capital, state revenues are not enhanced by this economic activity. Indeed, scarce state funds are not invested in projects to meet the basic needs of the Caribbean peoples. Instead, funds go to print fancy promotional materials, construct expensive infrastructure, build industrial parks for prospective investors, and even provide financial guarantees for them.

This misguided focus on condition-free, no-strings foreign investment has reduced emphasis on agricultural production, on collective regional economic strategies, on diversification of external financing, and on the need to build industries that process local materials.

The two key elements of the neocolonial Caribbean economic development strategy, import substitution and industrialization by invitation, have thus both failed miserably to advance the economy of the region. To the contrary, they have contributed to further underdevelopment.

Don Rojas is a leader of Grenada's Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement and a Coordinating Committee member of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America.

Berlin protesters demand 'Cancel Third World debt!'

BY LÜKO WILLMS

WEST BERLIN — "500 years of colonialism is enough — cancel the Third World's debt," read one of the banners at the demonstration held here September 25 to coincide with the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. It was clearly the largest demonstration in West Berlin in years. Estimates of the youthful crowd ranged from 80,000, by march organizers, to 25,000 by police.

The demonstration was part of a week of protests and educational activities on the debt burden of the colonial and semicolonial countries. The events were organized by a coalition of 150 organizations from West Germany and other European countries. Participating were groups in solidarity with anti-imperialist struggles, environmental and peace organizations, the Social Democratic Party Young Socialists, Catholic Agrarian Youth League, several trade union bodies, and others.

Andrés Luna Vargas from the Peruvian Peasants Federation was one of the speakers at the demonstration. The forces gathered at the IMF-World Bank meeting, he said, "are responsible for the pauperization of the peoples of the Third World. It is impossible to pay these debts. Don't you know that we have to produce more coffee, more cotton, every day? How many of our resources are owned by the multinationals themselves? Don't they know that every day, every month, every year, they pay us less and less for our raw materials? That it is impossible to sustain economic development under these conditions?"

Carol Vusi from the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union in South Africa urged the marchers to oppose Western European and North American banks' support for the South African apartheid regime.

For two days before the demonstration, 4,000 people filled the auditoriums at the Technical University here to participate in a Counter Congress on the debt oppressed countries owe to banks in the United States, West Germany, Britain, and other imperialist countries. Forums and workshops discussed the impact of the \$1.2 trillion burden on workers, peasants, women, and indigenous peoples in Latin America, Asia, and Africa.

Cuban President Fidel Castro sent greetings to the conference, which heard speakers from Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, the Philippines, India, South Korea, Peru, Brazil, Liberia, Uganda, Ireland, South Africa, Japan, the United States, and several European countries.



September 25 West Berlin demonstration protested IMF and World Bank policies. Sign at left reads, "What is a bank robbery compared to the crimes of the bank?"

The conference adopted a declaration calling for "global, immediate, and far-reaching debt cancellation."

"Taking the debt load off the backs of Third World countries is a vital prerequisite for a solution to social and economic problems," the declaration says, urging solidarity with struggles in the Third World against imperialist exploitation and domination.

On September 25 some 800 people also gathered in an East Berlin church to demand cancellation of the Third World debt and protest the housing of hundreds of IMF delegates in East Berlin hotels for

"\$500,000 bribe money." East German authorities refused to allow a planned march to take place.

The meeting was organized by peace and environmental activists in East Germany. They had issued a statement on the IMF-World Bank gathering and Third World debt crisis after a June seminar in Potsdam that drew 150 participants. "We especially support the demand raised by the people of the Third World for cancellation of the debt," their statement declares. "Forming a debtors' cartel can be a first step toward opposing the cartel of creditors."

"We call upon all political leaders, so-

cial forces, and churches in the German Democratic Republic to declare their solidarity with the segment of the world population that has been plunged into poverty by the ruthless measures of the IMF, World Bank, and others."

While the proposal to cancel the debt was not addressed at the IMF-World Bank meeting itself, the protest actions outside threw a spotlight on this demand and made it part of the public debate. It was a central question at every press conference during the IMF-World Bank September 27-29 gathering, which drew some 10,000 participants from 151 countries.

Castro's message to IMF demonstrators

The September 23-24 Counter Congress on the Third World debt crisis, held in West Berlin to coincide with the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, received a message from Cuban President Fidel Castro.

Castro first raised the demand for cancellation of the foreign debt in 1985, maintaining that it is unpayable and uncollectible. Since then, the Cuban leadership has been campaigning internationally to win backing for this demand.

"I would like to send greetings to the organizers of this important event," Castro said, "in recognition of an initiative that can already be described as historic. This is not only because of where and when it takes place, but also because of the various ques-

tions that are an integral part of its agenda. . . .

"The foreign debt is the historical result of the centuries-old and unjust structure of current capitalist trade relations, which have generated such harmful phenomena as unequal exchange relations, dumping, and protectionism. It is also the result of the disorder and anarchy of the international capitalist monetary-financial system."

"Led by a group of its principal powers, this system manipulates the monetary-financial variables — at its discretion and for its benefit — with disastrous results for the underdeveloped countries."

"In sum, the foreign debt has become one of the most burning questions today," the Cuban leader said.

Castro noted that since 1985 "the situation has worsened dramatically. What some

labeled predictions of a catastrophic nature are today bitter reality. The debt increases more every day. Every day it's more unpayable and uncollectible. And we're sure the debt will not be paid. . . .

"The failure of the IMF's adjustment programs make it obvious that this method of confronting the problem of the foreign debt is ineffective and inadequate," Castro continued. "There can be no definitive solution to the problem of the debt without real and sustained economic development."

"And this will not be possible in the first place if the resources the Third World could have at its disposal continue to be used to pay the interest on the debt," he said. "Neither will it be possible without a substantial transformation of the current international economic order, which is more irrational and obsolete every day."

ARIZONA

Phoenix

Hear Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party Vice-presidential Candidate. Also speaking, Ruth Nebbia, SWP write-in candidate for U.S. Senate. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 22, Open house 5 p.m.; program 6 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Campaign 1988. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

The Crisis in Mexico and What It Means for Working People Here. Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party, member International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 213; Anibal Yáñez, former managing editor *Perspectiva Mundial*. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Oct. 16, 4 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

Dance-Baile. Benefit for Salvadoran Teachers' Literacy Campaign. Music by Latin All-Stars. Sun., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. Cesar's Latin Palace, 3140 Mission St. (at Army). Donation: \$5 in advance, \$6 at door. Sponsors: San Francisco Community College District Federation of Teachers, Local 2121; Committee in Solidarity with Teacher's Union of El Salvador. For more information call (415) 861-2121.

FLORIDA

Miami

Pathfinder Publications Fund Rally: Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution. Sat., Oct. 29, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Palestine: A People's Revolt. Video showing of *Native Sons: Palestinians in Exile*. Speaker: Dennis Drake, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 15, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

MICHIGAN

Ann Arbor

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. Fri., Oct. 21, 6:30 p.m. Guild House, 802 Monroe St. Sponsor: Michigan Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign Committee and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (313) 831-1177.

Detroit

Young Socialist Alliance Class: A Marxist Analysis of the Coming World Economic Crisis and What It Will Mean for Farmers and Youth. Every Sunday at 2:30 p.m. 5019½ Woodward Ave. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

Build the Future: Material Aid for Nicaragua. Discussion with David Linder, longtime solidarity activist, recently returned from Nicaragua, and Tom Hansen, co-coordinator of Pastors for Peace Caravan to Nicaragua and staff coordinator for Veterans Peace Convoy. Sat., Oct. 15, Reception 6:30 p.m.; program 7 p.m. 5019½ Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

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. Sat. Oct. 22, 7 p.m. Reception to follow. 5019½ Woodward Ave. Donation:

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MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Apartheid Army Defeated in Angola. Cuban three-hour video documentary on dramatic turning point in struggle to drive South Africa out of Angola. Sat., Oct. 22, 7 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$4. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Celebration of the Life of Helen Savio. Speakers: Norton Sandler and Tom Leonard, members National Committee Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., Oct. 16, Reception 4 p.m.; program 5 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

Victory Against South Africa in Angola. Video showing of "Response to the South African Escalation," a Cuban documentary of the battle of Cuito Cuanavale. Sat., Oct. 22, 6:30 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum and Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Defend Mark Curtis! Speakers: Paul Curtis, brother of frame-up victim Mark Curtis; Joe Swanson, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America Local 3166. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 15, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Revolt in Haiti. A panel discussion. Sat., Oct. 22, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. 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

Political Prisoners in the U.S. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, Mexican-born socialist who recently won fight for permanent residence in the U.S.; Thelma Clark, mother of Eddie Hatcher, framed-up Native American activist; others. Sun., Oct. 16, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

New Stage in the Nicaraguan Revolution. Speaker: Sherrie Love, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Oct. 23, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Korea: The Struggle for Democratic Rights. Sat., Oct. 22, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

Pittsburgh

Turning Point in the Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa. Cuban TV documentary "Response to the South African Escalation." Sat., Oct. 22, 7 p.m. Discussion on documentary to follow on Sun., Oct. 23, 11 a.m. In English and Spanish. 4905 Penn Ave., Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum.

TEXAS

Austin

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. Tue., Oct. 25, 7 p.m. University of Texas, Texas Union Building.

Houston

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. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Oct. 23, Reception 5 p.m.; rally 6 p.m. 4806 Almeda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Warren will also speak at the University of Houston, University Park, Tue., Oct. 25, noon, University Center, and at Texas Southern University, Thurgood Marshall Law School Faculty Lounge, Wed., Oct. 26, 1 p.m. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

UTAH

Price

The Decline of the U.S. Empire and the Road Forward for Working People. Speaker: Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president. Sat., Oct. 15, 7:30 p.m. 253 E Main St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

Salt Lake City

The Decline of the U.S. Empire and the Road Forward for Working People. Speaker: Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president. Sun., Oct. 16, Open house 4 p.m.; program, 5 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

How Cuba Helped Repel South African Invasion of Angola. Video showing of "Response to the South African Escalation." In English and Spanish. Sun., Oct. 29, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$4. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Toxins in the Workplace: Do Aerospace Workers Have the Right to Speak Out? Speakers: Bryan DuPaul, Safety Committee recording secretary International Association of Machinists District 751; Jill Fein, Socialist Workers Party and member IAM District 751 Local E. Sat., Oct. 22, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Pathfinder Bookstore Open House. Sat., Oct. 15, 5 p.m. to 8 p.m. Refreshments, music. 3165 Mt. Pleasant NW. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Defend Women's Right to Abortion. Speaker: Gail Skidmore, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council and member International Association of Machinists Lodge 1759. Sat., Oct. 22, 7:30 p.m. 3165 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

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Charleston

The World Economy One Year After the Stock Market Crash. Speaker: Bruce Kimball, Socialist Workers Party, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Sat., Oct. 22, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Justice for Mark Curtis! Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, Mexican-born socialist who recently won permanent residency in U.S.; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Oct. 21, Reception 6:30 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. St. Patrick's Church School. 1115 S 7th St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Supporters of Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

CANADA

Toronto

The Coming Economic Crisis and the Road Forward for Working People. Speakers: James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president; Margaret Manwaring, Revolutionary Workers League federal election candidate in Toronto, member United Steelworkers of America; Michel Dugré, RWL federal election candidate in Montréal, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Sun., Oct. 16, Reception 2 p.m.; rally 3 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W. Suite 400. Donation: \$2. For more information call (416) 861-1399.

Winds of Change in Haiti. Speakers: Pierre-Eddy Toussaint, Haitian Alliance; Art Young, *Militant* correspondent. Sat., Oct. 22, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W. Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Socialist Voice Forum. For more information call (416) 861-1399.

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Glebe. Postal address: P.O. Box 153 Glebe, Sydney NSW 2037. Tel: 02-660 1673.

BRITAIN

London: 47 The Cut, SE1 8LL. Tel: 01-401 2293.

CANADA

Montreal: 4274 Papineau, Suite 302, H2H 1S9. Tel: (514) 524-7992.

Toronto: 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400, M5V 1S8. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

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SWEDEN

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

"With liberty and justice for all" — West Virginia officials began enforcing a new law to revoke the drivers' licenses of high school dropouts unless they reenroll.



Harry Ring

Time for a new boss?: — "Contras Are So Split That Some Favor Dukakis," says a San Francisco *Chronicle* headline. The article reports the view of Jaime Chamorro, co-owner of Mana-

gua's anti-Sandinista *La Prensa*. He says some of the contras in Costa Rica favor Dukakis, and he does too.

The Duke, he says, "can control Congress." And, he assures, "he won't dissolve the contras."

Who said prison's so terrible?

— John Zaccaro, son of former Democratic vice-presidential nominee Geraldine Ferraro, was given a month off for good behavior from his four-month drug-bust sentence in Vermont. He did his three months under "house arrest" in a \$1,500-a-month luxury apartment.

A matter of priorities — The first grapefruit of the Florida sea-

son are being doused with lead arsenate, a lead-arsenic compound that causes brain damage and cancer. Growers and federal "regulators" assure there's no danger. The spray is not used to ward off pests, but to quicken the ripening process. This extends the season a month or two.

The city that cares — New York's men's shelter on the Bowery will stop serving meals and scrap various social services. Why? Condos and co-ops are springing up in the area and there's complaint about too many homeless around. One co-op developer adds he would like to buy the nearby women's shelter. "I would love to see that as a lovely little artsy hotel," he enthused. "Property

values would increase."

That'll do it — BERLIN (AP) — The World Bank will increase its yearly loans by nearly 50 percent in 1988 to help end poverty in the Third World, the organization's president said.

Might subvert the judges — Gabriela Robleto Barquero, Miss Nicaragua, was unable to obtain a U.S. visa to enter Puerto Rico for an international beauty contest.

Solving the gridlock problem — In El Paso, Texas, four large billboards exhort: "Please don't give to beggars. They cause traffic problems."

Sharing the pie — After he con-

fessed his sins on TV, evangelist Jimmy Swaggart was taking it on the chin for a million a month, but says he's making a comeback. Asked about two former staffers now preaching to defectors, he shrugged philosophically, "It's a big world out there, with a lot of customers."

Thought for the week — "For business economists, a group often accused of inability to agree on anything, the fact that 90 percent of the nation's leading business economists expect an economic downturn during the next two years is noteworthy." — Jay Woodworth, incoming president, National Association of Business Economists.

Southern Africa negotiations reach an impasse

Continued from front page

This has also been the view presented in the media in the United States and Western Europe. The briefing had been prompted by a report in the October 10 *New York Times* that an agreement had been reached to withdraw Cuban troops from Angola within 24 to 30 months. The story said in addition that Washington and Pretoria are seeking the withdrawal of the overwhelming majority of Cuban troops within the first 12 months.

Angolan and Cuban government leaders have consistently explained that the schedule and procedure for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola will be decided bilaterally, solely by Angola and Cuba, and is not part of the negotiations.

Position detailed

Alarcón took some time to explain in detail the Cuban and Angolan position.

"I would like to say that both Cuba and Angola have shown a great degree of flexibility and responsibility on this issue. To begin with we have no obligation whatsoever under international law, under any moral standard, under any political criteria or acceptable values to withdraw from Angola," Alarcón noted.

"This is a concession that both Cuba and Angola as a sovereign act decided to contribute to the process for the resolution of all the problems in the southwestern area of Africa," he explained.

Cuban troops came to Angola at the request of that country's government to help repel the 1975 invasion of Angola by South African troops. Cuban forces have remained ever since, helping to defend Angola's independence.

"We will continue trying to achieve a resolution," Alarcón continued. "But we

will always remain firm on our principled position that the withdrawal and the resolution of the problem have to take into account strict respect for the national security and independence of Angola and the security of the Cuban forces there. And that also the general solution has to imply the complete and total end of the illegal occupation of Namibia," Alarcón said.

Commenting directly on the *Times*' story, Alarcón said, "I don't know if the rationale behind such stories is to confuse the real, fundamental issues and to put on us, Angola and Cuba, the responsibility for the difficulties in finding an agreement. As if Angola had invaded South Africa and occupied it for the last 13 years. As if it were the Cubans who had illegally occupied Namibia, or the Angolans."

"It is the apartheid regime, not Cuba," he emphasized, "that has been condemned by the international community. In fact there have been many resolutions in the Organization of African Unity, and the Movement of Nonaligned Countries praising the role of Cuban troops in Angola."

"They want to present things as if we were the ones defeated in Angola," Alarcón explained.

In March South African troops, along with their counterrevolutionary Angolan collaborators, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), were dealt a decisive defeat by Angolan and Cuban troops in a strategic battle for the Angolan town of Cuito Cuanavale.

"They want to dictate how and where we will redeploy our forces. But we are not the defeated forces." Historically, Alarcón noted, defeated armies do not dictate conditions to victorious armies.

Another important consideration, Alarcón noted, is the need and the right of Angola to prepare to defend itself alone in the future when the Cuban forces have left. "It

is a matter of helping the Angolans to manage the military matériel that belongs to them but was provided by us, matériel that is now being controlled or used by Cuban personnel." Alarcón stressed that the 30-month calendar is a carefully considered schedule necessary to complete the process in an orderly way.

"And our Angolan friends will have to assume these responsibilities under conditions that are neither natural or peaceful," Alarcón emphasized. "It is no secret to anybody here or elsewhere that the UNITA bands have been supported first by the Portuguese and since the independence of Angola by the South African regime."

"It is no secret also that the United States, the country that happens to be at the same time the mediator in these talks, has taken and sustains until now a position of supporting materially the forces of UNITA," Alarcón stated.

In the last month Angolan troops have launched a massive offensive against UNITA, driving it from areas of central

Angola. UNITA has charged that Cuban troops have been involved in the offensive. Angolan Defense Minister Pedro Maria Tonha has denied that Cuban forces have had any part in the recent offensive.

Throughout the negotiations the U.S. government has also pressed Angola to accept "reconciliation" with UNITA in a coalition government. Angola has rejected that course but has offered clemency to individual members of UNITA who surrender their arms.

Pacavira stressed that the solution to Angola's internal problems is not part of the negotiations. These problems will be resolved by the Angolans themselves, he said, once U.S. and South African support for UNITA has been ended. "We have a formula for the solution to our problem. And this is the solution that we have adopted, to which all the African countries agree. The program that we are going to follow of political clemency is the most generous possible for those who have committed such crimes as UNITA has against our people," Pacavira added.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
Oct. 20, 1978

Justice doesn't wear a blindfold in Cullman, Alabama. It wears the white hood of the Ku Klux Klan.

That's the picture emerging since the trial of Tommy Lee Hines opened there October 3.

Hines, a Black man, is accused of raping three white women.

But those who know the 25-year-old defendant say he could not possibly be guilty. Hines is mentally retarded. He is incapable of some of the things he is accused of doing — including driving his alleged victim's cars.

He could not possibly have understood his rights as read to him by police, or the confession he gave them after his arrest in Decatur, Alabama, where he lives. They had received complaints that he had been loitering.

After a few hours, Decatur cops — under pressure to solve several local crimes — got Hines to confess that he raped two women earlier in the year.

Police also released Hines' picture to the papers, thereby ensuring that prosecution witnesses would be able to "identify" him in court.

Because of these violations of Hines' rights, his attorney asked that the trial be moved from Decatur.

The request was granted. But the trial moved to Cullman, a town with only 120 Blacks out of a population of 36,000. An all-white jury is hearing the case.

The Black community in Decatur began protesting the frame-up of Tommy Lee Hines the day after his arrest.

Over the summer, the KKK began a series of demonstrations to "give support to the judicial system of Decatur and Morgan County."

On the night of October 1, a mob of 1,000-2,000 Klan members and sympathizers gathered at the Decatur city limits

and succeeded in turning back a march to Cullman scheduled to coincide with the opening of the trial. State troopers on the scene said they couldn't guarantee the safety of the Black demonstrators.



Mme. Ngo Dinh Nhu, wife of the sinister head of the secret police in South Vietnam, is currently touring this country and favoring us with her charms. Her purpose is to win friends and influence people and, particularly, to ensure the continued and unrestricted flow of \$1.5 million per day which the U.S. has been piping into dictator Ngo Dinh Diem's treasury. To date, at least \$2.5 million in funds and goods have been handed out by the American people to prop up Diem and his ruling family. These handouts do not include, of course, the far larger sums spent for equipping Diem's conscript army of more than 500,000 and for the U.S. armed forces in South Vietnam, now admittedly numbering some 14,000.

President Diem is reportedly spending \$75 million for a new palace. He and his close relatives own and lease out much of South Vietnam's best rice land, run a most lucrative business in the licensing of all industry and commerce, hold "interests" in tin and rubber, and generally put a merciless squeeze on the peasants and workers in return for "protection" from the "communists."

When a Buddhist priest burned himself to death in a Saigon public square as a desperate protest against the May massacre of Buddhists carried out by Mme. Nhu's husband and his storm troopers, she aroused worldwide indignation and revulsion by saying she would "clap my hands" over more "barbecues of bonzes" (Buddhist monks).

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(signed)
James M. White
Business Manager

Walkathons for El Salvador

Activists opposed to U.S. policy in Central America have undertaken important humanitarian aid campaigns for El Salvador and Nicaragua, in recent months, despite the Reagan administration's attempts to stymie such efforts. These efforts deserve broad support.

Opponents of the U.S.-backed war against the people of El Salvador will be making their voices heard October 15 in a series of walkathons aimed at raising \$200,000 for humanitarian aid projects in that country.

The walkathons will take place in more than 60 cities and towns around the country. Sites include Honolulu, Hawaii; Bangor, Maine; Stillwater, Oklahoma; and Spokane, Washington — as well as New York, Detroit, San Francisco, Boston, Cleveland, St. Louis, and other major cities.

The October protests were initiated by El Salvador: Steps to Freedom, a project sponsored by the Pledge of Resistance and the Winning Democracy in El Salvador Campaign, and backed by other Central America solidarity organizations, including the Nicaragua Network. The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), Religious Task Force on Central America, SANE, Veterans Peace Action Teams, and other organizations are part of the Winning Democracy Campaign.

In addition to the walkathons, thousands of people will march on the Pentagon, the Presidio of San Francisco army base, and other U.S. military installations on Oc-

tober 17. Hundreds will participate in nonviolent civil disobedience protests.

Meanwhile, a major blow against the Reagan administration's attempts to use the U.S. trade embargo against Nicaragua to block humanitarian aid efforts was scored September 30. On that day, a federal district judge ruled that the U.S. government wrongly blocked the Veterans Peace Convoy from leaving the United States to bring humanitarian aid to Nicaragua last June.

"The President has no authority to regulate or prohibit, directly or indirectly, donations of articles which the donor intends to be used to relieve human suffering," Judge George Kazen ruled. The decision was the result of a suit filed by convoy members, whose aid-laden vehicles were seized by U.S. customs officials.

Massive support won by the 106 veterans in their trucks and buses — which wound their way through the United States — and protests at the Laredo, Texas, border crossing, finally forced the government to let the convoy pass.

The court decision also blocks the office of Foreign Assets Control, which enforces the U.S. trade embargo against Nicaragua, from using its licensing powers to keep humanitarian aid from reaching that country. So successful was the convoy that several participants are now making plans for a Women's Convoy, with the goal of bringing additional tons of humanitarian aid to Nicaragua in July 1989.

Abrams' moves to restrict rights

New York State Attorney General Robert Abrams took the occasion of the October 6 publication of the grand jury report in the Tawana Brawley case to propose three measures that further restrict democratic rights.

One of the suggested measures would bar any "corrupt" obstruction of justice. Current state laws bar only violence or other criminal acts that allegedly impede the work of a grand jury.

The Democratic politician's proposal could widen latitude for prosecutors, grand juries, and judges to strike at defendants in criminal cases, victims of racist or police violence, unions and individual strikers hit by court proceedings, and their lawyers.

The second proposition would make it an offense to harbor a fugitive charged with a misdemeanor. Current law applies only to those charged with felonies. The range of people who could be charged with harboring fugitives would be vastly expanded if this proposal becomes law.

The third suggested new law, also endorsed by the grand jury itself, would compel witnesses to testify before grand juries, providing them with immunity from prosecution. This is an undemocratic procedure that already exists in federal laws. In reality, whatever the letter of the law may say, "immunity" would not prevent prosecutors from using leads provided in testimony to put together cases against defendants.

This provision would heighten the undemocratic

character of the grand jury system itself.

The proceedings of grand juries are held in secret. This setup provides prosecutors with a free hand to engineer frame-ups in some cases or cover-ups in others.

These proposals are part of a bipartisan effort to probe for ways to reinforce the powers of the courts against working people, both by adding new laws and making more aggressive use of existing ones.

Under the 1984 Bail Reform Act, for instance, judges are now empowered to imprison accused people who have not been convicted of anything. They are jailed on the grounds that they might be dangerous.

Vernon Bellecourt, a leader of the American Indian Movement, and Black activist Robert Brown are now serving indefinite jail sentences because they refused to answer questions before a grand jury. It was engaged in a fishing expedition against individuals thought to oppose U.S. actions against Libya.

The targets are the democratic rights of working people. The aim is to hem in the political space within which working people can organize, demonstrate, or consider ideas about how to advance their struggles against the employing class that rules this country.

Opposing the undemocratic measures that Abrams has put forward is part of the fight that working people must constantly wage to maintain and expand their freedom to organize and fight.

The U.S. crime in Chile

I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go communist because of the irresponsibility of its own people. — Henry Kissinger at a 1970 White House meeting mapping plans to block the election of Salvador Allende as president of Chile.

News reports on the recent plebiscite in Chile often note that Gen. Augusto Pinochet came to power in a 1973 military coup that overthrew President Allende. But there's rarely mention of the key role the U.S. government played in organizing that takeover.

That's not out of ignorance. The facts are too well known. Among other places, they were documented in a 1975 Senate report.

U.S. plans for subversion in Chile were initiated in 1961 by President John Kennedy.

In a 1958 election, Socialist Party leader Allende had come within three percentage points of winning the presidency. Washington vowed not to let him win the next election in 1964.

A team was created of top people from the White House, State Department, and CIA. A counterpart team was established inside Chile.

In the 1964 election, Washington threw its weight behind Eduardo Frei, nominee of the Christian Democratic Party. The CIA spent some \$20 million on his campaign.

The campaign featured poisonous anticommunism.

One widely distributed CIA-inspired poster showed children with a hammer and sickle stamped on their foreheads. Frei was elected.

But in 1970, despite a repeat U.S. performance, Allende became president.

Washington promptly opened a campaign to drive him out. Companies with major operations in Chile — ITT, Anaconda Copper, and others — pitched in.

An economic noose closed around Chile's throat. U.S. aid screeched to a halt. Replacement parts for Chilean machinery and equipment suddenly became unavailable.

One form of aid was increased. Arms and dollars flowed to the Chilean military.

The CIA armed and trained Patria y Libertad, a gang of right-wing thugs.

The destabilization campaign was climaxed by the Sept. 11, 1973, military attack on the presidential palace and the murder of Allende. The bloody Pinochet tyranny was ushered in.

One year later, Gerald Ford, who had succeeded Richard Nixon as president, baldly declared that Washington's action was "in the best interest of the people of Chile and certainly in our best interest."

Substitute "capitalist profiteers" for "our" and the assertion becomes half true.

Farmers need guaranteed income

BY DOUG JENNESS

During the past decade working farmers have been attempting to cope with their worst crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Caught in the squeeze of increasing production costs, high interest rates, and declining land values on one side and decreasing income from marketing their crops on the other, tens of thousands of farmers have been involuntarily forced out of farming.

The Oct. 19, 1987, stock market plunge sounded the alarm, like a mammoth gong, warning that as bad as conditions are now, even worse times are coming for farmers

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

and all working people.

One of the ways farmers have sought relief is to press the federal government to raise the prices they get. And some form of price supports or subsidies have been in place in the imperialist countries for a number of years.

The form of the price support programs vary, but in all cases they are linked to quotas, tariffs, and other restrictive trade policies.

The European Economic Community's (EEC) grain support prices, for example, are well above world market prices. Restrictive tariffs limit lower-priced goods from entering Europe. So the domestic prices remain high. This spurs farmers to grow as much as possible to take advantage of the higher prices, creating an "excess" that is stored and eventually dumped on the world market by grain merchants at very low prices.

In the United States, the chief form of price support has been programs whereby the government makes payments to help farmers cover costs if the price they receive for their products falls below a set "target price." The way it works is that the government grants a loan, with the farmer's crop put up as collateral. If the market price is equal to or exceeds the target price, the farmer repays the loan. If the market price goes below the set price, the farmer doesn't repay the loan and the government takes the crop.

One should not get any idea, however, that this "target price" scheme is a fair deal for working farmers. For a large number, the government-set price of wheat, corn, soybeans, and many other commodities is well below what a good many farmers need to meet costs and make a living. And even if it is favorable one year, there is no guarantee that it will be the next year or the year after.

One feature of all the price support programs in both Europe and North America is that they disproportionately benefit the small minority of large-scale capitalist farmers with the lowest costs per unit of production.

For working farmers, fighting to improve these capitalist programs won't provide an effective way to protect themselves. In fact they are a deadly trap because they are constructed around the axis of protecting farmers in one's own country.

Not only has experience shown hundreds of thousands of farmers forced from their land that this approach is no safeguard, but it also serves to pit *European* farmers against *U.S.* farmers and *U.S.* farmers against farmers in the semicolonial countries.

What is needed is a perspective that can unite farmers regardless of where they live and farm and that can weld a united struggle of workers and farmers.

Workers and farmers everywhere should fight for the governments in their countries to guarantee income sufficient to meet costs and make a decent living regardless of market shifts. Working farmers shouldn't be victims of a market they can't control. They are producers contributing products of value for society, but they don't get back enough to live on. We need the milk, wheat, corn, and pork produced by working farmers, even those who produce relatively less than bigger farmers.

It's not hard for workers who need unemployment benefits to live on during periods of layoff to see why farmers need a guaranteed income. Workers, too, require government protection from the ups and downs of the job market, especially those paid the lowest wages.

The problem isn't too many farmers or too much food. One of the reactionary characteristics of the U.S. government's price support programs — one that is also beginning to make some headway in Europe — is to make participation contingent on taking land out of production. The idea is that reduced production will cut surpluses and jack up market prices.

But these antisocial programs aren't in the interests of working farmers in the United States or working people throughout the world. The entire concept that there is a surplus of food requiring a production cutback — while millions in the world are going hungry — only makes sense from the twisted logic of profits, not from human needs.

The key demands the labor movement should propose to farmers for an alliance to fight for protection against the devastating effects of the current situation and the coming depression are guaranteed use of land and guaranteed income.

Georgia auto workers discuss 'imports' and layoffs

BY STEPHANIE COLLINS

On September 20 my union local, which represents workers at the General Motors assembly plant in Doraville, Georgia, held a special meeting for laid-off members. The purpose was to discuss layoffs, that began in July and now total 1,200 out of 5,000 workers, and to talk about the Job Opportunity Bank Service. JOBS is a provision of the United Auto Workers contract with GM under which workers with one year or more seniority get placed in the JOBS bank, with full pay, for a period of time — if they're laid off for reasons other than slow sales.

More than 800 workers packed the United Auto Workers Local 10 hall for the meeting. In addition to officials from the local, three representatives from the interna-

One worker, Sandra, agreed with me that GM was in business to make profits, not create jobs for workers in this country. Even if everyone in the United States bought cars made in this country, she said, GM would not reinvest that money in production here, and we would eventually lose our jobs anyway. "So, it really doesn't matter what kind of cars we buy," she explained.

Another worker, Roberta, told the union officials, "You can't tell people what to buy. They should be allowed to buy what they want. These people worked and earned each and every cent they made. You didn't give them anything, so how in the heck can you tell anyone what to buy?" The members shouted their agreement.

Although the union officials tried to make this meeting a "Buy American, hate foreign" rally, most workers were concerned about the JOBS bank. Nearly 800 laid-off workers have been excluded from this "job security" program, which was used by the UAW leadership as the big selling point for the last contract. And most workers now have little or no SUB pay left either. (SUB pay is the supplementary unemployment benefits that UAW members are supposed to get in addition to regular unemployment benefits. Because so many thousands of auto workers are laid off, SUB funds are drying up.)

Workers at the meeting asked the same question over and over. If the JOBS bank can include 425 workers — up from 42, the original number of JOBS slots the Doraville plant got — then why can't the union fight to get it adjusted to include all the laid-off workers? The UAW officials responded by repeating that GM had over-

estimated the market, and now they can't sell all the cars that are stockpiled. So we, the workers, have to pay with our jobs.

Another worker, Jeff Rogers, responded by raising the proposal that the workweek be shortened to 30 hours. "We can't just look at what's happening to us here at the Doraville plant," he said. "We have to look at what's happening to working people around the country, and the world." Imports, he explained, are not the reason why tens of thousands of workers who are losing their jobs at GM, Lockheed, Eastern, and other companies. Working people in other countries are not the problem, he said. They are exploited by the same corporations that are laying us off. "If our unions would fight for the 30-hour workweek, with no cut in pay, then GM and other companies would be forced to call back every single laid-off worker."

"Our unions have to fight for affirmative action," he added. "Just look around the room — most of us are Black. That's who's being laid off." He also urged our union to solidarize with the demand raised by working people in Latin America, Asia, and Africa to cancel the foreign debt.

Many members shouted their agreement with Jeff. The proposals he raised are contained in the Socialist Workers Party's Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis. During and after the meeting, 14 workers bought copies of the Action Program.

Stephanie Collins is a member of UAW Local 10 at GM's assembly plant in Doraville, Georgia.

UNION TALK

tional participated. They explained the reason only 425 laid-off workers from our plant qualified for the JOBS bank was because the rest of the layoffs were due to poor car sales. Why are car sales poor? Because of foreign imports, they said.

UAW regional representative Herb Butler asked, "If you, the workers, buy these foreign cars, and park them in your driveway, then how do you expect others to have faith in your product, if you don't?" I expected applause to follow his remarks, as it would have a few months ago. Not this time. I think most of the workers present have begun to admit to themselves that imports aren't the problem — GM is.

LETTERS

Mark Curtis I

I am a prisoner and, unlike Mark Curtis, I committed a crime. But in our prison system we have untold numbers who did not!

If they can do this to Curtis, even under such scrutiny, just think what they can do to countless indigent and poor people who have nobody even paying attention.

People either don't believe this happens, or they don't care. I wonder how many people who read the *Militant* actually believe Curtis is guilty, since he is in jail, and people in jail are always guilty.

Many here are guilty. But believe me, many here are not.

A prisoner
Shelton, Washington

Mark Curtis II

Please send me 12 weeks of *Militants*.

I have been trying to keep up with the Mark Curtis trial, but the *Des Moines Register* doesn't say it all — or even half of it!

Ted Wilson
Calmar, Iowa

SWP campaign

I was fortunate to be in Edinboro, Pennsylvania, for an August campaign appearance by Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Kathleen Mickells. She gave a well-organized, wide-ranging speech to a group of some 30 attentive people. The appearance also gave me an opportunity to contribute a small sum toward the 1988 campaign. I encourage others to attend similar events and contribute to progress.

One other suggestion on another topic. The *Militant* has published book reviews in the past. Books I don't recall getting any attention are those directed at young adult readers. Such books might provide a source of information for young people and for older people without the time or inclination to read longer, more detailed works.

One example of a worthwhile book is *Uncle Sam in Nicaragua*, a history by K.C. Tessenorff (Macmillan, 1987). In approximately 130 pages, Tessenorff goes from pre-Columbian times to the overthrow of Somoza, with special emphasis on the continuous and self-serving approach wealthy people in the United States have taken toward Nicaragua. He shows the intertwining of the rich, soldiers of fortune, and govern-

ments as one scheme after another is hatched to exploit the land and people.

I noted the story on the Pathfinder mural in a recent issue of the *Militant* that referred to the *New York Times* story on the project. The *Times* story may have prompted National Public Radio to air a story on the mural, ("All Things Considered," Sunday, October 2), which was very favorable.

James G. Smith
Erie, Pennsylvania

Pathfinder books

I would like to inform *Militant* readers of the latest progress made in the ongoing project to have Pathfinder books recorded for the blind and disabled.

Recording was recently completed on the late Fred Halstead's epic work *Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War. Founding the Communist International* is now in its final stages of completion. Later this fall recording will begin on *Thomas Sankara Speaks* and the Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia title, *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*.

Readers who know blind or disabled people who might be interested in Pathfinder books should have them write to Recording for the Blind, Inc., 20 Roszel Rd., Princeton, N.J. 08540, or call (609) 452-0606.

Mike Rose
Austin, Texas

GM Saturn

I recently attended a meeting to recruit workers for the GM Saturn plant, along with more than 400 other laid-off auto workers in the Atlanta area. The meeting was held at the downtown Lakewood plant and was organized by both the company and the United Auto Workers union.

First we were shown slick video presentations on the Spring Hill, Tennessee, plant which is still under construction, and the countryside that surrounds it. The narrator assured us that life was slow-paced and pleasant in rural Tennessee, with an improving school system and ample variety in housing. The mansion next to Dolly Parton's was shown as an example.

Next the smiling faces of "operating technicians" — the Saturn term for workers — filled



"We welcome your inspection, gentlemen. I think you'll find our nuclear plant capable of withstanding any earthquake possible."

the screen as we heard about the "new way of doing business" featuring "new levels of participation" from the work force.

What this really meant became clear in the next segment on compensation and benefits.

There is no contract as we know it. A "Memorandum of Agreement" worked out between the union and Saturn Corp. — before the first worker was hired — falls outside the normal GM-UAW bargaining procedure, and will remain unaffected by future national contracts.

A short description of the wage structure brought gasps from the audience, many of whom were beginning to leave. During a start-up period or "bridging state," workers will earn \$13.45 per hour, "similar to current agreements." Similar, but less. Sometime in 1991 the plant will enter a "steady state" where your pay is divided into two components.

All you are guaranteed is a "base pay" of some 80 percent of current average auto worker wages, paid biweekly as a salary and deposited directly to your bank account. The other 20 percent is called "at risk" pay, which you may or may not get, depending on how the plant is doing. "Piecework," explained a worker nearby.

As the Saturn rep put it, "It may

not seem all that appealing, but at least you know what you're getting into." After applications were passed out, a few workers stuck around for the question-and-answer period. Many more of us went straight over to the UAW Local 34 union hall to discuss what could be done to protect ourselves from the ongoing GM layoffs in Atlanta.

Jeff Rogers
Atlanta, Georgia

Oppressor's tyranny

We thank all those understanding enough to not turn their backs on those politically active in the cause for complete freedom, socially and economically. What brings us together is a common cause to withstand the oppressor's tyranny.

The government wants to keep the majority of the people poor, out of work, and underprivileged. The same tactics that are used in the Persian Gulf and Libya have been used right here on citizens of this country.

The Reagan administration is mean and hateful and meant to shoot down the civilian airliner Flight 655 — the same way they attacked the Libyan president's house, killing his child and wounding others. Then they tell lies to confuse the people.

The Republican politicians don't hesitate to threaten with im-

prisonment and the death penalty those U.S. citizens who protest.

The prison guards run in wolf packs and attack us with the blessing of the courts and society, which believes the misinformation they receive on inmates from the TV news.

Why allow the state to murder and abuse, when it is against the law? The proof is stacked high against the state, but nobody cares.

A prisoner
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Broader spectrum

I had been getting the *Militant* newspaper for over a year and a half under the prisoners' program.

I find it very informative concerning the world's economic and political affairs. However, I believe if your newspaper branches out on a broader spectrum instead of just a select few (Nicaragua, Iran, Israel, Russia, etc.), you would find more readers showing interest.

A prisoner
Auburn, New York

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.

SWP Senate campaigns hit the street

New York: Harris finds students serious, open

BY SUSAN LaMONT

NEW YORK — James Harris, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from New York, is a busy man.

In addition to campaigning, 40-year-old Harris is also the organizer for the New York Socialist Workers Party branch. Located at 79 Leonard Street in Lower Manhattan, the headquarters of the New York SWP — the largest branch nationally of the party — is the center for a lot of political activity.

Right now, campaign supporters are in the middle of the ambitious international circulation drive to win hundreds of new readers for the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New Internationalist*, and to sell thousands of copies of the SWP's Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis. "This is our most important election campaign activity," the candidate explains.

The national SWP election campaign committee is also located there, along with the national and local offices of the Young Socialist Alliance. A large, busy Pathfinder Bookstore occupies the front part of the building on the first floor.

Harris has been in the communist movement since 1968 when he joined the Young Socialist Alliance in Cleveland, Ohio, his hometown. "I was the president of the Black Student Union at Cleveland State University," he recalls, "and I thought it was important to involve more Blacks in the movement against the Vietnam War. So did the YSA. The YSAers knew how to build the antiwar movement; they were always clear in their ideas. They weren't ultra-left, and they supported the Vietnamese in their struggle for national liberation. So did I." He joined the SWP the next year, and has been active ever since.

After Harris was nominated to run last spring, SWP campaign supporters here had the big task of getting his name on the ballot, along with the SWP presidential ticket, James Warren and Kathleen Mickells.

During July and early August, dozens of campaigners fanned out across the city in daily teams to gather the 20,000 signatures required to get the candidates on the ballot. More than 34,000 people signed the petitions.

"Working people in New York are very open to the ideas we're raising because the crisis of the capitalist system is very open and obvious here," says Harris. "Some 45 percent of New York City residents 16 years old or older are not in the labor force. For youths who are 16 to 19 years old, it's 77 percent! This is despite the fact that unemployment is supposedly at a record low, according to the government. Many of those who do have jobs are working for minimum wage — if that — especially the tens of thousands of immigrant workers

who come here hoping to find some relief from the economic devastation imperialism is causing in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. Not to mention the thousands of homeless workers who are living in inhuman shelters — or out on the streets.

"The October 1987 stock market crash had a big effect on workers' thinking — after all, Wall Street is only a few blocks away. More and more working people feel that the future is uncertain, and they're looking for answers," Harris said.

During the petition drive, 2,041 copies of the Action Program were sold, along with 214 subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* and single copies of the Action Program. YSA members played a big part in the effort. "We were certified on the New York ballot September 30," said Harris.

In the past month, the Young Socialist Alliance has organized meetings for Harris at several campuses outside the city — at the State University of New York in Binghamton, Bard College in Annandale-on-Hudson, New York, at Hampshire College in Amherst, Massachusetts, and Clark College in Worcester, Massachusetts.

Harris is impressed with how serious these meetings have been. "The students

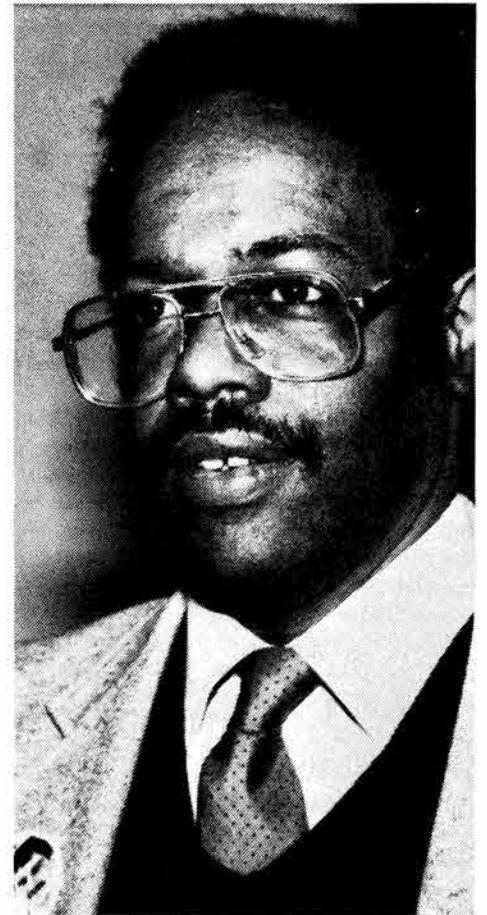
who come listen very carefully to my talk. Some take notes. They evaluate what I've said, they ask questions, and we talk things over."

Harris reports that his campus audiences have drawn all kinds of students.

"In addition to being serious, the one thing they have in common is that most are freshmen and sophomores. They're trying to figure out where they fit into the world, and how to make a contribution with their lives. Their confidence has been shaken too — they know the future of the capitalist system doesn't look too good. And they know the capitalist candidates don't have any solutions.

"Students are also glad to hear what we know about the ability of the working class to lead a revolution that can transform society," Harris said. "And to hear about the changes in thinking that are taking place among workers and farmers now, when resistance to capitalism is just beginning.

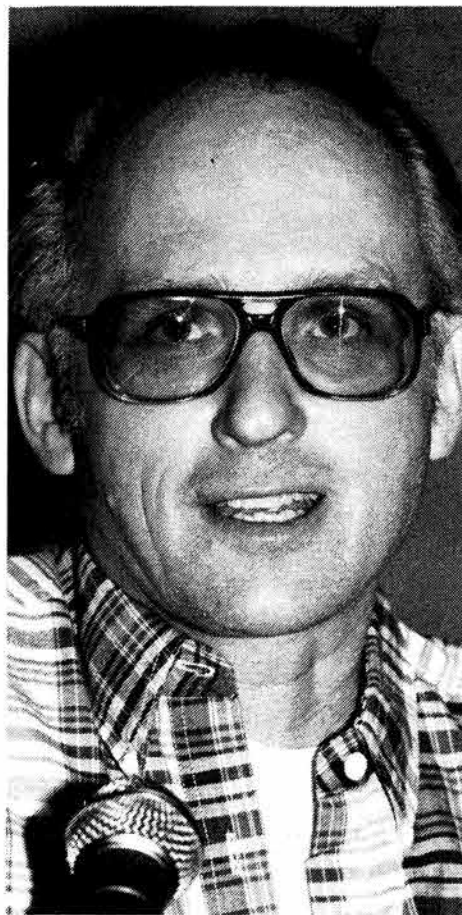
"Youth are hungry for what we're saying," Harris emphasized. "They know there aren't any easy answers to the problems of capitalism, and they don't come to our meetings expecting them. What they're looking for is a clear perspective, and that's what the SWP and YSA have to offer."



James Harris

Militant/Selva Nebbia

Calif: Meat-packers give Britton warm reception



Joel Britton

Militant/Holbrook Mahn

a telephone interview from a supporter's home in Ventura. "In the fall of 1961, there were two meetings on Cuba — one on the Bay of Pigs invasion and another on the agrarian reform being carried out by the revolution. After that, I went to a meeting of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee." It didn't take long for Britton to join the YSA.

Campaigning among farm workers

The socialist candidate and a team of campaign supporters had stopped in Ventura, where many farm workers live, for a day of door-to-door campaigning before heading up to the United Farm Workers' convention in Delano October 9. Britton was attending the UFW gathering to learn more about the conditions faced by farm workers in California, and their campaign against the use of pesticides. "Oil and chemical workers produce a lot of these pesticides, so we have a special role to play in supporting the farm workers' efforts," said Britton, who is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-547.

He went on to describe the other events that took place during his week of full-time campaigning.

"Between now and election day, we plan to set up informal meetings with workers interested in finding out more about our ideas at every workplace where we have campaign supporters and regularly sell the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*," Britton said. "This week, we started with my own refinery. Next week, I'll be meeting with a group of workers from United Airlines.

"I've been selling the *Militant*, *PM* and Action Program every week at McDonnell Douglas, the big aerospace plant in Long Beach. We're able to have a Pathfinder literature table at that plant-gate sale and over the past year have sold hundreds of dollars in books and pamphlets to workers there. I'm especially looking forward to that meeting," said Britton.

Meat-packers

On October 6 Britton and Marta Alicia Rivera traveled to the Los Angeles industrial suburb of Vernon, center of much of the area's meat-packing industry, to talk to a group of workers from a beef-processing plant about the case of Mark Curtis. He is a union fighter from Iowa who is the victim of a police frame-up. Rivera, a representa-

tive of the Association of Salvadoran Educators and a victim of torture at the hands of the U.S.-backed Salvadoran military, spoke at the September 4 international defense rally for Curtis in Des Moines.

"I had a long discussion with a woman worker from Mexico," Britton explained. "She'd been at the plant for three years and already had the most seniority. She makes about \$5 an hour. But many of her coworkers make minimum wage, there's no medical insurance, and the union is very weak. Lots of other workers in the plant also come from Mexico. They process beef for export to Japan, where it's sold at exorbitant prices. Yet the workers here make nothing.

"This worker, who had been involved in three strikes at canneries in Mexico, is a fighter," he said. "She had organized workers in the Vernon plant against a chemical leak inside that was making people sick. Although the workers walked out in protest several times, the company refused to do anything about it. The pressures that many of the workers face because of problems with immigration also made it harder to organize.

"Our discussion about the difficulties in waging that fight led us naturally to the situation that unions — and workers in general — face today," Britton continued. "That it's not just the union leaderships that are the problem — although these certainly are part of it — but the capitalist government, political parties, courts, police — their system as a whole.

"I told her about my own union, which is another example of how the labor movement's strength has been eroded over the years," Britton said. "When oil refinery workers would go on strike, for example, we used to shut the facility down. Now the workers keep it running, turn it over to management personnel — and whatever scabs they recruit — and they keep it going during a strike."

"What our campaign is explaining is that fighting workers have to consider the broader framework, including learning from and identifying with international struggles. Having these kinds of discussions is really what our election campaign is about," Britton said. Rivera's contributions to the discussions, based on her experiences in El Salvador, were also very important, he added. — S.L.

Socialist Workers '88 presidential campaign wrap-up rallies

In New York

Hear **James Warren**, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president. Sun., Nov. 6. Reception 4:30 p.m.; rally 5 p.m. 79 Leonard St., Manhattan. Donation: \$5. For more information call (212) 219-3679.

In Los Angeles

Hear **Kathleen Mickells**, SWP candidate for U.S. vice-president. Sat., Nov. 5, 7 p.m. 2546 W. Pico Blvd. For more information call (213) 380-9460.